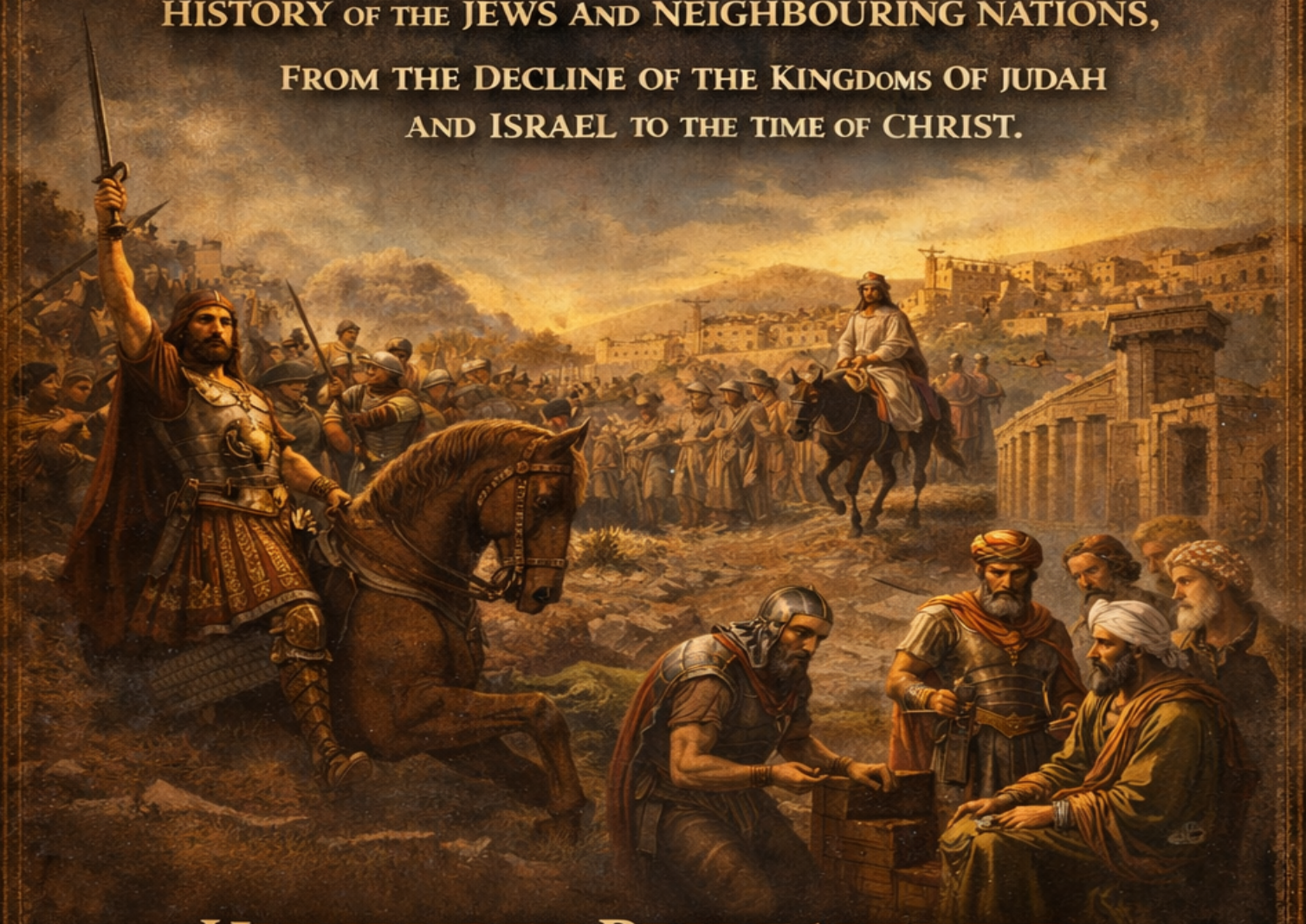
AN HISTORICAL CONNECTION OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

COMPRISING THE
HISTORY OF THE JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,
FROM THE DECLINE OF THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH
AND ISRAEL TO THE TIME OF CHRIST.



HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, D.D.

1858 • VOLUME 2

ALL PARTS OF THIS BOOK ARE IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN
Source PDFs can be found at Google Books
1858 London (2 vols)
VOLUME I. VOLUME II.

AN HISTORICAL CONNECTION

OF THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

COMPRISING THE

HISTORY OF THE JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS, FROM THE DECLINE OF THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL TO THE TIME OF CHRIST.

BY

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, D.D.,

DEAN OF NORWICH.

NEW EDITION, REVISED,

WITH NOTES, ANALYSES, AND INTRODUCTORY REVIEW,

BY J. TALBOYS WHEELER

IN TWO VOLUMES. — VOL. II.

MDCCCLVIII.

— 1858 —

PREFACE TO THE SECOND PART.

THE Second Part of this History, which I now offer to the public, completes the whole of what I intend. My first purpose was to have concluded it at the birth of our Saviour, and to have left what thenceforth ensues to the ecclesiastical historian of the Christian church, to whom it properly belongs. But since what is to connect the Old Testament with the New will there best end where the dispensation of the Old Testament endeth, and that of the New begins; and since that was brought to pass in the death and resurrection of our Saviour, I have drawn down this history thereto. For then the Jewish church was abolished, and the Christian erected in its stead; then the law of Moses ceased, and that of Christ and his gospel commenced, and therein the accomplishment of all the prophecies of the Old Testament, relating to the person of the Messiah, which began at his birth, was fully perfected. And therefore here I have thought it properest to fix the conclusion of this work. But to avoid encroaching too far upon the Christian ecclesiastical historian, I have from the time of Christ's birth treated but in a very brief manner of what afterwards ensued to his death; and have passed over the whole time of the public ministration both of him and his forerunner. For all things that were done therein being fully related in the four Gospels, which are, or ought to be, in every one's hands, barely to repeat them here would be needless, and all that can be done beyond a bare repetition is either to methodize them according to the order of time, or to explain them by way of interpretation; but the former belonging to the harmonist, and the latter to the commentator, they are both out of the province I have undertaken.

I having in a Preface to the First Part of this History recommended to the reader, for his geographical guidance in the reading of it, the maps of Cellarius, the bookseller hath, in the third edition of that part, inserted into it as many maps out of him as may be useful for this purpose. And there hath also been added, in the same edition, a map of the temple of Jerusalem,

which had been drawn and published by me in a single sheet some years before. All these may serve for the second part as well as for the first.

Perchance there may be some, who will think the history which I give of the Jewish cycle of eighty-four years, and of the other cycles, which, as well as that, have been made use of for the fixing of the time of Easter, to be too long a digression from that which is the main subject of this work. And therefore I think it necessary to acquaint the reader, that I have been led hereto by these following inducements :— First, To give him an account of the controversies which happened among Christians about the time of celebrating Easter, during the use of this eighty-four years' cycle among them. Secondly, To explain one important part of our ancient English history, by showing upon what foot that dissension about Easter stood, which was here carried on between our British and Saxon ancestors on the account of the same Jewish cycle, during the whole seventh and eighth century, which hath nowhere else, that I know of, had a thorough and clear account given of it. And lastly, To open the way to a better understanding of the modern dispute, which our dissenters have here set on foot among us upon the same argument: for they allege it as one reason of their dissension, that Easter is put wrong in the calendar before the Common Prayer Book, and that therefore they cannot give their assent and consent thereto.

It is a very odd thing that this sort of people, who are against keeping any Easter at all, should raise any quarrel about the time of its observance. But since they are pleased so to do, I will here apply what is written in the ensuing history, about the time of this festival, to the present case, and endeavour thereby to give them full satisfaction in it. In order whereto I shall lay down, first, The rule in the calendar against which the objection is made; secondly, The objection itself that is urged against it; and then, in the third place, I shall give my answers thereto.

I. The words of the rule in the calendar, as they lie in the page next after the months of the year, are these following:—"Easter-day is always the first Sunday after the first full moon which happens next after the one-and-twentieth day of March. And if the full moon happens upon a Sunday, Easter-day is the Sunday after."

II. The objection urged against this rule is, That if we take the common almanacks, in which the new moons and full moons are set down as they are in the heavens, it will seldom be found, that the first Sunday after the first full moon which happens next after the one-and-twentieth day of March is the Easter-day which is appointed to be observed, according to the tables in the Common Prayer Book; and that therefore, if the rule be true, the tables must be false. And this, the dissenters think, is reason enough for them to deny their assent and consent to the whole book.

III. I answer hereto, first, That it must be acknowledged this objection would be true, were it the natural full moon that is meant in the rule. But besides the natural full moon, that is, that which appears in the heavens, when the sun and moon are in direct opposition to each other, there is also an ecclesiastical full moon, that is, a full moon day, so called by the church, though there be no natural full moon thereon. To explain this by a parallel case, it is in the same manner as there is a political month, and a political year, different from the natural. The natural month is the course of the moon, from one new moon to another; the political month is a certain number of days which constitute a month according to the political constitution of the country where it is used. And so a natural year is the course of the sun from a certain point in the zodiac, till it come about again to the same; but the political year is a certain number of months or days which constitute a year according to the political constitution of the country where it is used. And so, in like manner, there is a natural new moon day, and an ecclesiastical new moon day. The natural new moon day is that on which the natural new moon first appears, and the fourteenth day after is the natural full moon day. And the ecclesiastical new moon day is that which by the ecclesiastical constitutions is appointed for it, and the fourteenth day after is the ecclesiastical full moon day. And the primes, that is, the figures of the golden numbers which are in the first column of every month in the calendar, are there placed to point out both, that is, the ecclesiastical new moon day first, and then, by consequence from it, the ecclesiastical full moon day, which is the fourteenth day after. This order was first appointed from the time of the council of Nice; and then the natural new moon and full moon, and the ecclesiastical new moon and full moon, fell exactly together. And had the nineteen years' cycle, called the cycle of the moon

(which is the cycle of the golden numbers), brought about all the new moons and full moons exactly again to the same point of time in the Julian year, as it was supposed that it would when this order was first made, they would have always so fallen together; but it failing hereof by an hour and almost a half, hereby it hath come to pass, that the ecclesiastical new moon and full moon have overshot the natural new moon and full moon an hour and near a half in every nineteen years, which, in the long process of time that hath happened since the council of Nice, hath now made the difference between them to amount to about four days and a half; and so much the ecclesiastical new moons and full moons do at this time, in every month, overrun the natural. However, the church, still abiding by the old order, still observes the time of Easter according to the reckoning of the ecclesiastical moon, and not according to that of the natural. And therefore it is of the ecclesiastical full moon, and not of the natural, that this rule is to be understood, and consequently what the dissenters object against it from the full moon in the heavens is nothing to the purpose. But if it be still objected, that this ecclesiastical full moon, different from the natural, is the product of error, for that it hath its original from an astronomical mistake in the church's falsely supposing that the new moons and full moons would, after every nineteen years, all come over again to the same point of time in the Julian year as in the former nineteen years, whereas they do not so by an hour and a half, and that therefore there is still an error in this matter; the answer hereto is, that it would be so were the feast of Easter, and the time of observing it, appointed by divine institution: but since both are only by the institution of the church, wherever the church placeth it, there it is well and rightly observed. But,

Secondly, Were it truly the natural full moon, and not the ecclesiastical, that is meant in the rule, yet since in this supposal it would be only an astronomical and not a theological error, this rule may be used without sin; and the use of it is all that the declaration of assent and consent obligeth to, as it is more than once plainly expressed in the act that enjoins it.

Thirdly, But it seems to me that neither the calendar, nor this rule belonging thereto, is within that declaration, and therefore no error in either can be urged as a reason against it. For the assent and consent required to be given by the Act of Uniformity is, "To the Book of Common Prayer, and

Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches, and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons;" but neither the calendar, nor this rule belonging to it, can be brought under any of these particulars; and therefore cannot be contained within that declaration at all. If it be said that the words rites and ceremonies include the calendar, and with it all the rules belonging thereto, my answer is, that the astronomical calculations, and the appointing thereby the times of the movable feasts, concerning which our whole present dispute is, cannot be called either rites or ceremonies. If it be further urged, that both the calendar and the rule are in the book, the reply hereto is, so are several acts of parliament; but no one will say, that by the declaration any assent or consent is given unto them.

Fourthly, Supposing all to be in this case as the dissenters object, to make such a trifle to be a reason of breaking communion, and separating from the church, is what men of common sense or common integrity may be ashamed of. They may as well urge the errata of the press against this declaration; for these afford as good a reason against it as the other. This shows how hard they are put to it to find reasons for their separation, when they urge such a wretched and frivolous one for it as this.

Thus much of the objection, as far as the dissenters have urged it. But there being something that may be further said on the same argument, with much more plausible appearance of reason, which the dissenters have taken no notice of, I shall do it for them, that so by answering it I may clear this whole matter, and thereby fully justify the usage of our church herein. For it may be objected, that allowing the full moon in the rule of the calendar above mentioned to be the ecclesiastical full moon, and not the natural, yet the making of Easter-day to be the next Sunday after that full moon, is contrary to the rule which all other churches have gone by till Pope Gregory’s reformation of the calendar, and contrary also to the present usage of our own. For, first, It is contrary to the rule which all other churches have gone by till the said reformation of Pope Gregory; because, till then, from the time of the council of Nice, their rule hath been, that Easter-day is always to be the first Sunday after the first fourteenth moon

which shall happen after the one-and-twentieth of March, which fourteenth moon is therefore called the Paschal term: but the full moon never happens till the fifteenth day of the moon; and therefore to put Easter-day on the first Sunday after the said full moon, will be to make the first fifteenth moon after the said one-and-twentieth of March to be the Paschal term instead of the fourteenth, which no church in the whole Christian world hath ever yet done. And secondly, It is contrary to the present usage of our own church: for in the table subjoined to the said calendar, Easter-day is everywhere put on the Sunday next after the first fourteenth moon after the one-and-twentieth day of March, and never otherwise. And therefore should Easter-day be always put, according to the rule above mentioned, on the next Sunday after the full moon of that rule, seeing no full moon can ever happen till the fifteenth day of the moon, Easter-day would sometimes fall on a Sunday different from that where it is placed in the tables; as for example, anno 1668, the placing of Easter on the first Sunday after the fifteenth day of that moon would make it fall on the twenty-ninth of March, but the tables place it on the twenty-second of March, which was the Sunday before, and then it was accordingly observed. And anno 1678, the placing of Easter on the first Sunday after the fifteenth day of that moon would make it fall on the seventh of April, but the tables place it on the last of March, which was the Sunday before, and there it was accordingly observed. And so it will be found in many other instances. And therefore if the rule by which all other churches, till Pope Gregory's reformation of the calendar above mentioned, observed their Easter be right, and if the tables whereby our church keeps that festival be right, then the rule which is in our Common Prayer Book must be false, and consequently cannot be assented to as true. Thus far the objection.

The answer hereto is, that there is a twofold reckoning of the moon's age, the astronomical and the vulgar; the astronomical reckoning is from the conjunction of the moon with the sun, the vulgar from its first appearance, which is never till the next day after the conjunction. The Jews followed the vulgar reckoning, and according thereto accounted that to be the first day of the moon which was the first day of its appearance, as I have already shown in the Preface to the First Part of this History, and by this reckoning settled the times of their Paschal festival; which usage the ancient Christians,

borrowing from them, did the same in their settling the feast of Easter, and so it hath continued to be done ever since. The first day therefore of the moon, which is marked out by the prime in the calendar of our Common Prayer Book, is not the day of its conjunction with the sun, but the day of its first appearance, which is always the day after; and the fourteenth day from thence is the fifteenth from its conjunction; on which fifteenth day the full moon happens, which being applied to the Paschal moon solves the whole difficulty of this objection. For the fourteenth day of that moon, as reckoned from its first appearance, will be from its conjunction the fifteenth day on which the full moon happens. And therefore this fourteenth day of the moon being the same with the full moon, and both the same with that which hath ever been the Paschal term, the first Sunday after which is Easter-day, the said Paschal term may be expressed by either of them and therefore this rule in the calendar of our Common Prayer Book, in that it expresseth it by the full moon, doth the same as if it had expressed it by the fourteenth day of the moon, and consequently it is not to be charged with any fault or error in this matter. And thus having opened the cause in all its points, I shall leave the further prosecution of it to those who shall think fit to contend about it. All that I propose hereby is only to give such light into it, that neither side may, like the Andabatae, fight in the dark, as both, in the handling of this particular, seem hitherto to have done.

In the compiling of this History I have taken all the helps that the Jewish writers could supply me with; but these, I must confess, are very poor ones. Of the succession of the presidents and vice-presidents of their Sanhedrim, by whom they say their traditions were handed down from Simon the Just and the men of the great synagogue, I have given their names as far as this History goes. But besides their names, there being scarce anything related of them but what carries with it a manifest air of improbability and fable, I have forborne troubling the reader with such trash. Only about Hillel and Shammai I have enlarged: for their followers constituting two opposite sects among the Jews, in the same manner as the Scotists and Thomists among the schoolmen, their names run through both their Talmuds and all their Talmudic writings, and they are, of all that have been in that station within the compass of this History, of the most eminent note and fame among them, and have had more said of them than all the rest. And therefore I have

given as full an account of them as the Jewish writers can afford me within the limits of a just credibility.

But nothing can be more jejune and empty than the histories which the rabbinical Jews give of themselves. Josephus's History in Greek is a noble work; but they disown and condemn it, and instead of it would obtrude upon us an Hebrew Josephus, under the name of Josippon Ben Gorion. This, they say, is the true and authentic Josephus; but ours, that is, the Greek Josephus, a false one. There is a Josephus Ben Gorion mentioned in Josephus's History of the Jewish War, who is there said to have been one of the three to whose conduct that war was first committed. This person the impostor who composed this book mistaking for Josephus the historian, set forth that spurious work under his name, intending thereby to quash the credit of the true Josephus, which we have in Greek, as if that were the imposture, and this in Hebrew the only true and authentic work of that historian; but the book itself proves the fraud: for there is in it mention made both of names and things which had no being till many hundreds of years after the time in which it is pretended the book was written, neither was it heard of, or ever quoted by any author, till above a thousand years after that time. Solomon Jarchi, a French Jew, who flourished about the year of our Lord 1140, is the first that makes mention of it. After that it is quoted by Aben Ezra, Abraham Ben Dior, and R. David Kimchi, who all three lived in the same century. After this it became generally owned by the Jews, and hath obtained that credit and esteem among them, as to be held, next the sacred writings, a book of principal value among them; and was one of the earliest of their books that hath been published in print by them: for it was printed at Constantinople in the year of our Lord 1490, which was within fifty years of the first invention of that art; and hereon it became so generally received and valued by that people, that twenty years after there came out another edition of it from the same place, and after that a third, at Venice, A. D. 1544. What Munster hath published of it is no more than an epitome of this author; but the whole of it is in the Constantinopolitan and Venice editions. It is divided into six books and ninety-seven chapters. The best that can be said of it is, that it is written in an elegant Hebrew style, and therefore on this account is very fit for the use of young students in the Hebrew language. But as to the subject-matter, it is everywhere stuffed with

apocryphal and Talmudic Tables; most of that, which is not of this sort, is taken from the true Josephus; but it is to be observed, that what the impostor takes from him is from the Latin version of Ruffinus, and not from the Greek original, which leads him into several blunders. But who this author was, or where or when he wrote this book, is uncertain. Scaliger conjectures that he was a Jew of Tours in France; but his reason for it being only that he speaks more of the places about Tours than of any other parts of France, this doth not prove the thing. But it being sufficiently proved that the book is an imposture, it is of no moment to know who was the true author of it, or where or when he lived. Mr. Gagnier, a French gentleman, now living in Oxford, hath lately given a very accurate Latin version of this work, according to the best edition of it. It is to be wished that his learned pains had been employed about a better author.

For several hundred years after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, where Josephus ends, no other Jew hath written any history of the affairs of that people till about the tenth century after Christ. But the sect of the Karaites (who, adhering only to the written word, rejected all traditions) then prevailing, and often pressing the Rabbinists, their antagonists in this controversy, to make good the succession though which they pretended to have received their traditions, this did put several of their learned men upon the hunt for it; and they having raked through both their Talmuds, and from them gotten together some historical scraps to serve for this purpose, with these poor materials have endeavoured to compose something like a history of their nation, giving an account therein, how their traditions were delivered down from Moses to the prophets, and from the prophets to the men of the great synagogue, and from the men of the great synagogue to the doctors, who afterwards, in a continued series, handed them down from one to another through after-generations. Of this sort they have some few historical composures among them, but such as are very mean and contemptible. They all begin from the creation of the world, and as far as the Scriptures of the Old Testament go, they write from them, but often interpose fabulous glosses and additions of their own. From the time where the Old Testament Scriptures end, the two Talmuds supply them; and from the time where the Talmuds end, they are supplied from the traditions that were afterwards preserved among them. And an account of their

doctors, and the succession of them in their chief schools and academies in Judea, Babylonia, and elsewhere, is the main subject which after the Scriptural times they treat of. And of these historical books there are but seven in all, that I know of among them, and they are these following: 1. Seder Olam Rabbah; 2. Teshuvoth R. Sherira Gaon; 3. Seder Olam Zeutah; 4. Kabbalah R. Abraham Levita Ben Dior; 5. Sepher Juchasin; 6. Shalsheleth Haccabbalah; 7. Zemach David. The first four are the ancientest, but all of them have been written since the beginning of the ninth century, and are very short. The three last are much larger, but of a very modern composure, being all of them written since the time of our King Henry VIII. I will here give an account of each of them in their order.

I. SEDER OLAM RABBAH, i. e. *the Larger Chronicon*, is so called in respect to Seder Olam Zeutah, i. e. *the Lesser Chronicon*, which was afterwards composed. However, notwithstanding this great name, it is but a short history, and treats mostly of the Scriptural times. Buxtorf tells us it reached down to the time of Adrian the Roman emperor, and his vanquishing Ben Chuzibah the impostor, who did then set up for the Messiah. I have not seen any copy of that history which reached down so far; but no doubt that great and learned man did, otherwise he would not have told us so. The author is commonly said to have been R. Jose ben Chaliptha, who flourished a little after the beginning of the second century after Christ, and is said to have been master to R. Judah Hakkadosh, who composed the Mishna. But R. Azarias, the author of Meor Enaim, in the third part of that book (which he calls Imre Binah), tells us, that he had seen an ancient copy of this book, in which it was written, that the author lived seven hundred and sixty-two years after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, which refers his time to the year of Christ 832. It was most certainly written after the Babylonish Talmud; for it contains many fables and dotages taken from thence.

II. TESHUVOTH R. SHERIRA GAON, i. e, *the Answers of R. Sherira, Sublime Doctor*, is an historical tract, written by way of questions and answers by him whose name it bears. It is a very short piece, and is usually inserted with some other historical fragments in the editions of Juchasin. He was Æchmalotarch in Babylonia, and head of all the Jewish schools and academies in that country; which dignity he obtained A. D. 967, and

continued in it thirty years, that is, till the year 997, when he resigned it to R. Haia his son, who was the last that bore the title of Gaon, or *Sublime Doctor*. For in his time, i. e. anno 1037, the Mahometan king that then reigned over Babylonia expelled the Jews out of all those parts, and thereon all their schools and academies that they had there were dissolved, and all the degrees and titles of honour, which on the account of learning used to be conferred in them, utterly ceased; and no learned man hath since that time, among the Jews, assumed any higher name or title of honour in respect of his learning than that of Rabbi.

III. SEDER OLAM ZEUTAH, i. e. the *Lesser Chronicon*, is so called in respect to Seder Olam Rabbah, or *the Greater Chronicon*. This book was written, as it is therein expressed, one thousand and fifty-three years after the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem, that is, in the year of our Lord 1123. Who was the author of it is not known. It is, agreeable to its name, a very short chronicon, and is carried down from the beginning of the world to the year 452 after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, that is, to the year of our Lord 522. Eight generations after are named in it, but nothing more than their names is there mentioned of them.

IV. SEPHER KABBALAH R. ABRAHAM LEVITA, BEN DIOR, i. e. *the Book of Tradition, by Rabbi Abraham the Levite, the son of Dior*, is an historical tract, chiefly intended to give an account of the succession of those by whom the traditions of the Jews, as they pretend, from the time of Moses, were handed down to them from generation to generation. It begins from the creation of the world, and ends at the year of Christ 1160. The author of it was R. Abraham the Levite, whose name it bears in the title. He flourished in the time where his book ends. He writes much from Josippon Ben Gorion, and was one of the first that gave credit to that spurious book.

V. SEPHER JUCHASIN, i. e. *the Book of Genealogies*, is a history of the Jews, much larger than all the four above mentioned put together. It begins from the creation of the world, and is continued down to the year of our Lord 1500. In the process and series of it an account is given of the succession of the Jewish traditions from Mount Sinai, and of all their eminent doctors, teaching and professing them, down to the time where the

book ends. The author of it was R. Abraham Zacuth, who first published it at Cracow in Poland, in the year of our Lord 1580.

VI. SHALSHELETH HACCABBALAH, i. e. the *Chain of Tradition*, is an historical book of the same contents with Sepher Juchasin. The author of it was Rabbi Gedaliah Ben Jechaiah, who first published it at Venice in the year of our Lord 1587.

VII. ZEMACH DAVID, i. e. *a Branch or Sprout of David*, is a history treating of the same subject as the two last preceding. It begins, as they do, from the creation of the world, and is continued down to the year of Christ 1592, in which year it was first published at Prague in Bohemia. The author was Rabbi David Gans, a Bohemian Jew. There is extant a Latin version of this book, composed by William Henry Vorstius, the son of Conrad Vorstius, and published by him at Leyden, A. D. 1644.

By this it may be seen how little light into ancient times is to be gotten from histories of so modern and mean a composure, neither can anything better be expected from their other writings. If anything of ancient history be found anywhere in them more than what is Scriptural, it is either taken from one of the histories which I have here given an account of, or from the Talmud, which is the common fountain from which they all draw. For this is the best authority they have, and how mean this is I have already shown.

My living at a distance from the press hath deprived me of the opportunity of correcting the errors of it: but this defect hath been supplied by my very worthy friend Mr. Brampton Gurdon, who hath been pleased to take on him the trouble of correcting the last revise of every sheet; and I know no one more able to correct the errors not only of the printer, but also of the author, wherever I may have been mistaken in any particular contained in this book, he being a person eminently knowing in all those parts of literature that are treated of through the whole of it, and otherwise of that worth and learning as may justly recommend him to every man's esteem.

I shall be glad if this Second Part of my History may be as acceptable to the public as the former hath been. I must confess it hath been written under greater disadvantages, by reason of the decays which have since grown

upon me. It hath always been the comfort as well as the care of my life, to make myself as serviceable as I could in all the stations which I have been called to. With this view it hath been, that I have entered on the writing of any of those works that I have offered to the public; and I hope I have by all of them in some measure served my generation. But being now broken by age, and the calamitous distemper mentioned in the Preface to the former part of this History, I find myself superannuated for any other undertaking, and therefore must, I fear, spend the remainder of my days in a useless state of life, which to me will be the greatest burden of it. But since it is from the hand of God, I will comport myself with all patience to submit hereto, till my great change shall come, and God shall be pleased to call me out of this life into a better for which I wait with a thorough hope and trust in his great and infinite mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory, honour, and praise, for ever and ever.

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.

Norwich, Jan. 1, 1717-18.

HISTORICAL CONNECTION

OF THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

PART II.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS, FROM THE DEATH OF

SIMON THE JUST TO THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS.

B. C. 291 TO A. D. 70.

BOOK I.

EGYPTIAN AND JEWISH HISTORY FROM THE COMPLETION OF THE CANON OF SCRIPTURE UNTIL THE TRANSLATION OF THE SCRIPTURES INTO GREEK,

B. C. 291 TO 277.

I. Conclusion of the Reign of Ptolemy I. Soter, B. C. 291-285.0

Kings of Syria—Seleucus Nicator, 312.

High priests of the Jews—Eleazar, 291.

Accession of Eleazar to the high priesthood, and Antigonus Socho to the presidentship of the Sanhedrim: rise of the Mishnical doctors, 291. —ELEAZAR, the brother of Simon the Just, succeeded him in the high priesthood at Jerusalem, and there executed this office fifteen years. But whereas Simon the Just had been also president of the Sanhedrim or national council of the Jews, he was in this last charge succeeded by Antigonus of Socho, to which he was recommended by his great learning: for he was an eminent scribe in the law of God, and a great teacher of righteousness among the people; and he being the first of the Tannaim or Mishnical doctors, from his school all those had their original who were afterwards called by that name. And these were all the doctors of the Jewish law from the death of Simon the Just to the time that Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh composed the Mishna, which was about the middle of the second century after Christ, as hath been before observed. In the Gospels they are sometimes called scribes,

---

sometimes lawyers, and sometimes those that sat in Moses's seat; for those different appellations all denote the same profession of men, that is, those

who being bred up in the knowledge of the law of God, and the tradition of the elders concerning it, taught in the schools and synagogues of the Jews, and judged according to it in their Sanhedrims: for out of the number of these doctors were chosen all such as were members of those courts, that is, either of the great Sanhedrim of seventy-two, which was for the whole nation; or of the Sanhedrim of twenty-three, which was in every city in Judah. And such were Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, and Gamaliel; and in respect hereof it is that they are called elders, counsellors, and rulers, because being of the number of those who were chosen into these councils, they did there declare and execute those laws by which they ruled and governed the people.

Jewish traditions concerning Simon the Just. — The Jews tell us great things of this Simon the Just, and speak of great alterations that happened on his death in some parts of their divine worship, and the signs of the divine acceptance, that had till then appeared in the performance of them: for it is said in the Jerusalem Talmud, that "all the time of Simon the Just the scape-goat had scarce come to the middle of the precipice of the mountain, from whence he was cast down, but he was broken into pieces; but when Simon the Just was dead, he fled away alive into the desert, and was eaten of the Saracens. While Simon the Just lived, the lot of God in the day of expiation went forth always to the right hand; but Simon the Just being dead, it went forth sometimes to the right hand, and sometimes to the left. All the days of Simon the Just the little scarlet tongue looked always white; but when Simon the Just was dead, it looked sometimes white, and sometimes red. All the days of Simon the Just the west light always burnt; but when he was dead, it sometimes burnt, and sometimes went out. All the days of Simon the Just the fire upon the altar burnt clear and bright, and after two pieces of wood laid on in the morning, they laid on nothing else the whole day after; but when he was dead, the force of the fire languished in such manner, that they were forced to supply it all the day. All the days of Simon the Just a blessing was sent upon the two loaves and the shew-bread; so that a portion came to every priest to the quantity of an olive at least; and there were some who did eat, and there were others to whom something remained after they had eaten their fill: but when Simon the Just was dead, that blessing was withdrawn, and so little remained to each priest, that those

who were modest withdrew their hands, and those who were greedy still stretched them out." For the explication hereof it is to be observed, that on the great day of expiation, which was a most solemn fast among the Jews, kept every year by them on the tenth day of their month Tizri (which answers to our September), two goats were brought into

---

the inner court of the house of the Lord, and there on the north side of the altar presented before the high priest, the one to be the scape-goat, and the other to be sacrificed unto the Lord; and in order to determine which of them should be for each purpose, lots were cast to decide the matter; the manner of which was as followeth: the goats being put one before the right hand of the high priest, and the other before the left hand, an urn was brought and placed in the middle between them, and two lots were cast into it (they might be of wood, silver, or gold, but under the second temple they were always of gold); on the one of these was written for the Lord, and on the other for the scapegoat; which being well shaken together, the high priest put both his hands into the urn, and with his right hand took out one lot, and with his left hand the other, and according to the writing on them were the goats appointed, as they stood on each hand of the high priest, either for the Lord, to be sacrificed to him, or to be the scapegoat, to be let escape into the wilderness; that is, if the right hand lot were for the Lord, then the goat that stood before him at the right hand was to be sacrificed, and the other to be the scapegoat; but if the left hand lot were for the Lord, then the goat that stood at the left hand was to be sacrificed, and the other to be the scapegoat. And therefore, whereas it is said that the lot of God till the death of Simon the Just went forth always to the right hand, the meaning is, that till then the high priest always drew out with his right hand the lot for the Lord, and with his left hand that for the scapegoat; but afterwards with each hand sometimes one lot, and sometimes the other. As soon as the goats were thus appointed each to their proper use, the high priest bound upon the head of the scapegoat a long piece (they call it a tongue) of scarlet: and this is that scarlet tongue which the Talmud saith looked always white, till the death of Simon the Just; but afterwards sometimes white and sometimes red. And the change of red into white being here spoken of as a sign of

God's accepting of the expiation of that day, hither may be referred what is said in Isaiah (ch. i. 18), "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool;" or rather to this text may be referred the foundation of all that they say of this matter. After the goat for the Lord was offered up in sacrifice to him, the scapegoat was brought before the high priest, who laying both his hands upon his head, confessed over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, and all their sins, by that ceremony putting them all upon the head of that goat; and then sent him away by a fit person into the wilderness. The place where they led him was a rock or precipice at the distance of twelve miles from Jerusalem, where he was to be let escape, to carry away the sins of the children of Israel with him far out of sight. Till the time of Simon the Just, the Talmud saith, this goat was always dashed in pieces in the fall, on his being let loose over the precipice; but that afterwards he always escaped, and flying into Arabia, was there taken and eaten by the Saracens.

Demetrius attempts to recover the Asiatic empire of his father Antigonus, 288, 287.—Demetrius having, as he thought, thoroughly settled his affairs in Greece and Macedon, made great preparations to recover

---

his father's empire in Asia; for which purpose he got together an army of a hundred thousand men, and a fleet of five hundred sail of ships, which was a greater force, both by sea and land, than had been gotten together by any prince since the time of Alexander the Great. This alarming Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, they all three entered into a confederacy together for their mutual defence against his designs; and also drew in Pyrrhus king of Epirus to join with them herein; and therefore while Lysimachus invaded Macedonia on the one side, Pyrrhus did the same on the other. This drew Demetrius out of Greece (where he was then attending his preparations for the Asian expedition) back into Macedonia for the defence of that country; but before he could arrive thither, Pyrrhus having taken Berœa, a great city in Macedonia, where many of Demetrius's soldiers had their families, friends, and effects, the news hereof no sooner got into the army, but it put all into disorder and mutiny, many declaring that they

would follow him no further, but return home to defend their friends, families, and fortunes, in their own country; whereon Demetrius, seeing his interest absolutely lost among them, fled in the disguise of a private soldier into Greece, and all his army revolted to Pyrrhus, and made him their king. Demetrius on his return into Greece, having there ordered his affairs in the best manner his present circumstances would admit, committed the care of all he had in those parts to Antigonus his son, and with all the remainder of his forces that could be spared from thence (which amounted to about eleven thousand men) went on board his fleet, and sailed into Asia, there in a desperate manner to seek his fortunes. On his arrival at Miletus, he took that city, and there married Ptolemais, the daughter of Ptolemy. She was brought to him thither by Eurydice her mother, the wife of Ptolemy, and sister of Phila, Demetrius' former wife, who died a little before of a dose of poison, which she desperately took on her husband's flight out of Macedonia, to avoid the calamity which she thought would follow that declension of his fortune. However, this did not hinder Ptolemy from marrying his daughter to him, and of this marriage was born Demetrius, who afterwards reigned in Cyrene.

Unsuccessful expedition of Demetrius into Asia. —From Miletus, Demetrius invaded Caria and Lydia, and having taken many cities from Lysimachus in those provinces, and there much augmented his forces with new recruits, at length made himself master of Sardis. But on the coming of Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, with an army against him, he was forced again to quit all that he had taken, and marched eastward. His intentions in taking this route were to pass into Armenia and Media, and seize those provinces. But Agathocles, having coasted him all the way in his march, reduced him to great distress for want of provision and forage, which brought a sickness into his army, that destroyed a great number of them, and, when he attempted to pass Mount Taurus with the remainder, he found all the passes over it seized by Agathocles: whereby being obstructed from proceeding any further that way, he marched backward to Tarsus in Cilicia, a town belonging to Seleucus, and from thence signifying to that prince the calamitous condition he was reduced to, earnestly prayed relief and assistance from

him for the subsisting of himself and the forces that followed him. Seleucus, being moved with this representation of his doleful case, at first took compassion on him, and ordered his lieutenants in those parts to furnish him and his forces with all things necessary. But afterwards being put in mind of the valour and enterprising genius of this prince, and of his great abilities in all the arts and stratagems of war, and his undaunted boldness for the attempting of any design he should have an opportunity for, he began to think that the setting up of such a man again might tend to the endangering of his own affairs, and therefore, instead of helping him any further, he resolved to lay hold of this opportunity absolutely to crush him, and accordingly marched against him with an army for this purpose of which Demetrius having received intelligence, he seized on those fastnesses of Mount Taurus where he could best defend himself, and from thence sent again to Seleucus, entreating him that he would permit him to pass into the East, that there, seizing some country of the barbarous nations, he might therein pass the remainder of his life in quiet and repose; or otherwise, if he liked not this, that he would at least allow him quarters for that winter, and not in the rigorous season of the year drive him out in a naked and starving condition into the very jaws of his enemies, to be devoured and destroyed by them. But Seleucus not at all liking his design of going into the East, this first part of his request served only to increase his jealousy, and therefore all that he would grant him was, to take winter-quarters in Cataonia (a province confining upon Cappadocia) for two months during the severity of the winter, and after that to be gone. And then he immediately put guards on all the passes of the mountains leading from Cilicia into Syria, to obstruct his coming that way. Demetrius finding himself hereby pent up and beset, that is, by Agathocles on the one side and by Seleucus on the other, was necessitated to betake himself to force for the extricating of himself, and therefore falling upon Seleucus's forces that guarded the passes of the mountains into Syria, he drove them thence, and entered through them into that country.

Death of Demetrius, 286.—But when he was ready to have proceeded further on some bold enterprise for the restoring of his affairs, he was taken with a dangerous sickness, which lasted forty days. In the interim most of

his men deserted; whereby finding himself, on his recovery, reduced to the utmost necessity, he resolved to make a desperate attempt upon Seleucus, by storming his camp in the night with that small handful of his forces that still remained with him. But his design being discovered by a deserter, and thereby disappointed just as he was ready to have put it in execution, and many more of his soldiers deserting from him hereon, he attempted to make a retreat back over the mountains, and if possible that way again reach his fleet. But finding all the passes there seized against him, he was forced to take shelter in the woods; but being there ready to be starved, he was brought at length to the necessity of surrendering himself into the hands of Seleucus, who having caused him, under a strong guard, to be carried to the Syrian Chersonesus near Laodicea, there kept him a prisoner till he died. He allowed him there the freedom of a park to hunt in, and all other accommodations both for the pleasures as well as the necessaries of life. Whereon giving himself wholly up to

---

eating, drinking, gaming, and laziness, he passed away the remainder of his life in those voluptuous and idle enjoyments, till at length, having fed up his body hereby to an excessive fatness, and filled it with gross and noxious humours, he fell into that sickness of which he died in this confinement, after he had passed in it three years, and had lived to the fifty-fourth year of his age.

Story of the incestuous marriage of Stratonice with Antiochus son of Seleucus Nicator. — All the time of his confinement Seleucus frequently sent him kind messages, with promises of a release from his captivity, assuring him, that as soon as Antiochus and Stratonice should be returned again to court, the articles of his restoration should be settled by them to his content. This Stratonice was the daughter of Demetrius, and had been first married to Seleucus (as hath been above related), but was then, by an unparalleled example, become the wife of Antiochus his son. The manner how it came to pass is thus related: Stratonice being a very beautiful lady, Antiochus fell in love with her; but not daring to own his passion, he silently languished under it, and at length, through the violence of it, fell desperately sick. Erasistratus, an eminent Greek physician, having the care

of him in his sickness, soon found out what the distemper was, but to discover who was the person that had kindled this flame in him was the difficulty; for the finding of this out, be carefully attended his patient when visited by any of the court ladies, and observing that whenever Stratonice came into his chamber, great alterations were made in his pulse, in his countenance, in his behaviour, and in everything else about him, which the passion of love could reach; and that nothing of this happened when any other lady came to make him a visit, he hereby fully discovered that Stratonice was the sole object of that violent love which caused his sickness; and finding that nothing else could cure him of it but the possession of the person beloved, for the bringing of this about he thus craftily managed the matter: The next time that Seleucus inquired of him about his son's sickness, he told him that his disease was love, and that he must necessarily die of it, because he could not have the person he loved, and he could not live without her. Seleucus being surprised at this account, asked why he could not have the person he loved; "because (said the physician) he is in love with my wife, and I cannot part with her." "How! not part with her (replied Seleucus), to save my beloved son's life; how then can you pretend to be my friend?"—"Sir (said the physician), pray make it your own case: would you, I pray, part with your wife Stratonice for the sake of Antiochus? And if you, who are his most tender father, will not do it for a most beloved son, how can you expect it from any other?" "Oh (replied Seleucus), would to God the safety of my son were put upon this issue, I would then gladly part with Stratonice, or anything else, to effect his recovery!" "Why then (said Erasistratus), you are the only physician that can cure him, for it is the love of Stratonice that hath cast him into this disease which he languisheth with, and nothing can restore him but the giving of her to him to wife." Hereon Seleucus having easily enough prevailed with Stratonice to accept of a young prince for her husband instead of an old king, she was given to him to

---

wife, after she had borne children to his father, and they being thereon crowned king and queen of Upper Asia, were sent thither to govern those provinces, and there they were all the time that Demetrius was in his

confinement in Syria. And from this abominable incestuous marriage (the like whereof was not heard of among the Gentiles in St. Paul's time) sprung all that race of Syrian kings who so grievously persecuted, vexed, and oppressed God's people in Judah and Jerusalem, as will be hereafter related.

Ptolemy Philadelphus raised to the throne during the lifetime of his father, 285.—Ptolemy Soter having reigned in Egypt twenty years from the time of his assuming the title of king, and thirty-nine from the death of Alexander, placed Ptolemy Philadelphus, one of the sons which he had by Berenice, on the throne, and made him king in copartnership with him. He had several sons by other wives, one of which was Ptolemy, surnamed Ceraunus, or the Thunderer, who being born to him by Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and the elder of the two, expected the crown after his father, as due to him before the other by virtue of his birthright. But Berenice, who came first into Egypt only as companion to Eurydice, when she first married Ptolemy, having also become his wife, and by reason of her beauty being exceedingly beloved by him, she gained hereby such an ascendant over him above all his other wives, that she carried it for her son. And therefore being now past eighty, and apprehending the day of his death not to be far off, he determined to put the crown upon his head while he yet lived, that so there might be no war nor contention about it after his death. Whereupon Ptolemy Ceraunus, not bearing this preference of his younger brother before him, fled first to Lysimachus, whose son Agathocles had married Lysandra his sister by the same mother, and after that on the death of Agathocles went to Seleucus, who received him with great kindness, which he repaid with the most villanous treachery, as will be hereafter related.

II. REIGN OF PTOLEMY II. PHILADELPHUS TO THE COMPLETION OF THE SEPTUAGINT, B. C. 284-277

Kings of Syria—Seleucus Nicator, 312,

Antiochus Soter, 279.

High priests of the Jews—Eleazar, 291.

Completion of the Tower of Pharos, 284.—In the first year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (which was the first year of the one hundred and twenty-fourth Olympiad) was finished the great tower or light-house in the island of Pharus over against Alexandria, commonly

---

called the tower of Pharus, which hath been reckoned among the seven wonders of the world. It was a large four-square pile of building, all built of white marble, and had always fires maintained on the top of it, for the direction of seamen. It cost in the building eight hundred talents. This, if computed by Attic talents, amounts to one hundred and sixty-five thousand pounds of our sterling money; but if by Alexandrian talents, it will come to twice as much. The architect who built it was Sostratus of Cnidus, who craftily endeavoured to usurp the honour of it with posterity to himself by this fraudulent device. The inscription ordered to be set on it being, "King Ptolemy, to the gods the saviours, for the benefit of those who pass by sea;' "instead of Ptolemy's name, he craftily engraved his own in the solid marble, and then, filling up the hollow of the engraved letters with mortar, wrote upon it what was directed. So the inscription, which was first read, was according as it was ordered, and truly ascribed the work to king Ptolemy, its proper founder; but in process of time, the mortar being worn off, the inscription then appeared to be thus: "Sostratus, the Cnidian, son of Dexiphanes, to the gods the saviours, for the benefit of those who pass by sea;" which, being in lasting letters deeply engraved into the marble stones, lasted as long as the tower itself. This tower hath been demolished for some ages past. There is now in its place a castle called Farillon, where a garrison is kept to defend the harbour; perchance it is some remainder of the old work. Pharus was at first wholly an island, at the distance of seven furlongs from the continent, and had no other passage to it but by sea. But it hath many ages since been turned from an island into a peninsula, by being joined to the land in the same manner as Tyrus was, by a bank carried through the sea to it, which was anciently called in Greek the Heptastadium,

i. e. the seven-furlong bank, because seven furlongs was the length of it. This work was performed by Dexiphanes, the father of Sostratus, about the same time that Sostratus finished the tower, and seems to have been the more difficult undertaking of the two. They

---

being both very famous architects, were both employed by Ptolemy Soter in the works which he had projected for the beautifying, adorning, and strengthening the city of Alexandria: the father having undertaken the Heptastadium at the same time that his son did the tower, they finished both these works at the same time, that is, in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Those who attribute the making of the Heptastadium to Cleopatra follow Ammian Marcellinus, whose relation concerning it cannot be true; for it contradicts Cæsar's Commentaries, and many other authors, that are better to be credited in this matter.

Death and character of Ptolemy Soter. —Towards the end of this year died Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, in the second year after his admitting of his son to sit on his throne with him, being, at the time of his death, eighty-four years old. He was the wisest and best of his race, and left an example of prudence, justice, and clemency behind him, which none of his successors cared to follow. During the forty years in which he governed Egypt, from the death of Alexander, he had brought that country into a very flourishing condition, which administering great plenty to his successors, this administered to as great luxury in them, in which they exceeded most that lived in their time.

Image of Serapis brought from Pontus to Alexandria.—A little before his death, this very same year, was brought out of Pontus to Alexandria the image of Serapis, after three years' sedulous endeavour made for the obtaining of it: concerning which we are told, that while Ptolemy, the first of that name that reigned in Egypt, was busying himself in fortifying Alexandria with its walls, and adorning it with temples and other public buildings, there appeared to him in a vision of the night a young man of great beauty, and more than a human shape, and commanded him to send to Pontus, and fetch from thence his image to Alexandria, promising him that

his doing this should make that city famous and happy, and bring great prosperity to his whole kingdom: and then, on his saying this, ascended up into heaven, in a bright flame of fire, out of his sight. Ptolemy, being much troubled hereat, called together the Egyptian priests to advise with them about it but they, being wholly ignorant of Pontus and all other foreign countries, could give him no answer concerning this matter: whereon, consulting one Timotheus an Athenian, then at Alexandria, he learned from him, that in Pontus there was a city called Sinope, not far from which was a temple of Jupiter, which had his image in it, with another image of a woman standing nigh him, that was taken to be Proserpina. But after a while, other matters putting this out of Ptolemy's head, so that he thought no more of it, the vision appeared to him again in a more terrible manner, and threatened destruction to him and his kingdom if his commands were not obeyed; with which Ptolemy being much terrified, immediately sent away ambassadors to the king of Sinope to obtain the image. They being ordered in the way to consult Apollo at Delphos, were commanded by him to bring away the image of his father, but to leave that of his sister. Whereon they proceeded to

---

Sinope, there to execute their commission in the manner as directed by the oracle. But neither they, with all their solicitations, gifts, and presents, nor other ambassadors that were sent after them with greater gifts, could obtain what they were sent thither for, till this last year. But then the people of Sinope, being grievously oppressed by a famine, were content, on Ptolemy's relieving them with a fleet of corn, to part with their god for it, which they could not be induced to do before. And so the image was brought to Alexandria, and there set up in one of the suburbs of that city called Rhacotis, where it was worshipped by the name of Serapis; and this new god had in that place a while after a very famous temple erected to him, called the Serapæum: and this was the first time that this deity was either worshipped or known in Egypt; and therefore it could not be the patriarch Joseph that was worshipped by this name, as some would have it.

Origin and character of the worship of Serapis. —For had it been Joseph that was meant under the name of Serapis, this piece of idolatry

must have been much ancienter among them, and must also have had its original in Egypt itself, and not been introduced thither from a foreign country. Some of the ancients indeed had this conceit, as Julius Firmicus, Ruffinus, and others; but all the reason they give for it is, that Serapis was usually represented by an image with a bushel on its head, which they think denoted the bushel wherewith Joseph measured out to the Egyptians his corn in the time of the famine; whereas it might as well denote the bushel with which Ptolemy measured out to the people of Sinope the corn with which he purchased this god of them. However, this same opinion is embraced by several learned men of the moderns, and for the support of it against what is objected from the late reception of Serapis among the Egyptian deities, they will have Serapis to have been an ancient Egyptian god, and the same with their Apis, and that Serapis was no other than Apis ἐν σόρῳ, that is, Apis in his coffin, and for this they quote some of the ancients. Their meaning is, that while the sacred bull, which the Egyptians worshipped for their great god, was alive, he was called Apis, and that, when he was dead and salted up in his coffin, and buried, he was called Serapis, that is, Apis in soro (i. e. in his coffin); from whence they say his name was at first Soroapis, made up of the composition of these two words, Soros and Apis put together, and that by corruption from thence it came to be Serapis. But what is there that, after this rate, learned men may not tenter anything to? But the worst of it is, the ancient Egyptians did not speak Greek. The Ptolemies first brought that language among them; and, therefore, had Serapis been an ancient god worshipped in that country before the Ptolemies reigned there, his name could not have had a Greek etymology. Much more might be said to show the vanity of this conceit, were it worth the reader's while to be troubled with it. It is certain Serapis was not originally an Egyptian deity anciently worshipped in that country (as he must have been, had it been Joseph that was there worshipped under that name), but was an adventitious god, brought thither from abroad about the time which we now treat of. The ancient

---

place of his station, Polybius tells us, was on the coast of the Propontis, on the Thracian side, over against Hierus, and that there Jason, when he went on the Argonautic expedition, sacrificed unto him. From thence, therefore,

the people of Sinope had this piece of idolatry, and from them the Egyptians, in the manner as I have related; and till then this deity was wholly unknown among them. Had it been otherwise, Herodotus, who is so large in his account of the Egyptian gods, could not have escaped taking notice of him; but he makes not the least mention of him as worshipped in that country, neither doth any other author that wrote before the times that the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt. And when his image was first set up in Alexandria, Nicocreon, then king of Cyprus, as having never heard of him before, sent to know what god he was, which he would not have done had he been a deity anciently worshipped by the Egyptians. For then Nicocreon, who was a very learned prince, must necessarily before that time have had full knowledge of him. And Origen, who was an Egyptian, speaks of him as a god not long before received in that country. And it is to be observed, that as he was a new god, so he brought in with him among the Egyptians a new way of worship. For, till the time of the Ptolemies, the Egyptians never offered any bloody sacrifices to their gods, but worshipped them only with their prayers and frankincense. But the tyranny of the Ptolemies having forced upon them the worship of two foreign gods, that is, Saturn and Serapis, they in this worship first brought in the use of bloody sacrifices among that people. However, they continued always so averse hereto, that they would never suffer any temple to be built to either of those gods within any of the walls of their cities; but, wherever they were in that country, they were always built without them in their suburbs. And they seem only to have been the Egyptians of the Greek original who conformed hereto, and not those of the old race. For they still retained their old usage in all their old temples, and could never be induced to offer the blood of beasts in any of them, for this was always an abomination unto them from the beginning. And therefore, when the children of Israel desired leave of Pharaoh to go three days' journey into the wilderness, to offer sacrifice unto the Lord, they gave this for

---

the reason of it, that their religion obliging them to offer to their god the bloody sacrifices of sheep and oxen, and other living creatures, they durst not do this in the sight of the Egyptians, lest they should stone them,

because such sort of sacrifices were an abomination to that people; and therefore they desired that they might go to the distance of three days' journey from them to perform this part of their worship unto their God, that being thus far out of their sight and observation, they might give them no offence, nor provoke them by it to any mischief against them.

Foundation of the college and library at Alexandria. —In that place, in the suburb Rhacotis, where the image of Serapis, which Ptolemy brought from Sinope, was set up, was afterwards built a very famous temple to that idol, called the Serapæum, which Ammianus Marcellinus tells us did, in the magnificence and ornaments of its buildings, exceed all other edifices in the world, next that of the Capitol at Rome. Within the verge of this temple there was also a library, which was of great fame in after-ages, both for the number and value of the books it was replenished with. Ptolemy Soter being a learned prince, as appeared by the history of the life of Alexander written by him (which was of great repute among the ancients, though now not extant), out of the affection he had for learning, founded at Alexandria a museum or college of learned men for the improving of philosophy, and all other knowledge, like that of the Royal Society at London, and the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. And for this use he got together a library of books, which, being augmented by his successors, grew afterwards to a very great bulk. Ptolemy Philadelphus, the son of Soter, left in it at the time of his death a hundred thousand volumes. Those that reigned after him of that race still added more to them, till at length they amounted to the number of seven hundred

---

thousand volumes. Their method in the collecting of them was thus: They seized all the books that were by any Greek or other foreigner brought into Egypt, and, sending them to the museum, caused them there to be written out by those of that society whom they there maintained, and then sent the transcripts to the owners, and kept the originals to lay up in the library. And particularly it is said of Ptolemy Euergetes, that having thus borrowed of the Athenians the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Æschylus, he sent them back the copies which he had caused very fairly to be transcribed, and retained the originals for his library, giving them fifteen talents over and

above for the same. The museum being placed in the region of the city called Bruchium, near the king's palace, there the library was at first placed also, and had great resort made to it: but afterwards, when it was filled with books to the number of four hundred thousand volumes, the other library within the Serapæum was erected by way of supplement to it, and it was therefore called the daughter of the former; and that grew up to have three hundred thousand volumes placed in it: and these two put together made up the number of seven hundred thousand volumes in the whole, of which the royal libraries of the Ptolemean kings at Alexandria were said to consist. When Julius Cæsar waged war against the Alexandrians, it happened that the library in Bruchium was burned and the four hundred thousand volumes that were laid up in it were all consumed. But that in the Serapæum still remained, and there we may suppose it was that Cleopatra laid up the two hundred thousand volumes of the library of Pergamus which Antony gave unto her; with which, and other books there reposited, the latter Alexandrian library, being much augmented, soon grew up to be larger and of more eminent note than the former. And although it had sometimes been rifled on the commotions and revolutions that happened in the Roman empire (as Orosius particularly complains it had been in his time), yet it was as often repaired and replenished again with its full number of books, and continued for many ages to be of great fame and use in those parts, till at length it underwent the same fate with the other, and was also burned and finally destroyed by the Saracens, on their making themselves masters of that city. This happened in A. D. 642, in the manner as followeth: Johannes Grammaticus, the famous Aristotelian philosopher, being then living at Alexandria when the city was taken, and having much ingratiated himself with Amrus Ebnol As, the general of the Saracen army, and by reason of his great learning made himself acceptable unto him, he begged of him the royal library of Alexandria:

---

to this Amrus replied, that this was not in his power, but was wholly in the disposal of the caliph or emperor of the Saracens; but he promised that he would send to him his request; and accordingly he wrote to Omar, the then caliph, about it. His answer hereto was, That if those books contained what

was agreeing with the Alcoran, there was no need of them, for the Alcoran alone was sufficient of itself for all truth; but if they contained what was disagreeing with the Alcoran, they were not to be endured; and therefore he ordered that whatsoever the contents of them were, they should all be destroyed; whereon, being distributed among the public baths, they served as fuel for six months' time to heat all the baths of Alexandria, which shows how great the number of them was. And in this manner was that inestimable treasure of learning wholly destroyed. According to Tertullian and St. Chrysostom, the Alexandrian library, in which the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, called the Septuagint, was laid up, was that in the Serapæum; but according to Epiphanius, it was that in the Bruchium, and they were only the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion that were reposited in the Serapæum. The museum which stood in Bruchium still lasted, after the library adjoining to it had been consumed, till at length that whole quarter of the city was destroyed in a war which they had with Aurelian the Roman emperor. For Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, that till then it had been for a long time the habitation of excellent men, meaning the society of those learned men who had been there maintained for the advancement of human knowledge. Strabo, in the description of this museum, tells us, that it was a large building adjoining to the palace, and standing near the port; that it was surrounded with a portico or piazza, wherein the philosophers walked and conversed together; that the members of the society, which were there admitted, were under the government of a president, whose office was of that consideration and dignity that, during the reign of the Ptolemies, he was always appointed by those kings, and afterwards by the Roman emperors; and that they had within this building a common hall, where they did eat together, being there plentifully provided for, at the public charge. For this museum, from its first erection, had been endowed with large revenues for this purpose; and therefore Timon the Phliasian, who was contemporary with Ptolemy the first founder of it, called it **τάλαρον**, because there the philosophers were maintained with plenty of food, like birds, as he said, fatted in a coop; for that word in Greek signified a vessel used to put victuals into. However, to this museum it was owing that Alexandria for a great many ages together was the greatest school of learning in all those parts of the world, and a great many men of very excellent literature were bred in it, and particularly the Christian

church received out of it some of the eminentest of its doctors, as Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Anatolius, Athanasius, and others, for all these had their education in that city.

Demetrius Phalereus, the first governor of the Alexandrian Library and Museum.—Demetrius the Phalerean seems to have been the first president of this museum. For the library being a part of that college, and instituted chiefly for the use of it, it is most likely that he that had

---

the government of the college had the government of the library also, and that they always went thus both together. And therefore, since, according to Aristeas, Demetrius had the latter, it is very obvious to infer that he had the former also. But if, where Aristeas saith this, he be understood as if he meant thereby that Demetrius was made the king's library-keeper, to look after and take care of the books, they who argue from hence against the authority of that author, argue right; for that was too mean an office for so great a man: for he had been prince of Athens, and governed that state with absolute authority ten years together, and was a great lawgiver, and a great philosopher, and in these respects was reputed one of the eminentest men of the time in which he lived. The emperor Antoninus ranks him with the greatest princes of that age, even with Philip and Alexander the Great. And therefore to tend the king's library as his library-keeper, and there look after and take care of the books in it, was an office below the eminency and dignity of such a person. Besides, we find another in it, Zenodotus of Ephesus. For he, it is said, was library-keeper to Ptolemy Soter, and also to Philadelphus his son, and, being by profession a grammarian, he was the most proper for this work, such being usually employed in the keeping and looking after libraries. However, it might not be below Demetrius, when received by Ptolemy among his friends and counsellors, to assist him in what he did so much set his heart upon, that is, the setting up of his museum, and the library belonging to it. Demetrius being a great philosopher, and as eminent for his learning as he was for his dignity and other great qualifications, it is most likely it was he that did first put Ptolemy upon both these projects; and who then could be more proper to assist him in the carrying on of both, by taking upon him the

superintendency and direction of the whole matter? That he first directed Ptolemy Soter to get together a collection of books relating to policy and government, is well attested; for Plutarch tells us so: his words are these: “Demetrius Phalereus persuaded king Ptolemy to get together books which treated of the government of kingdoms and states, and read them: for in those he would find such good advice as none of his friends would dare to give him.” And when the king, upon his having this good counsel given him, and approving thereof, was upon the pursuit of getting all such books together, it is easy to suppose, this might lead him further to the collection of all other sorts of books for the making of the library mentioned: and it was not below the dignity of any of his counsellors to be assisting to him herein and to be one of his prime counsellors was the highest station that Demetrius could be in about him; and in this station we are told he was. And this we acknowledge must have put him above the mechanical employment and servile attendance of keeping and looking after a library, but not above that of having the superintendency and chief direction over it. For we find at Rome one of the prime cardinals always in this office, as to the pope’s library. And lately in France, the archbishop of Rheims, who is by his place primate of the Gallican church, and first peer of the whole realm, thought it an honour to be in the same office, as to the king’s library. That, therefore, which we may suppose in this case, and which I think was

---

the truth of the matter, is, that Demetrius being a great scholar, as well as a great statesman and politician, did, on his coming to Ptolemy, put him upon the founding of the museum at Alexandria, for the advancement of learning, and the erecting of his great library there for the use of it, and that on his prevailing with the king to hearken to these two projects of his proposal, he undertook the charge of carrying on both of them under him.

Death of Demetrius Phalereus. —How this great man came to Ptolemy hath been above related in the former part of this history. After he had been driven out of Athens by the prevailing power of Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, he retired to Cassander his friend, and lived under his protection till his death; but after that, fearing the brutal ferity of Antipater his son, who had murdered his own mother, he withdrew into Egypt, where he was

received with great favour and honour by king Ptolemy Soter, and became his chief counsellor, whom he advised with above all others concerning his most important affairs, as especially he did in the matter of settling the succession of his crown. For he had sons by two wives, who were then both alive; Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and Berenice, an inferior Macedonian lady, who came into Egypt in the retinue of Eurydice, but having gotten to be his wife also, and by reason of her beauty gained the first place in his affection, and the greatest ascendant over him, she prevailed with him to disinherit the sons of Eurydice, who were the first-born, and place the crown on the head of Philadelphus her son, as hath been already said. Demetrius, on Ptolemy's proposing this to him for his advice, earnestly dissuaded him from it, being moved hereto, not only by what he thought was in justice due to the children of Eurydice, by reason of their birthright, but also by the affection which he bore to them, for the sake of Cassander, his deceased friend, whose sister Eurydice was. This exceedingly provoked Berenice, and her son Ptolemy Philadelphus, against him; and therefore, when he came to be king, although he expressed not his displeasure against him as long as his father lived, yet he was no sooner dead but he let loose all his wrath against him, for the ill offices he knew he had endeavoured to do him in respect of the succession. And therefore, having ordered him to be taken into custody, he sent him under a strong guard to a remote fortress of his kingdom, there to be kept in prison till he should determine what further to do with him. But in the interim being bitten by an asp, while he slept in his prison, he there died of it: and so ended the life of this great man. But this did not put an end to those laudable designs which he had put Ptolemy Soter upon, either as to the museum or the library. For king Ptolemy Philadelphus carried on both of them, especially that of the library, which he very much augmented. And his successors after him continued to do the same, till it at length grew up to the bulk I have mentioned.

War between Lysimachus and Seleucus, 283, 282.—After the death of Ptolemy, two of Alexander's captains still survived, Lysimachus and Seleucus. But they in their old age (being each of them about

eighty) making war upon each other, opened thereby a way to both their destructions. The occasion of it was thus: after Lysimachus had married his son Agathocles to Lysandra, one of Ptolemy's daughters, he took another of them, called Arsinoe, to wife himself, and had several children by her. Hereon great emulation happened between the two sisters, each striving to secure the best interest they could for themselves and families, against the death of Lysimachus, whenever that should happen; and they being sisters by different mothers (for Lysandra was born of Eurydice, and Arsinoe of Berenice), this conduced to heighten the contention that was between them. On the coming of Ptolemy Ceraunus to the court of Lysimachus, who was brother to Lysandra by both parents, Arsinoe feared his conjunction with Agathocles and Lysandra might make them too strong for her, and enable them to destroy hers and her children's interest on the death of Lysimachus, and therefore, to prevent this, she plotted the death of Agathocles, and effected it. For having infused jealousies into the head of the old king her husband, as if Agathocles were laying plots against his life and crown, she induced him by these false accusations to cast him into prison, and there put him to death. Hereon Lysandra with her children, and Ptolemy Ceraunus her brother, fled to Seleucus, and excited him to make war against Lysimachus, and many of Lysimachus's captains and chief followers did the same. For revolting from him out of the abhorrence they had of him for the death of his son, and other cruelties which he had committed upon it, they went over to Seleucus, and joined with Lysandra for the persuading of Seleucus to this war; and they the easier prevailed herein, because on other accounts he was then of himself inclined to it. And therefore, in B. C. 282, Seleucus, having prepared a great army, marched with it out of the East into Lesser Asia, and having there brought all under him that belonged to Lysimachus, as far as Sardis, he laid siege to that city, and having taken it, made himself master of all the treasure of Lysimachus that was laid up in that place.

Defeat and death of Lysimachus, 281.—Lysimachus, on his having an account of this invasion, made ready an army to repel it, and passing over the Hellespont, came to a battle with Seleucus at a place called Corupedion in Phrygia, in which he was vanquished and slain: whereby Seleucus became master of all his dominions. But that which most pleased him was, that he was now the survivor of all Alexander's captains, and had made

himself by this victory the conqueror of the conquerors, and in this he much vaunted himself; and upon this account he may seem to have acquired the best title to the name of Nicator (i. e. the conqueror), though he had assumed it before, and is commonly called so by historians, to distinguish him from others of the same name who afterwards reigned in Syria.

Seleucus Nicator treacherously slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus, 280.—But this triumph of Seleucus did not last long, for within seven months after, as he was marching into Macedonia to take possession of that

---

kingdom, where he purposed to pass the remainder of his life, he was in the march treacherously slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus, whom he had received with great kindness into his court on his flight thither, and there maintained him in a princely manner, and carried him with him in this expedition, with purpose, on having finished it with success, to have employed his forces for the restoring of him to his father's kingdom. But this wicked traitor, having no sense of gratitude for these favours, conspired against his benefactor, and basely murdered him. The manner of it is thus told. Seleucus having passed the Hellespont in his way to Macedonia, as he marched on from thence towards Lysimachia (a city which Lysimachus had built near the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus), he stopped at a place where he observed an old altar had been erected, and being told that it was called Argos, this made him very inquisitive about it. For he had been warned, it seems, by an oracle, to have a care of Argos, which he understood of the city of Argos in Peloponnesus. But while he was asking several questions about it, and how it came to be called by that name, the traitor came behind him, and thrust him through, and then getting the army to declare for him, seized the kingdom of Macedon. Those who were the soldiers and friends of Lysimachus, looking on him as a revenger of his death, on this account at first had a kind liking unto him, and stuck by him; but he soon gave reason to make them otherwise affected to him. For his sister Arsinoe with her children still surviving, he thought himself not safe in the possession of Lysimachus's dominions, as long as any of his children remained alive; and therefore pretending to take Arsinoe to be his wife, and to adopt her two sons which she had by Lysimachus, and having by this means gotten them

into his power, he murdered them both on the very feast of the nuptials; and after that, having stripped Arsinoe of all that she had, he sent her to Samothracia, into banishment, with two maids only to wait upon her. But Providence did not suffer all those wickednesses to go long unpunished.

Ceraunus slain by an irruption of the Gauls, under Belgius, into Macedonia, 279.—For the next year after, Ptolemy waging war against the Gauls, who had invaded Macedonia, he was taken prisoner in the battle, and afterwards, on being known, was torn by them in pieces, which was a death he sufficiently deserved. For what is above related of him fully shows him to have been a man of a most perfidious and wicked temper of mind; and the knowledge which his father had of this, no doubt, was that which most prevailed with him to exclude him from the succession of his crown, and settle it on his younger brother. After his death, Arsinoe retired into Egypt to Ptolemy Philadelphus her brother, who falling in love with her, after he had divorced another Arsinoe, the daughter of Lysimachus, whom he had married immediately on his first accession to the throne, took this sister of his to be his wife, according to the corrupt usage of the Persians and Egyptians, who from the time of Cambyses had these incestuous marriages in practice among them; and we have frequent instances of

---

it among the Ptolemæan kings, as well as among those that succeeded Cyrus in the kingdom of Persia. How Cambyses first gave the ill example for it hath been afore related in the former part of this history. The reason why Ptolemy divorced Arsinoe his first wife was, he had convicted her of being in a plot against his life. For on the coming of Arsinoe the sister to him, Arsinoe the wife finding that he was fallen in love with her, and that she was thereon neglected, out of a furious jealousy and passion of revenge together, she entered into a conspiracy with Chrysippus her physician, and others, to cut him off. But the treason being discovered, she was thereon sent into Upper Egypt as far as the confines of Ethiopia, there to end her days in banishment, after she had brought him two sons and a daughter, the eldest of which was that Ptolemy who, by the name Euergetes, succeeded him in the throne. And after this removal of her was it that Ptolemy took the other Arsinoe, his sister, to be his wife in her stead. And although she was

now past child-bearing, yet she had such charms to engage his affections, that he never took any other wife as long as he lived, and when she died did not long survive her. In the epistle which, according to Aristeas, Eleazar the high priest of the Jews wrote to him, she is named as his queen and his sister.

Antiochus Soter succeeds Seleucus Nicator in the Syrian empire.—On the death of Seleucus, Antiochus, surnamed Soter, his son by Apama, the daughter of Artabazus a Persian lady, succeeded him in the empire of Asia, and reigned over it nineteen years. As soon as he had heard of his father's death, and secured himself of his dominions in the East where he then was, he sent Patrocles, one of his generals, with an army over Mount Taurus into Lesser Asia, to take care of his affairs in those parts. On his first arrival he marched against the Heracleans, a colony of the Greeks lying on the Euxine Sea, in the country of Pontus, and then a potent state. But matters between them being made up by a treaty, he turned all his force against the Bithynians, and invaded that country; but being drawn into a snare by a stratagem of the enemy's, he and his whole army were there all cut off to a man. Zipætes was then king of Bithynia, an aged prince that had reigned there forty-eight years, and was then seventy-six years old, who being overborne with the joy of this victory, soon after died, leaving behind him four sons, the eldest of which was Nicomedes, who, succeeding him in the kingdom, to secure himself the better in it, forthwith caused two of his brothers to be cut off; but the youngest, called also Zipætes from his father's name, escaping his power, seized on some parts of his father's dominions, and there maintained a long war with his brother. From this Nicomedes were descended the Bithynian kings, of whom we find so frequent mention in the Roman histories. At the same time that he had war with his brother, being threatened with another from Antiochus, who was preparing a great army to be revenged of him for the death of Patrocles and the loss of his army with him, he called in the Gauls to his assistance, and on this occasion was it that the Gauls first passed into Lesser Asia. The whole history of this expedition of those barbarous people into those parts is thus related.

---

30. JUDÆA AN EGYPTIAN PROVINCE.

Gauls, under Belgius, vanquished and expelled from Macedonia by Sosthenes. In the beginning of this year, it being, as Polybius tell us, the next year after Pyrrhus' first passing into Italy, the Gauls being overstocked at home, sent out a vast number of their people to seek for new habitations. These dividing themselves into three companies, took three several ways. The first company, under the command of Brennus and Acichorius, marched into Pannonia, the country now called Hungary. The second, under the command of Cerethrius, went into Thrace; and the third, under the command of Belgius, invaded Illyrium and Macedonia; and by these last was it that Ptolemy Ceraunus was slain. But after this victory, they having dispersed themselves to plunder the country, Sosthenes, a Macedonian, getting forces together, took the advantage of this disorder to fall upon them; and having cut off great numbers of them, forced the rest to retreat out of the country; whereon Brennus and his company came into Macedonia in their stead. This Brennus (being of the same name with him that some ages before sacked Rome) was the chief author of this expedition, and therefore was one of the prime leaders in it. On his hearing of the first success of Belgius, and the great prey which he had got by it, he envied him the plunder of so rich a country, and therefore resolved to hasten thither, to take a part in it; which resolution, after his hearing of the defeat of Belgius, he was much more eagerly excited to, out of a desire of being revenged for it. What became of Belgius and his companions is not said, there being after this no more mention made of either. It is most likely he was slain in the overthrow given him by Sosthenes, and that his company after that joined themselves to those that followed Brennus. But however this matter was, Brennus and Acichorius, leaving Pannonia, marched with one hundred and fifty thousand foot, and one thousand five hundred horse, into Illyrium, in order to pass from thence into Macedonia and Greece. But there a sedition happening in the army, twenty thousand of their men deserted from them, and under the command of Leonorius and Lutarius, two prime leaders in this expedition, marched into Thrace, and there joining those whom Cerethius had led there before, seized on Byzantium and the western coasts of the Propontis, and there made all the adjacent parts tributary to them.

Second irruption of Gauls under Brennus and Acichorius: its unsuccessful termination, 278. However, Brennus and Acichorius were

not discouraged by this desertion from proceeding in their intended expedition, but having by new recruits raised among the Illyrians, as well as by others sent them from Gallia, made up their army to the number of one hundred and fifty-two thousand foot, and sixty-one thousand two hundred horse, marched directly with them into Macedonia, and having there overborne Sosthenes with their great numbers, and ravaged the whole country, passed on to the Straits of Thermopylæ, to enter through them into Greece. But on their coming thither, they were stopped for some time by the forces which they found the Grecians had posted there for the guard and defence of that pass, till they were shown

---

the same way over the mountains by which the forces of Xerxes had passed before; whereon the guards retiring to avoid being surrounded, Brennus marched on with the gross of the army towards Delphos, to plunder the temple in that city of the vast riches which were there laid up, ordering Acichorius to follow after with the remainder. But there he met with a wonderful defeat. For on his approaching the place, there happened a terrible storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which destroyed great numbers of his men, and at the same time there was as terrible an earthquake, which, rending the mountains in pieces, threw down whole rocks upon them, which overwhelmed them by hundreds at a time; by which the whole army being dismayed, they were the following night seized with such a panic fear, that every man supposing him that was next to him to be a Grecian enemy, they fell upon each other, so that before there was daylight enough to make them see the mistake, one-half of the army had destroyed the other. By all this the Greeks, who were now come together from all parts to defend their temple, being much animated, fell furiously on them; and, although now Acichorius was come up with Brennus, yet both their forces together could not stand the assault, but great numbers of them were slain, and great numbers were wounded; and among these last was Brennus himself, who had received several wounds, and although none of them were mortal, yet seeing all now lost, and the whole expedition which he had been the author of thus ending in a dismal ruin, he was so confounded at the miscarriage, that he resolved not to outlive it; and therefore calling to him as many of the chief leaders as could be got

together amidst that calamitous hurry, he advised them to slay all the wounded, and with the remainder make as good a retreat backward as they could; and then having guzzled down as much wine as he could drink, he ran himself through and died. After his death, Acichorius, taking on him the chief command, made as good a retreat as he could towards Thermopylæ, in order to repass those straits, and carry back what remained of this broken army into their own country; but being to make a long march thither all the way through enemies' countries, they were, as they passed, so distressed for want of provisions, which they were everywhere to fight for, so incommoded at night by lodging mostly upon the ground in a winter season, and in such manner harassed and fallen upon wherever they came by the people of those countries through which they passed, that what with famine, cold, and sickness, and what with the sword of their enemies, they were all cut off and destroyed; so that of the numerous company which did first set out on this expedition, not as much as one man escaped the calamitous fate of miserably perishing in it. Thus was God pleased in a very extraordinary manner to execute his vengeance upon those sacrilegious wretches, for the sake of religion in general, how false and idolatrous soever that particular religion was, for which that temple at Delphos was erected. For to believe a religion true, and offer sacrilegious violence to the places consecrated to the devotions of that religion, is absolute impiety, and a sin against all religion; and there are many instances of very signal judgments with which God hath punished it, even among the worst of heathens and infidels; much more may they expect it, who, having the truth of God established among them, shall become guilty thereof.

Remnant of the Gauls pass into Asia Minor and settle in Galatia, 277.—In the interim, Leonorius and Lutarius, parting from the other Gauls, who had settled themselves on the Propontis, marched down to the Hellespont, and seizing on Lysimachia, made themselves masters of all the Thracian Chersonesus; but there another sedition arising among them, the two commanders parted their forces and separated from each other; Lutarius continuing on the Hellespont, and Leonorius with the greater number returning again to Byzantium from whence he came. But afterwards

[in B. C. 277], Leonorius passing the Bosphorus, and Lutarius the Hellespont, into Asia, they both there again united their forces by a new confederacy, and jointly entered into the service of Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who having, by their assistance, the year following conquered Zipætes his brother, and fixed himself thereby in the thorough possession of all his father's dominions, he assigned them that part of Lesser Asia to dwell in, which from them was afterwards called by some Gallo-Græcia, and by others Galatia; which last name afterwards obtaining above the other, those people, instead of Gauls, were there called Galatians, and from them were descended those Galatians to whom St. Paul wrote one of his canonical epistles. The rest of those Gauls that remained in Thrace afterwards making war upon Antigonus Gonatas, who, on the death of Sosthenes, reigned in Macedonia, they were almost all cut off and destroyed by him. The few that escaped either passed into Asia, and there joined themselves to their countrymen in Galatia, or else scattered themselves in other parts, where they were no more heard of. And thus ended this terrible inundation of those barbarous people, which threatened Macedonia, and all Greece, with no less than an absolute destruction.

III. GREEK TRANSLATIONS OF THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES, B. C. 277.

Kings of Syria—Antiochus Soter, 279.

High priests of the Jews—Eleazar, 291.

Year of the execution of the Septuagint, according to Archbishop Usher.—Within the compass of this year [B. C. 277] Archbishop Usher placeth the making of that Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures which we call the Septuagint. And here all else must place it who with him believe that history to be genuine which is written of it under the name of Aristeas, and will hold what is consistent with it herein: for according to that author they cannot place it later, because then it would not fall within the time of Eleazar, who is therein said to have been the high priest of the Jews that sent the seventy-two elders to Alexandria to make this translation, for he died about the beginning of the next year after: and they cannot place it sooner, because then it would be before Ptolemy Philadelphus married

Arsinoe his sister, whom Eleazar in his epistle, which that author makes him to have written to this prince, calls his queen and his sister.

Historical review of the different accounts of the Septuagint translation.—Without entering into long critical discourses concerning this translation, I shall first historically relate the different accounts which are given of it, and then, as briefly as I can, lay down that which appears to me to be the truth of this whole matter.

Statement of Aristeas, a supposed officer of Ptolemy Philadelphus, that the Septuagint was executed by seventy-two interpreters.—The ancientest account we have hereof is from a book still extant, under the name of Aristeas, which is professedly written to give us the whole history of it. He is said therein to have been a prime officer in the guards of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, at the time when this affair was transacted. What we are told of it by him is as followeth:—Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, being intent on making a great library at Alexandria, and being desirous of getting all manner of books into it, committed the care of this matter to Demetrius Phalereus, a noble Athenian, then living in his court, directing him to procure from all nations whatsoever books were of note among them. Demetrius, in the search he made pursuant to these orders, being informed of the book of the law of Moses among the Jews, acquainted the king hereof, whereon he signified his pleasure, that the book should be sent for from Jerusalem, with interpreters from the same place to render it into Greek; and ordered him to lay before him in writing what was proper to be done herein, that accordingly he might send to the high priest about it. Aristeas, the pretended author of this history of the seventy-two interpreters, Sosibius of Tarentum, and Andreas, three nobles of king Ptolemy's court, having great favour for the Jews, took this opportunity to move the king in the behalf of those of that nation who had been taken captive by king Ptolemy Soter in those invasions made by him upon Judæa, which are above mentioned, and were then in bondage in Egypt, telling him, that it would be in vain to expect from the Jews either a true copy of their law, or a faithful translation of it, as long as he kept so many of their countrymen in slavery; and therefore

they proposed to him first to release all those Jews, before he should send to Jerusalem about this matter. Hereon the king asked, what the number of those captive Jews might be? Andreas answered, that they might be somewhat above one hundred thousand. "And do you then think (said the king) that this is a small matter which Aristeas asketh?" To this Sosibius replied, that the greater it was, the more it would become so great a king to do it. Whereon king Ptolemy, complying with the proposal, published a decree for the release of all the Jewish captives in Egypt, and ordered twenty drachms a head to be paid out of his treasury to those that had them in servitude for the price of their redemption; and this was computed to amount to four hundred talents, which shows the number of the redeemed to have been one hundred and twenty thousand; for four hundred talents, at twenty drachms a head, would redeem just so many. But afterwards the king having ordered the children that were born to those Jews while in their servitude, and the mothers that bore them, to be also redeemed, this made the whole expense to amount to six hundred and sixty talents; which proves the whole number of the redeemed, that is, men, women, and children, to have amounted to one hundred and ninety-eight thousand: for so many six hundred and sixty talents, at the price of twenty drachms a head, would have redeemed. When this was done, Demetrius, according as he was ordered, laid before the king, in a memorial, the whole method which he thought was proper to be followed for the obtaining from the Jews the book of the law of Moses, which he desired. What he proposed in this memorial was, that a letter

---

should be written to Eleazar, the high priest of the Jews at Jerusalem, to send from thence a true copy of the Hebrew original, and with it six out of each of the twelve tribes of Israel, to translate it into the Greek language. And, according to this proposal, a letter was written in the king's name to Eleazar the high priest to send the book, and with it, for the rendering of it into Greek, six elders out of every tribe, which he should judge best able to perform the work. And Aristeas, the pretended author of this history, and Andreas above mentioned, were sent with this letter to Jerusalem; who carried with them also from the king several gifts for the temple, in money,

for sacrifices there to be offered, and other uses of the sanctuary, one hundred talents; in utensils of silver seventy talents, and in utensils of gold fifty talents, and precious stones in the adornments of the said utensils, of five times the value of the gold. On their coming to Jerusalem, they were received with great respect by the high priest and all the people of the Jews, and had all readily granted them which they went thither for. And therefore having received from the high priest a true copy of the law of Moses, all written in golden letters, and six elders out of every tribe, that is, seventy-two in all, to make a version of it into the Greek language, they returned with them to Alexandria. On their arrival, the king, calling those elders to his court, made trial of them by seventy-two questions proposed to them, to each one in their order; and from the answers which they made, approving of their wisdom, he gave to each of them three talents, and sent them into the island of Pharus adjoining to Alexandria, for the performing of the work which they came for: where Demetrius, having conducted them over the Heptastadium (a bank of seven furlongs in length, which joined that island to the continent) into a house there provided for them, they forthwith betook themselves to the business of the interpretation; and as they agreed in the version of each period by common conference together, Demetrius wrote it down, and thus, in the space of seventy-two days, they performed the whole work; whereon the whole being read over, and approved of in the king's presence, the king gave to each of them three rich garments, two talents in gold, and a cup of gold of a talent weight, and then sent them all home into their own country. Thus far Aristeas.

Statement of Aristobulus, an Alexandrian Jew: a copy of Aristeas.— Aristobulus, an Alexandrian Jew, and a Peripatetic philosopher, is the next that makes mention of this version. He flourished in the one hundred and eighty-eighth year of the era of contracts (that is, in B. C. 125), for then a letter was written to him by the Jews of Jerusalem and Judæa, as we have it in the Second Book of the Maccabees. This Aristobulus is said to have written a comment on the five books of Moses, and to have dedicated it to king Ptolemy Philometor, to whom he had been preceptor, and therein to have spoken of this Greek version made under the care and direction of Demetrius Phalereus, by the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. The book is not now extant. All that remains of it are some few

fragments quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus and Eusebius, in which, having asserted that

---

Pythagoras, Plato, and other Grecians, had taken most of their philosophy from the Hebrew Scriptures, to make this seem the more probable, he tells us, these Scriptures had been for the most part translated into Greek before the time of Alexander and the Persian empire; but that under Ptolemy Philadelphus a more perfect translation was made of the whole by the care of Demetrius Phalereus.

Statement of Philo, another Alexandrian Jew: a copy of Aristeas, with additions.—The next that makes mention of this version is Philo, another Alexandrian Jew, who was contemporary with our Saviour. For it was but a little after the time of his crucifixion that he was sent in an embassy from the Jews of Alexandria to Caius Cæsar the Roman emperor. In his account of it he tells us the same that Aristeas doth, of king Ptolemy Philadelphus's sending to Jerusalem for elders to make this version; of the questions proposed to them on their first arrival, for the trial of their wisdom; and of their retiring into the island of Pharus for the accomplishing of this work, and of their finishing it there in that retirement; and thus far he plainly writes after Aristeas. But he further adds, what Aristeas gives him no foundation for, that in their interpretations they all so exactly agreed, as not to differ so much as in a word: but to have rendered everything not only in the same sense, but also in the same phrases and words of expression, so as not to vary in the least each from other through the whole work. From whence he infers, that they acted not herein as common interpreters, but as men prophetically inspired and divinely directed, who had every word dictated to them by the Holy Spirit of God through the whole version. And he adds further, that in commemoration of this work, the Jews of Alexandria kept a solemn anniversary one day in every year, when they went over into the island of Pharus, and there spent that day in feasting and rejoicing, and giving praise to God for his divine assistance in so wonderful a manner given by him in the making of this version.

Statements of Josephus and Eusebius: copies of Aristeas, with a variation as to the money paid for the redemption of the captive Jews.—Josephus, who wrote his Antiquities of the Jews towards the end of the first century after Christ, agreeth with Aristeas in his relation of this matter, what he writes of it being no more than an abridgment of that author. And Eusebius, who flourished about two hundred and twenty years after him, doth the same, giving us of it no other account but what he found in Aristeas, and is now extant in him: only as to Josephus, it must be acknowledged there is a variation in his account concerning the price paid by Ptolemy for the redemption of the captive Jews: for whereas Aristeas saith it was twenty drachms a head, and that the sum total amounted to six hundred and sixty talents; Josephus lays it at one hundred and twenty drachms a head, and the sum total at four hundred and sixty talents; in all other things they exactly agree.

Statement of Justin Martyr: a copy of Aristeas, with further additions.—The next author after Josephus who makes mention of this version and the manner of making it, was Justin Martyr, a Christian writer, who flourished in the middle of the second century [A. D.], about one

---

hundred years after Philo. He having been at Alexandria, and there discoursed with the Jews of that place concerning this matter, tells us what he found there related, and was then firmly believed among them concerning it. Whereby it appears, that what Philo tells us of the wonderful agreement of the interpreters in the making of that version was much further improved by his time. For they had then added to the story distinct cells for the interpreters, and the fiction of their being shut up all in them apart from each other, one in each cell, and of each of them therein making a distinct version by himself, and all agreeing together to a word, on the comparing of what each had done; which the good man swallowing with a thorough credulity, writes of it in the words following: "Ptolemy king of Egypt, having a mind to erect a library at Alexandria, caused books to be brought thither from all parts to fill it; and being informed that the Jews kept with great care ancient histories written in Hebrew, and being desirous to know what these writings contained, sent to Jerusalem for seventy

learned men, who understood the Hebrew and the Greek languages, and ordered them to translate those books; and to the end they might be the more at quiet and free from noise, and thereby be enabled the sooner to make this translation, he would not have them stay in the city, but caused to be built for them in the island of Pharus, seven furlongs from Alexandria, as many little houses or cells as there were interpreters, that each might there apart by himself make his version. And he enjoined those who served them to do them all sorts of good offices, but to prevent their conferring together, that he might know, by the conformity of their versions, whether their translation was true and exact. And finding afterwards, that these seventy persons did not only agree in the sense, but also in the same terms, so that there was not one word in any one of their versions which was not in all the other, but that they all wrote, word for word, the same expressions, he was surprised with admiration, and not doubting but that this version was made by the Spirit of God, he heaped honours upon the interpreters, whom he looked on as men dear unto God, and sent them home loaden with presents to their own country. And, as to the books, he received them with that veneration which was due to them, looking on them as divine books, and placed them in his library." And then the holy man adds, for the confirming of this story, which he himself thoroughly believed as true: "These things, which we now relate unto you, O Greeks, are not fables and feigned stories. For we ourselves, having been at Alexandria, did there see the ruins of those little houses, or cells, in the island of Pharus, there still remaining; and what we now tell you of them we had from the inhabitants of the place, who had received it from their forefathers by undoubted tradition." And in another place, he saith of the same matter: "When Ptolemy king of Egypt was preparing a library, in which he purposed to gather together the writings of all men, having heard of the writings of the prophets among the Jews, he sent to Herod, then king of the Jews, to desire him to transmit to him those books of the prophets. Whereon king Herod sent them unto him, written in the Hebrew language. But whereas those books, as written in this language, were wholly unintelligible to the Egyptians, he sent

a second time to Herod to desire him to send interpreters to translate them into the Greek language; which being done, these books thus translated are still remaining among the Egyptians, even to this day, and copies of them are now in the hands of the Jews, in all places wheresoever they are."

Ancient Fathers adopted the account in Justin Martyr.—Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hilary, Austin, Cyril of Jerusalem, Philastrius Brixiensis, and the generality of the ancient Fathers that lived after Justin, follow him in this matter of the cells, and the wonderful agreement of all the versions made in them. And some also of the moderns are zealous contenders for the truth of this story, being fond of a miracle which would so much conduce to the confirming of the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures against all gainsayers; and it is much to be wished, that it were built upon such authority as would not admit of any of those objections which are urged against it.

Statement of Epiphanius: a further corruption of the story by false traditions.—By the time of Epiphanius, who was made bishop of Salamine in Cyprus, A. D. 368, false traditions had further corrupted this story. For he gives a relation of the matter which differs from that of Justin, as well as of Aristeas, and yet he quotes Aristeas, even in those particulars which he relates otherwise than that author doth; which shows, that there was another Aristeas in his time, different from that which we now have, though it be plain that the author which is now extant with us under that name is certainly the same which Josephus and Eusebius used. What Epiphanius writes hereof would be too long to be all here inserted. The sum of it is, that Ptolemy Philadelphus, designing to make a library at Alexandria, sent to all countries to procure copies of their books to put into it, and committed it to the care of Demetrius Phalereus to manage this whole matter; by whom being informed of the books of the Holy Scriptures, which the Jews then had at Jerusalem, he sent an embassy thither, with a letter to the high priest, to procure a copy of the said books. That hereon the Jews sent twenty-two canonical books and seventy-two apocryphal, all written in Hebrew. But Ptolemy not being able to read them in that language, he sent a second embassy to Jerusalem for interpreters to make a version of them into Greek: for which purpose a second letter was written to the high priest; and that the Jews, on the receipt of this last letter, sent him seventy-two interpreters,

chosen six out of every tribe, who made the version according as was desired. The manner in which he saith this was done will best appear from his own words: they are as followeth: "The seventy-two interpreters were in the island of Pharus (which lieth over against Alexandria, and in respect of it is called the upper land), shut up in thirty-six little houses, or cells, by two and two in a cell, from morning till night, and were every night carried, in thirty-six boats, to king Ptolemy's palace, there to sup with him, and then were lodged in thirty-six bedchambers, by two and two in a chamber, that they might not confer together about the said version, but make it faithfully according to what appeared to

---

them to be the true meaning of the text. For Ptolemy built in that island over against Alexandria those thirty-six cells which I have mentioned, of that capacity, as that they were sufficient to contain each of them two of the said interpreters; and there he did shut them up by two and two, as I have said, and two servants with them in each cell, to provide them with food, and minister unto them in all things necessary, and also writers, to write down the versions as they made them. To these cells he made no windows in the walls, but only opened for them above such lights in the roofs of the said cells as we call skylights. And thus continuing from morning till night, there closely shut up, they made the version in manner as followeth: To each pair of interpreters one book was given; as, for example, the book of Genesis was given to one pair, the book of Exodus to another pair, the book of Leviticus to a third, and so of all the rest, a book to each pair in their order; and in this manner all the twenty-seven books above mentioned, which are now, according to the number of the Hebrew letters, reduced to twenty-two, were translated out of the Hebrew into the Greek language." And then, a little after, he further saith:—"And therefore these twenty-seven books, now numbered to be twenty-two, with the Psalter and what is annexed to Jeremiah, that is, the Lamentations, and the Epistles of Baruch (though those epistles are not found in the Hebrew canon of the Holy Scriptures; for in that the Lamentations only are annexed to Jeremiah), were in this manner distributed among the thirty-six pair of interpreters, and afterwards were sent every one of them round to them, that is, from the first pair to the

second, and from the second to the third, and so on, till each book had been translated into Greek once by each pair, and the whole of it by all of them thirty-six times, as common tradition reports the matter; and to them were added twenty-two apocryphal books. And when all was finished, the king, sitting on high on his throne, thirty-six readers came before him with the thirty-six translations, and another reader stood there also, who had the original Hebrew copy in his hand; and, while one of those readers did read his copy aloud, the rest diligently attended, and went along with him, reading to themselves in their copies, and examining thereby what was written in them, and no variety or difference was found in any one of them."

Examination into the truth of the matter.—Thus far having given an account of all that is related by the ancients concerning the manner of the making this version, which we call the Septuagint, I shall now lay down what appears to me to be the truth of the whole matter in these following positions:

I. That the Septuagint was really executed in the time of the Ptolemies.—That there was a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, made in the time that the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt, is not to be doubted; for we still have the book, and it is the same which was in use in our Saviour's time; for most of those passages which the holy penmen of the New Testament do, in the Greek original of it, quote out of the Old Testament, are now found verbatim in this version. And since the Egyptian princes of the Ptolemean race were so fond, as the writers of those times tell us, of replenishing their library at

---

Alexandria with all sorts of books, there is no reason but to believe, that a copy of this translation, as soon as it was made, was put into it.

II. That the book bearing the name of Aristeas is a manifest fiction.—The book going under the name of Aristeas, which is the groundwork and foundation of all that is said of the manner of making this translation, by seventy-two elders sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria for this purpose, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, is a manifest fiction, made out of design thereby to give the greater authority to this translation. The Jews, after their

return from the Babylonish captivity, to the time of our Saviour, were much given to religious romances, as appears from their apocryphal books still extant, many of which are of this sort; and that the book which we now have under the name of Aristeas was such a romance, and written by some Hellenistical Jew, plainly appears from these following reasons.

(1.) The author must have been a Hellenistic Jew.—The author, though pretended to be a heathen Greek, everywhere speaks as a Jew, and delivers himself in all places, where he makes mention either of God or the Jewish religion, in such terms as none but a Jew could; and he brings in Ptolemy, Demetrius, Andreas, Sosibius, and others, speaking after the same manner, which clearly proves that no Aristeas, or heathen Greek, but some Hellenistical Jew under his name, was the author of that book.

(2.) The amount said to be paid by Ptolemy is incredible.—The author makes Ptolemy advance an incredible sum of money for the obtaining of this version. For, according to him, Ptolemy expended, in redeeming the captive Jews that were in his kingdom, six hundred and sixty talents; in vessels of silver sent to the temple, seventy talents; in vessels of gold, fifty talents; and in precious stones to adorn and embellish these vessels, to the value of five times the gold, that is, two hundred and fifty talents; in a gift for sacrifices, and other uses of the temple, a hundred talents; and then he gave to each of the seventy-two interpreters, at their first coming, three talents apiece in silver, that is, two hundred and sixteen talents in the whole; and lastly, to each of them, at their parting, two talents in gold and a gold cup of a talent weight; all which put together make in the sum total one thousand and forty-six talents of silver and five hundred and sixteen talents of gold, which being reduced to our sterling money amounts to one million nine hundred and eighteen thousand five hundred and thirty-seven pounds ten shillings; and, if we add hereto the value of other gifts, which, according to Aristeas, were bestowed on these seventy-two elders by the bounty of the king, and the charges which it cost him in fetching them to Alexandria, maintaining them there, and sending them back again to Jerusalem, this may be computed to mount that sum to near two millions sterling, which may well be reckoned to be above twenty times as much as that whole library was ever worth. And who can then believe that this narrative, which makes Ptolemy expend so much for one single book in it,

and which neither he nor any of his court, as long as they continued heathens, could have any great value for, can be a true and genuine history?

(3.) The seventy-two questions and answers are palpably spurious.— The questions proposed to the seventy-two interpreters, and their answers to them, manifestly carry with them the air of fiction and romance. If it should appear likely to any (as I confess it doth not unto me), that Ptolemy should trouble himself to propose to them such questions, he must be a person of great credulity that will believe those answers to have been given extempore to them. Whoever will judge rationally of this matter must necessarily acknowledge that they were framed by artifice and premeditation to the questions, and that both were the inventions of him that made the book.

(4.) The selection of six Hebrew scholars from each tribe, to make up the seventy-two, can only be a Jewish invention.—The making of seventy-two elders to be sent to Alexandria from Jerusalem on this occasion, and these to be chosen by six out of every tribe, by the advice of Demetrius Phalereus, all looks like a Jewish invention, framed with respect to the Jewish Sanhedrim, and the number of the twelve tribes of Israel; it not being likely that Demetrius, a heathen Greek, should know anything of their twelve tribes, or of the number of the seventy-two elders, of which their Sanhedrim did consist. The names of Israel and the twelve tribes were then absorbed in that of the Jews, and few knew of them in that age by any other appellation. Although some of the other tribes joined themselves to the Jews, on their return from the Babylonish captivity, as I have before observed, and thereby the names of those tribes might still be preserved among their descendants; yet it is not to be supposed that all were so, but that some of the names of those other tribes were wholly lost, and no more in being, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and that therefore no such choice could then be made out of them for the composing of this version. But if it were otherwise, yet that there should be six of every tribe, or, indeed, seventy-two of the whole nation, then living in Judæa, fully qualified for this work, seems by no means likely. Till the time of Alexander the Great, the Jews had no communication with the Greeks, and from his

having been at Jerusalem (from which time only this communication first began) there had now passed only fifty-five years. During this time, no doubt, some of them might have learnt the Greek tongue, especially after so many of them had been planted by Ptolemy at Alexandria, and by Seleucus at Antioch, in both which cities the prevailing number of the inhabitants were of the Greek nation. But that six of every tribe should then be found thus skilful in the land of Judea, where there was then no reason for them to learn this language, is not to be imagined. But this is not all the difficulty of the matter. Those who were to do this work must have been thoroughly skilled also in the Hebrew, which was the language of the original text, as well as in the Greek, into which they were to translate it. But at this time the Hebrew was no longer among them their common speech. The Chaldee, since their return from Chaldea, was become their mother tongue, and the knowledge of the Hebrew was thenceforth confined

---

only to the learned among them: and those learned men being such as taught and governed the people at home, they had no opportunity, by converse with the Greeks, to learn their language, nor indeed had they any occasion for it.

So that, for the making out of this story, we must suppose, 1st, That there were many of every tribe of Israel then living in Judæa; 2ndly, That there were several in each of these tribes well learned in the Hebrew text; and 3rdly, That there were in each of them, of this last sort, so many thoroughly skilled in the Greek language, as that out of them a choice might be made of six for each tribe fully qualified for this work: each particular hereof at this time seems utterly improbable; but the whole doth much more so, when all is put together.

(5.) Seven interpreters would have sufficed as well as seventy-two.— Neither can any probable reason be given why seventy-two should be sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria for this purpose, when seven were more than enough for the work. Some of the ancientest of the Talmudists say, that there were only five that were employed in it; and this is by much the more likely of the two.

(6.) The book contains many statements contrary to history. —There are several particulars in this book which cannot accord with the histories of those times. 1st, In none of them is there any mention of the victory which Aristeas makes Ptolemy Philadelphus to have obtained against Antigonus at sea. If by this Antigonus he means Antigonus the father of Demetrius Poliorcetes, he was dead seventeen years before Ptolemy Philadelphus was king of Egypt; and if he means the son of that Demetrius, called Antigonus Gonatas, who reigned in Macedon, there is no author that speaks of any such victory obtained by Ptolemy Philadelphus over him. And 2ndly, Whereas Menedemus the philosopher is said in this author to have been present when the seventy-two interpreters answered the questions proposed to them by Ptolemy, it is manifest, by what is written of him by authors of undoubted credit, that he could not have been at this time in Egypt, if he were then alive, which it is most likely he was not. But 3rdly, What doth evidently convict of falsity this whole story of Aristeas is, that he makes Demetrius Phalereus to be the chief actor in it, and a great favourite of the king's at this time; whereas, he was so far from being in any favour with him, that none was more out of it, or was less likely to be trusted or employed in any matter by him, and that for good reason. For he had earnestly dissuaded Ptolemy Soter, his father, from settling the crown upon him; for which reason, Philadelphus looking on him as his greatest enemy, as soon as his father was dead (under whose favour he had till then been protected), he cast him into prison, where he soon after died, in the manner as hath been already related, and therefore he could bear no part in the transacting of this matter.

Many other arguments there are which prove the spuriousness of this book. They who would further examine hereinto, may read what hath been written of it by Du Pin, Richard Simon the Frenchman,

---

and by Dr. Hody, the late worthy professor of the Greek language at Oxford; whose account of this and other matters relating to the Holy Scriptures, in his learned and accurate book, De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, Versionibus Græcis et Latina Vulgata, is very worthy of any man's reading.

III. That Aristobulus's statement is a mere copy of Aristeas, and his Commentaries are the work of a later age. —As to Aristobulus, what he saith of this version's being made by the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and under the care and direction of Demetrius Phalereus, is no more than what is taken out of Aristeas; that book, it seems, having been forged before his time, and then gotten into credit among the Jews of Alexandria, when he took this out of it. For the hundred and eighty-eighth year of the era of contracts, the time in which he is said to flourish, being one hundred and fifty-two years after that in which we place the making of this version, that was long enough for this fiction concerning it to have been formed, and also to have grown into such credit among the Jews, as to be believed by them. For if we allow one hundred years for the former, that is, for the framing of this fiction, by that time all persons might have been dead, and all things forgotten that might contradict it; and fifty-two years after might have been sufficient for the latter, that is, for its growing into the credit of a true history among the Jews.

As to other things related of this Aristobulus, that is, that he was preceptor to the king of Egypt, and that he wrote commentaries on the five books of Moses, and dedicated them to Ptolemy Philometor, they are all justly called in question by learned men. As to his being king Ptolemy's master, this is said of him (2 Maccab. i. 10) in the one hundred and eighty-eighth year of the era of contracts, when it was by no means likely he could have been in that office: for the Ptolemy that then reigned in Egypt was Ptolemy Physcon; and the hundred and eighty-eighth year of the era of contracts was the twenty-first year of his reign, and the fifty-sixth after his father's death; and therefore he must then have been about sixty years old, if not more, which is an age past being under the tuition of a master. If it be said, he might still retain the title, though the office had been over many years before, the reply hereto will be, that he must then have been of a very great age, when mentioned with this title; for men use not to be made tutors to princes, till of eminent note and of mature age; forty is the least we can suppose him of, when appointed to this office, if he ever were at all in it: and supposing he was first called to it when Ptolemy Physcon was ten years old, he must have been ninety at least at the time when this title was given him in the place above cited. And if he had been preceptor to Ptolemy

Physcon, how came it to pass that he should dedicate his book of commentaries on the law of Moses to Ptolemy Philometor, who reigned before Physcon? If any such book had been at all made by him, it is most likely he would have dedicated it to that Ptolemy who had been his pupil, and not unto the other, whom he had no such special relation to.

And as to what he is said to have written in these commentaries, of there having been a Greek version of the law before that of the Septuagint, and that the Greek philosophers borrowed many things from thence, it looks all

---

like fiction. The light of reason, or else ancient traditions, might have led them to the saying of many things, especially in moral matters, which accord with what is found in the writings of Moses; and if not, yet there were other ways of coming at them without such a version. Converse with the Jews might suffice for it, and particular instruction might be had from some of their learned men for this purpose; and such, Clearchus tells us, Aristotle had from a learned Jew in the Lower Asia. That there ever was such a version no other writing besides these fragments quoted from Aristobulus do make the least mention. Neither is it likely that there should ever have been any such; for till the Jews settled among the Greeks at Alexandria, and there learned their language, and forgot their own (which was not done till some time after the death of Alexander), there was no use of such a Greek version of the law among them. And if it had been thus translated before, what need was there of having it done again in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus?

All these things put together create a suspicion among learned men, that the commentaries of Aristobulus came out of the same forge with Aristeas, that is, were written under the name of Aristobulus by some Hellenistical Jew long after the date which they bore. And it augments this suspicion, that Clemens Alexandrinus is the first that makes mention of them. For had there been any such commentaries on the law of Moses, and written in the time when said, by so eminent a Jew and so famous a philosopher as Aristobulus is related to be, Philo-Judæus and Josephus could not have escaped making use of them: but neither of these writers make the least

mention of any such commentaries; which is a strong argument that there were none such extant in their time; and those who mention them afterwards, speak very inconsistently of this Aristobulus, whom they make to be the author of them. Sometimes they tell us, that he dedicated his book to Ptolemy Philometor; at other times they say it was to Ptolemy Philadelphus and his father together. Sometimes they will have it that he was the same that is mentioned in the first chapter of the Second Book of Maccabees; and sometimes they make him to have been one of the seventy-two interpreters one hundred and fifty-two years before; which uncertainty about him makes it most likely that there was never any such person at all.

That passage where he is spoken of in the Second Book of Maccabees is no proof for him; for the letter which is made mention of in it, being there said to have been sent to him from the people that were at Jerusalem and in Judæa, and the council, and Judas, this plainly proves that whole passage to be of the same nature with most other things written in the two first chapters of that Second Book of Maccabees, that is, all fable and fiction. For by the Judas there mentioned the writer of that book can mean no other Judas than Judas Maccabæus; but he was slain in battle thirty-six years before the date of this letter. Whatsoever these commentaries were, they seem not

---

to have been long-lived; for as Clemens Alexandrinus was the first of the ancients, so Eusebius was the last, that makes mention of them. After that time, it is most likely they grew out of reputation, and were no more heard of. Upon the whole, they that hold this book to have been spurious, and all that is said of the author of it to be fable and fiction, seem to say that which in all likelihood is the truth of the matter.

IV. That Philo's additions are mere Jewish traditions.—What Philo adds to the story of Aristeas was from such traditions as had obtained among the Jews of Alexandria in his time, which had the same original with all the rest, that is, were invented by them to bring the greater honour and credit to themselves and their religion; and also to gain among the vulgar of their own people the greater authority and veneration to that version of the

Holy Scriptures which they then used. And when such things had once obtained belief, it was easy to introduce an anniversary commemoration of them, and continue it afterwards from year to year in the manner as Philo relates.

V. That Josephus in his variation from Aristeas is guilty of a manifest error. —Where Josephus differs from Aristeas in the price paid by Ptolemy for the redemption of the captive Jews, there is a manifest error; for the sum total doth not agree with the particulars. The number of the Jews redeemed, Josephus saith, were one hundred and twenty thousand: the redemption of these, at twenty drachms a head, at which Aristeas lays it, would come to just four hundred talents, which is the sum also which he reckons it to amount to. But Josephus saith, the redemption money was one hundred and twenty drachms a head, which is six times as much, and yet he makes the sum total to be no more than four hundred and sixty talents. The error is in the numerical letters; for either the particulars must be less, or the sum must be more: but whether it was the author or the transcribers that made this error, I cannot say. Those who hold Josephus to have put the price at one hundred and twenty drachms a head (which was just thirty Jewish shekels), that so it might answer what was paid for a Hebrew servant according to the law of Moses, do fix the error on the author; but then they make him guilty of a great blunder, in not altering the sum total as well as the particulars, so as to make them both agree with each other.

VI. That Justin Martyr and the Fathers who followed him were too credulous. —As to Justin Martyr, and the rest of the Christian writers that followed him, it is plain they too greedily swallowed what they wished might be true. Had the seventy-two interpreters who are said to have made this version of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek been all separated into so many different cells, and had all there apart, every one by himself, made so many versions as there were persons, and all these versions had exactly agreed with each other, without any difference or variation in any one of them from all the rest, this would have been a miracle, which must have irrefragably confirmed the truth of those Scriptures, as well as the authority of the version which was then

made of them, against all gainsayers. And for both these the Christians of those times were altogether as much concerned as the Jews; for the foundations of our holy Christian profession are laid upon the Old Testament as well as on the New. And this part of the Holy Scriptures was, out of Judæa, nowhere else, in those times, read among Christians but in this Greek version, or in such other versions as were made into other languages from it, excepting only at Antioch, and in the Syrian churches depending upon that see, where they had a Syriac version from the beginning, immediately translated from the Hebrew original.

And therefore Justin Martyr, finding these traditions among the Jews at Alexandria, on his being in that city, was too easily persuaded to believe them, and made use of them in his writings against the heathens of his time in defence of the religion he professed. And upon this authority it was that Irenæus, and the other Christian writers above mentioned, tell us the same thing, being equally fond of the argument, by reason of the purpose it would serve to. But how little the authority of Justin was to be depended upon in this matter may sufficiently appear from the inaccurate account which he gives us of it; for he makes Ptolemy, when intent upon having the Hebrew Scriptures for his library, to send to king Herod first for a copy of them, and afterwards for interpreters to turn them into the Greek language; whereas, not only Ptolemy Philadelphus, but all the other Ptolemies who reigned after him in Egypt, were all dead before Herod was made king of Judæa. So great a blunder in this narrative is sufficient to discredit all the rest.

And it is further to be taken notice of, that though Justin was a learned man and a philosopher, yet he was a very credulous person, and when he became a Christian, was carried on, by the great zeal he had for his religion, too lightly to lay hold of any story told him which he thought would any way make for it. An instance hereof is, that being at Rome, and there finding a statue consecrated to Semon Sancus, an old semi-god of the Sabins, he was easily persuaded to believe it to be the statue of Simon Magus; and therefore, in his second apology, upon no better foundation than this, he upbraids the people of Rome for the making of such a wretch and impostor to be one of their gods. And it was from the like easiness and credulity, that being shown by the Jews of Alexandria the ruins of some old houses in the island of Pharus, he was by them made believe that they were

the remains of the cells in which, they told him, the seventy-two interpreters made their version of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek by the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt; and hereon he gives us that account of it which I have above related.

But Jerome, who was a person of much greater learning, and far more judicious, rejects this story of the cells with that scorn and contempt which it seems to deserve. His words are, "I know not what author he was, that by his lying first built the seventy cells at Alexandria, in which the seventy elders, being divided, wrote the same things; seeing neither Aristeas, who was one of the same Ptolemy's guards, nor Josephus,

---

who lived long after him, say any such thing; but write, that they conferred together in one and the same room, and did not prophesy; for to be a prophet is one thing, and to be an interpreter is another."

VII. That the statement of Epiphanius is taken from a later and equally false Aristeas.—Epiphanius's account of the making of this version differing from all the rest, seems to have been taken from some other history of it than that which Josephus and Eusebius wrote from. It is probable some Christian writer, after the time of Justin Martyr, might have collected together all that he found written or said of this matter, and grafting the whole upon the old Aristeas, with such alterations as he thought fit to make in it, composed that book, which under the name of Aristeas fell into Epiphanius's hands, and that from thence he took all that he writes of this matter. It is certain that the Aristeas which Epiphanius makes use of was not written till many years after the pretended author of that book must have been dead; for the second letter which Epiphanius out of him tells us Ptolemy Philadelphus sent to Eleazar begins with this sentence: "Of a hidden treasure, and a fountain stopped up, what profit can there be in either of them?" which is taken out of the book of Ecclesiasticus: but that book was not published by Siracides till the year before Christ 132, which was one hundred and fifteen years after the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by whose command, according to that author, this version was made.

And it also seems to me as certain, that it could not be written till after the time of Justin Martyr; for all that is said of the cells, it is plain, had its original from that report which he brought back from Alexandria concerning them on his return from his travels to that city. Epiphanius retains this tale of his of the cells, but contracts them to half the number; for he makes them to be but thirty-six, and puts two interpreters together into each of them. By this means, thirty-six copies are made to suffice for all that laboured in this work; whereas, according to Justin, they being shut up each one singly by himself in his separate cell, there must have been as many copies as interpreters. But in this they do not so much differ from each other as both do from Aristeas; for he saith that they brought with them from Jerusalem but one copy in all, and that out of this alone they made the version by common consent, sitting together in one common hall, and there carrying on and finishing the whole work. And this one copy, Aristeas saith, was written in letters of gold; which contradicts an ancient constitution of the Jews, whereby it is ordained among them, that the law is never to be written otherwise than with ink only.

Epiphanius moreover saith, that besides the canonical books, there were sent from Jerusalem on this occasion seventy-two apocryphal books; which none of the rest that write of this matter before him make any mention of. And of these seventy-two books he makes twenty-two only to have been translated; whereas he seems elsewhere to imply, that all were translated that were sent. These contradictions,

---

uncertainties, and various accounts, overthrow the credit of the whole story, and plainly prove all that hath been delivered to us concerning it by Aristeas, Philo, Justin Martyr, Epiphanius, and their followers, to be no more than fable, fiction, and romance, without any other foundation for it, save only that in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus such a version of the law of Moses was made by the Alexandrian Jews into the Greek language, as those authors relate.

VIII. That a Greek version of the Scriptures was really gradually made for the use of the Alexandrian Jews. —Alexander, on his building

of Alexandria, brought a great many Jews thither to help plant this his new city, as hath been already mentioned; and Ptolemy Soter, after his death, having fixed the seat of his government in that place, and set his heart much upon the augmenting and adorning of it, brought thither many more of this nation for the same purpose; where having granted unto them the same privileges with the Macedonians and other Greeks, they soon grew to be a great part of the inhabitants of that city; and their constant intercourse with the other citizens, among whom they were there mingled, having necessitated them to learn and constantly use the Greek language, that happened to them here as had before at Babylon on the like occasion, that is, by accustoming themselves to a foreign language, they forgot their own; and therefore, no longer understanding the Hebrew language, in which they had been hitherto first read, nor the Chaldee, in which they were after that interpreted in every synagogue, they had them translated into Greek for their use, that this version might serve for the same purpose in Alexandria and Egypt as the Chaldee paraphrases afterwards did in Jerusalem and Judæa.

And this was the original and true cause of the making of that Greek version which hath since, from the fable of Aristeas, been called the Septuagint; for that fable, from the first broaching of it, having generally obtained, first among the Jews and afterwards among the Christians, soon caused that this name was given to that version. At first the law only was translated; for then they had no need of the other books in their public worship, no other part of the Holy Scriptures, save the law only, having been in those times read in their synagogues, as hath been before taken notice of. But afterwards, when the reading of the prophets also came into use in the synagogues of Judea, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, upon the occasion already mentioned, and the Jews of Alexandria (who in those times conformed themselves to the usages of Judæa and Jerusalem in all matters of religion) were induced hereby to do the same, this caused a translation

---

of the prophets also to be there made into the Greek language, in like manner as the law had been before. And after this other persons translated

the rest for the private use of the same people; and so that whole version was completed which we now call the Septuagint; and after it was thus made, it became of common use among all the churches of the Hellenistical Jews, wherever they were dispersed among the Grecian cities.

1st, That the law only was at first translated into Greek in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, all that first speak of this version, i. e. Aristeas, Aristobulus, Philo, and Josephus, directly tell us. 2ndly, That it was done at Alexandria, the Alexandrian dialect, which appears through the whole version, is a manifest proof. 3rdly, That it was made at different times, and by different persons, the different styles in which the different books are found written, the different ways in which the same Hebrew words and the same Hebrew phrases are translated in different places, and the greater accuracy with which some of the books are translated above others, are a full demonstration.

IX. That a copy of this version was laid up in the Alexandrian library: the Scriptures unknown to the heathen world until after the time of our Saviour. —Ptolemy Philadelphus having been very intent upon the augmenting of his library, and replenishing it with all manner of books, it is not to be doubted, but that as soon as this Greek version was made at Alexandria, a copy of it was put into that library, and there continued till that noble repository of learning was accidentally burnt by Julius Cæsar in his wars against the Alexandrians. However, it seems to have lain there in a very obscure manner, none of the Grecian authors now extant, nor any of the ancient Latins, having ever taken the least notice of it; for all of them, in what they write of the Jews, give accounts of them so vastly wide of what is contained in the Holy Scriptures, as sufficiently show that they never perused them, or knew anything of them. There are indeed, out of Eupolemus, Abydenus, and other ancient writers now lost, some fragments still preserved in Josephus, Eusebius, and other authors, which speak of the Jews more agreeably to the Scriptural history, but still with such variations and intermixtures of falsity, that none of those remains, excepting only what we find taken out of Demetrius, in the ninth book of Eusebius de Præparatione Evangelica, do give us any ground to believe that the writers of them ever consulted those books, or knew anything of them.

This Demetrius was an historian that wrote in Greek, and an inhabitant of Alexandria, where he compiled a history of the Jews, and continued it down to the reign of the fourth Ptolemy, who was Ptolemy Philopator, the grandson of Philadelphus. How much longer after this it was that he lived is not anywhere said. He having written so agreeably to the Scripture, this seems to prove him to have been a Jew. However, if he were otherwise, that is, not a Jew, but a heathen Greek, that no heathen writer but he only should make use of those Scriptures,

---

after they had been translated into Greek, sufficiently shows how much that copy of them which was laid up in the king's library at Alexandria was there neglected, and also how carefully the Jews, who were the first composers of this version, kept and confined all other copies of it to their own use. They had the stated lessons read out of it in their synagogues, and they had copies of it at home for their private use, and thus they seem to have reserved it wholly to themselves till our Saviour's time. But after that time the gospel having been propagated to all nations, this version of the Hebrew Scriptures was propagated with it among all that used the Greek tongue, and it became no longer locked up among the Hellenistical Jews, but copies of it were dispersed into all men's hands that desired it; and hence it came to pass, that after our Saviour's time many of the heathen writers, as Celsus, Porphyry, and others, became well acquainted with the Old Testament Scriptures, though we find scarce any, or rather none of them, were so before.

X. That the credit of the Septuagint increased with the spread of Christianity: character of the old Syrian version.—As Christianity grew, so also did the credit and use of the Greek version of the Old Testament Scriptures. The evangelists and apostles, who were the holy penmen of the New Testament Scriptures, all quoted out of it, and so did all the primitive fathers after them. All the Greek churches used it, and the Latins had no other copy of those Scriptures in their language till Jerome's time, but what was translated from it. Whatsoever comments were written on any part of them, this was always the text, and the explications were made according to it; and when other nations were converted to Christianity, and had those

Scriptures translated for their use into their several languages, these versions were all made from the Septuagint, as the Illyrian, the Gothic, the Arabic, the Ethiopic, the Armenian, and the Syriac.

There was indeed an old Syriac version translated immediately from the Hebrew original, which is still in being, and at this time made use of by all the Syrian churches in the East. But besides this, there was another Syriac version of the same Scriptures, which was made from the Septuagint. The former was made, if not in the apostles' time, yet very soon after, for the use of the Syrian churches, and it is still used in them; but this latter was not made till about six hundred years after the other, and is at this time extant in some of those churches, where they are both used promiscuously together, that is, as well the one as the other. Of the antiquity of the old Syriac version, the Maronites and other Syrian Christians do much brag; for they will have it that it was made, one part of it, by the command of Solomon, for the use of Hiram king of Tyre, and the other part (that is, that part whereof the original was written after the time of Solomon) by the command of Abgarus, king of Edessa, who lived in our Saviour's time. The chief argument which they bring for this is, that St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Ephesians (chap. iv. ver. 8), quoting a passage from Psalm lxviii. ver. 18, makes his quotation of it, not according to the Septuagint, nor according to the Hebrew original, but according to the Syriac version: for in that only is it found so as he quotes it; and therefore, say they, this quotation was

---

taken out of it, and consequently this version must have been made before his time. The words of that passage, as quoted by St. Paul, are, "He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men." But the latter part of it is neither accordingly to the Septuagint version of that Psalm, nor according to the Hebrew original, but according to the Syriac version only. For according to both the two former, the quotation must have been, "and received gifts for men;" and according to the latter only is it in that text of the Psalmist so as St. Paul quotes it.

But this rather proves, that the Syriac version in that passage of the Psalmist was formed according to St. Paul's quotation, than that St. Paul's

quotation was taken from that version. It is certain this version was very ancient. It was in all likelihood made within the first century after Christ, and had for its author some Christian of the Jewish nation that was thoroughly skilled in both languages, that is, in the Hebrew as well as in the Syriac; for it is very accurately done, and expresseth the sense of the original with greater exactness than any other version which hath been made of those Scriptures (I am speaking of the Old Testament), at any time before the revival of learning in these last ages; and therefore, as it is (excepting only the Septuagint, and the Chaldee paraphrases of Onkelos on the Law, and Jonathan on the Prophets) the oldest translation that we have of any part of those Scriptures, so it is the best, without any exception at all, that have been made of them by the ancients into any language whatsoever. And this last character belongs to it in respect of the New Testament as well as of the Old. And therefore, of all the ancient versions which are now consulted by Christians for the better understanding of the Holy Scriptures, as well of the New Testament as of the Old, none can better serve this end than this old Syriac version, when carefully consulted and well understood. And to this purpose the very nature of the language much helpeth; for it having been the mother-tongue of those who wrote the New Testament, and a dialect of that in which the Old was first given unto us, many things of both are more happily expressed in it through this whole version, than can well be done in any other language. But to return to the Septuagint.

XI. That the subsequent Greek version of Aquila was executed in opposition to the Septuagint. —As this version grew into use among the Christians, it grew out of credit with the Jews: for they being pinched in many particulars urged against them by the Christians out of this version, for the evading hereof they entered into the same design against the Septuagint version, that in the last age the English Papists of Douay and Rheims did against our English version, that is, they were for making a new one that might better serve their purpose. The person who undertook this work was Aquila, a proselyte Jew of Sinope, a city of Pontus. He had been bred up in the heathen religion, and had much addicted himself while of it to magic and judicial astrology;

but being very much affected with the miracles which he saw the professors of the Christian religion did work in his time, he became a convert to it, upon the same foot as Simon Magus had formerly been, that is, out of an expectation of obtaining power thereby of doing the same works. But not being able to attain thereto, as not having sufficient faith and sincerity for so great a gift, he went on with his magic and judicial astrology, endeavouring thereby to bewitch the people, and make himself thought some great one among them; which evil practices of his coming to the knowledge of the governors of the church, they admonished him against them, and on his refusal to obey their admonitions excommunicated him; at which being very much exasperated, he apostatized to the Jews, was circumcised, and became a proselyte to their religion: and, for his better instruction herein, got himself admitted into the school of Rabbi Akiba, the most celebrated doctor of the Jewish law in his time; and under him he made such a proficiency in the knowledge of the Jewish language, and those Holy Scriptures that were written in it, that he was thought sufficient for this work, and accordingly undertook it, and made two editions thereof; the first he published in the twelfth year of the reign of Adrian, the Roman emperor, which was the year of our Lord 128. But afterwards, having revised it, and made it more correct, he published the second edition of it. And this the Hellenistical Jews received, and afterwards used it everywhere instead of the Septuagint; and therefore this Greek translation is often made mention of in the Talmud, but the Septuagint never. And in this use of it they continued till the finishing and publishing of both the Talmuds. After that time the notion grew among them, that the Scriptures ought not to be read in any of their synagogues but in the old form, that is, in the Hebrew first, and then, by way of interpretation, in the Chaldee, according to the manner as I have already described it; and the decrees of the doctors were urged for this way. But the Hellenistical Jews, after so long use of a Greek version, not easily coming into this, it caused great divisions and disturbances among them; for the quieting of which, Justinian the emperor published a decree, which is still extant among his Novel Constitutions, whereby he ordained, that the Jews might read the Scriptures in their synagogues, either in the Greek version of the LXXII., or in that of Aquila, or in any other language, according to the country in which they should dwell. But the Jewish doctors having determined otherwise, their decrees obtained against

the emperor's; and within a little while after, both the Septuagint and the version of Aquila became rejected by them: and ever since, the solemn reading of the Scriptures among them in their public assemblies hath been in the Hebrew and Chaldee languages.

Greek versions of Theodotion and Symmachus.—Not long after the time of Aquila, there were two other Greek versions made of the same

---

Scriptures; the first by Theodotion, who lived in the time of Commodus the Roman emperor, and the other by Symmachus, who flourished a little after him in the reigns of Severus and Caracalla. The former, according to some, was of Sinope in Pontus; but according to others, of Ephesus. They who would reconcile this matter say he was of the former by birth, and of the other by habitation. The latter was a Samaritan, and bred up in that sect, but afterwards he became a Christian of the sect of the Ebionites; and Theodotion having been of the same profession before him, hence it came to pass that they were by some said to have been both of them proselytes to Judaism; for the heresy of the Ebionites approached nearer the religion of the Jews than that of the orthodox Christians. They professed, indeed, to believe in Christ as the true Messiah, but held him to be no more than a mere man, and thought themselves still under the obligation of the law of Moses, and therefore were circumcised, and observed all the other rites and ceremonies of the Jewish religion; and for this reason they had commonly the name of Jews given them by the orthodox Christians: and hence it is, that we find both these persons, as having been of that heretical sect, sometimes branded with the name of Jews by the ancient writers of the church. They both of them undertook the making of their versions with the same design as Aquila did, although not wholly for the same end: for they all three entered on this work for the perverting of the Old Testament Scriptures; but Aquila did it for the serving of the interest of the Jewish religion, the other two for the serving of the interest of that heretical sect which they were of; and all of them wrested those holy writings, in their versions of them, as much as they could, to make them speak for the different ends which they proposed. There is some dispute which of the two latter versions was first made. Symmachus's version is first in the order of

columns in the Hexapla of Origen; and this hath made some think that it was first also in the order of time. But if this were an argument of any force, it would prove his version, and Aquila's also, to have been made before the Septuagint; for they are both, in the order of those columns, placed before it. Irenæus quotes Aquila, and also Theodotion, but says nothing of Symmachus; which sufficiently proves, that both their versions were extant in his time, but not that of the other.

Character of the three Greek versions, of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus.—These three interpreters took three different ways in the making of their versions. Aquila stuck closely and servilely to the letter, rendering word for word, as nearly as he could, whether the idioms and proprieties of the language he made his version into, or the true sense of the text, would bear it or no. Hence his version is said to have been rather a good dictionary to give the meaning of the Hebrew words, than a good interpretation to unfold unto us the sense of the text; and therefore Jerome commends him much in the former

---

respect, and as often condemns him in the latter. Symmachus took a contrary course, and running into the other extreme, endeavoured only to express what he thought was the true sense of the text, without having much regard to the words; whereby he made his version rather a paraphrase than an exact translation. Theodotion went the middle way between both, without keeping himself too servilely to the words, or going too far from them; but endeavoured to express the sense of the text in such Greek words as would best answer the Hebrew, as far as the different idioms of the two languages would bear. And his taking this middle way between both these extremes is, I reckon, the chief reason why some have thought he lived after both the other two, because he corrected that in which the other two have erred. But this his method might happen to lead him to, without his having any such view in it. Theodotion's version had the preference with all, except the Jews, who adhered to that of Aquila as long as they used any Greek version at all. And therefore, when the ancient Christians found the Septuagint version of Daniel too faulty to be used in their churches, they took Theodotion's version of that book into their Greek Bibles instead of it;

and there it hath continued ever since. And for the same reason Origen, in his Hexapla, where he supplies out of the Hebrew original what was defective in the Septuagint, doth it mostly according to the version of Theodotion.

The four Greek versions collected by Origen in the Tetrapla, with the fifth, sixth, and seventh editions in the Hexapla and Octapla.—All these four different Greek versions Origen collected together in one volume, placing them in four distinct columns, one over against the other, all in the same page; and from hence this edition was called the Tetrapla, i. e. the fourfold edition. In the first column of this edition was placed the version of Aquila, in the second that of Symmachus, in the third the version of the Septuagint, and in the last that of Theodotion. Some time after he published another edition, wherein he added two other columns in the beginning, and two others also in the end of the same page; and this was called the Hexapla, i. e. the sixfold edition, and sometimes the Octapla, that is, the eightfold. In the first column of this edition was placed the Hebrew text in Hebrew letters, in the second the same Hebrew text in Greek letters, in the third the Greek version of Aquila, in the fourth that of Symmachus, in the fifth that of the Septuagint, in the sixth that of Theodotion, in the seventh that which was called the fifth Greek version, and in the eighth the sixth Greek version; and after all these columns, in some parts of this edition, was added a ninth, in which was placed that which they call the seventh version. The fifth and sixth were not of the whole Old Testament,

---

but only of some parts of it. The law and several other of the books of these Scriptures were wanting in both these versions: and therefore this edition began only with six columns, and the other columns were added there only where these other versions began. And hence it is that this edition is called sometimes the Hexapla, in respect of that part of it where there were only six columns, and sometimes the Octapla, in respect of that part of it where there were eight columns; for the Hexapla and the Octapla were one and the same work, which in some parts of it had only six columns, and in others eight, and in some nine. In respect of the two former, it was called Hexapla and Octapla, but never Enneapla (i. e. the ninefold), in respect of the last:

for that last containing only a small part, and, as some say, no more than the Psalms, no regard was had to it, in the name given to the whole work. In this edition, Origen altered the order of several parts of the Septuagint, where it differed from the Hebrew original: for whereas several passages in that version, especially in Jeremiah, were inverted, transposed, and put into a different order from what they are in the Hebrew; it was necessary for him to reduce them again to the same order with it, for the making of this edition answer the end he proposed; for his end herein being, that the differences between all the versions and the original might be the more easily seen, in order to the making of that version the more correct and perfect which was in use through the whole Greek church, he found it necessary to make the whole answer line for line in every column, that all might appear the more readily to the view of the reader; which could not be done without reducing all to the same uniform order: and that of the original, in which all was first written, was the properest to be followed.

Order and arrangement of Origen's edition. —The fifth and sixth editions above mentioned were found, the one of them at Nicopolis, a city near Actium in Epirus, in the reign of Caracalla, and the other at Jericho in Judæa, in the reign of Alexander Severus. Where the seventh was found, or who was the author of this, or of the other two, is nowhere said. The first of these three contained the Minor Prophets, the Psalms, the Canticles, and the book of Job; the second, the Minor Prophets and the Canticles; and the third, according to some, only the Psalms. But very uncertain, and, in some particulars, very contradictory accounts being given of these three last versions, and the matter being of no moment, since they are now all lost, it will be of no use to make any further inquiry concerning them. How the whole was disposed in this edition of Origen's will be best understood by the scheme on the following page:

Col. 1. The Hebrew Text in Hebrew letters.

Col. 2. The Hebrew Text in Greek letters.

Col. 3. The Greek Version of Aquila.

Col. 4. The Greek Version of Symmachus.

Col. 5. The Greek Version of the LXX.

Col. 6. The Greek Version of Theodotion.

Col. 7. The fifth Greek Version.

Col. 8. The sixth Greek Version.

Col. 9. The seventh Greek Version.

Prodigious labour bestowed by Origen upon the Septuagint: introduction of obelisks, asterisks, lemnisks, and hypolemnisks.—All the last three versions, as well as the other three of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, Origen published in this edition as he found them. But the Septuagint, which was in the fifth column, being that for the sake of which he published all the rest, he bestowed much more pains upon it, to make it as correct and perfect as he could: for the copies of it which in his time went about for common use among the Hellenistical Jews and Christians, and were then read by both in their public assemblies, as well as in private at home, were then very much corrupted through the mistakes and negligence of transcribers, whose hands, by often transcription, it had now long gone through: and therefore, to remedy this evil, he applied himself with great care, by examining and collating of many copies, to correct all the errors that had this way crept into this version, and restore it again to its primitive perfection. And that copy which he had thus restored he placed in his Hexapla, in the fifth column; which being generally reputed to be the true and perfect copy of the Septuagint, the other that went about in common use was, in contradistinction to it, called the common or vulgar edition. And his labour rested not here: for he not only endeavoured, by comparing many different copies and editions of it, to clear it from the errors of transcribers, but also, by comparing it with the Hebrew original, to clear it from the mistakes of the first composers also; for many such he found in it, not only by omissions and additions, but also by wrong interpretations made in it by the first authors of this version. The law, which was the most exactly translated of all, had many of these, but the other parts a great many more. All which he endeavoured to correct in such manner as

to leave the original text of the Septuagint still entire, as it came out of the hands of the first translators, without any alterations, additions, or defalcations in it; in order where to he made use of four marks, called obelisks, asterisks, lemnisks, and hypolemnisks, which were then in use among the grammarians of those times, and put them into that edition of his corrected version of the Septuagint which he placed in his Hexapla. The obelisk was a straight stroke of the pen, resembling the form of a small spit, or the blade of a rapier, as thus (-); and thence it had the name of ὀβελίσκος, in Greek, which signifieth, in that language, a small spit, and also the blade of a

---

sword: the asterisk was a small star, as thus (*), and was so called because in Greek that word thus signifieth: the lemnisk was a straight line drawn between two points, as thus (÷): and the hypolemnisk, a straight line with one point under it, as thus (-.). By the obelisk he pointed out what was in the text of the Septuagint to be expunged, as that which was redundant over and above what was in the text of the Hebrew original. By the asterisk he showed what was to be added to it, to supply those places where he found it deficient of what was in the original. And these supplements he made to it mostly according to the version of Theodotion, and only where that could not serve to this purpose did he make use of the other versions. The lemnisks and hypolemnisks he seemeth to have used to mark out unto us where the original interpreters were mistaken in the sense and meaning of the words. But how these marks served to this end, the accounts which we have of them are not sufficient to give us a clear notion. To show how far the redundancies went that were marked with obelisks, and how far the additions that were marked with the asterisks, another mark was made use of by him in this edition, which in some copies were two points, as thus (:), or else in others the head of a dart inverted, as thus (∟); and by these marks was pointed out where the said redundancies and additions ended, in the same manner as by the obelisks and asterisks was where they begun, as (*καὶ αὐτὸς: or thus, -καὶ αὐτὸς ∟). But all this he did without making any alteration in the original version of the Septuagint; for taking out all these marks, with those supplements which were added under the asterisks, there

remained the true and perfect edition of the Septuagint, as published by the first translators; and this was that which was called Origen's edition, as being corrected and reformed by him in the manner as I have said. This was a work of infinite labour, which gained him the name of Adamantius, and was also of as great benefit to the church. It is not certainly said when he finished it; but it seems to have been in the year of our Lord 250, which was four years before his death.

Subsequent history of Origen's edition.—The original copy of Origen's edition, when completed, was laid up in the library of the church of Cæsarea in Palestine, where Jerome, many years after, consulted it, and wrote out a transcript from it. But the troubles and persecutions which the church fell under in those times, seem to have been the cause that, after it was placed in that library, it lay there in obscurity about fifty years without being taken notice of; till at length being found there by Pamphilus and Eusebius, they wrote out copies of it; and from that time the use and excellency of it being made known, it became dispersed to other churches, and was received everywhere with great applause and approbation by them. But the voluminousness of the work, and the trouble and charges it would cost to have it entirely

---

transcribed, became the cause that it was not long-lived: for it being very troublesome and expensive to have so bulky a book wrote out, which consisted of several volumes, and also very difficult to find scribes among Christians in those times sufficiently skilled to write out the Hebrew text, many contented themselves with copying out the fifth column only, that is, the Septuagint, with those marks of asterisks, obelisks, lemnisks, and hypolemnisks, with which Origen placed it in that column, that part thus marked seeming to comprehend an abridgment of the whole, whereby it came to pass, that few transcripts of this great work were made, but many of the other. In the transcribing of which, the asterisks being often left out, through want of due care in the writers, this occasioned that, in many copies of the Septuagint that were afterwards made, several particulars were taken into the text of the Septuagint, as original parts of it, which had only under this mark been inserted there by way of supplement out of other

translations. However, several copies of the whole work, both of the Tetrapla and Hexapla, still remained in libraries, and were consulted there on all occasions, till, at length, about the middle of the seventh century, the inundation of the Saracens upon the eastern parts having destroyed all libraries wherever they came, it was after this no more heard of; for there hath never since been any more remaining of it than some fragments that have been gathered together by Flaminius, Nobilius, Drusius, and Bernard de Montfaucon. The latter, in a book lately published, almost as bulky as the Hexapla, and a very pompous edition of it, hath made us expect concerning this matter much more than is performed.

The three ancient editions of the Septuagint, viz. 1st, By Pamphilus and Eusebius; 2ndly, By Lucian; and 3rdly, By Hesychius.— Pamphilus and Eusebius having, about the conclusion of the third century, found the Hexapla of Origen in the library of Cæsarea (or, according as some relate, brought it from Tyre, and placed it there), corrected out of it the Septuagint version then in common use; and having caused to be written out several copies of it thus corrected according to the fifth column in Origen's Hexapla, communicated them to the neighbouring churches; and from thence this edition became of general use in them, from Antioch to the borders of Egypt, and was called the Palestine edition, because it was there first published and used; and sometimes it is also called the edition of Origen, because it was made according to his corrections. About the same time two other editions of the same Septuagint Bible were made: the first by Lucian, a presbyter of the church of Antioch; which being found after his death at Nicodemia in Bithynia, where he suffered martyrdom in the tenth persecution, it became afterwards used through all the churches from Constantinople to Antioch. The other was made by Hesychius, a bishop of Egypt; which being received by the church of Alexandria, was from that time brought into use in that and all the other churches of Egypt. Both these two latter correctors understood the Hebrew text, and in many places corrected their editions from it. All the authors of these

three editions suffered martyrdom in the tenth persecution, which gave their editions that reputation, that the whole Greek church used either the one or

the other of them. The churches of Antioch and Constantinople, and of all the intermediate countries lying between them, made use of the edition of Lucian; all from Antioch to Egypt, that of Pamphilus; and all the churches of Egypt, that of Hesychius. So that Jerome saith, the whole world was divided between them in a threefold variety; because, in his time, no Greek church through the whole world made use of any other editions of those Scriptures, than one of these three; but every one of them received either the one or the other of them for the authentic copy which they went by. But if we may judge by the manuscript copies which still remain, these three different editions, bating the errors of scribes, did not, by variations that were of any great moment, differ the one from the other.

The three modern editions of the Septuagint.—As thus the ancients had three principal editions of the Septuagint, from whence all the rest were copied, so hath it happened also among the moderns: for, since the inventing of printing, there have been also three principal editions of this Septuagint version, from which all the rest have been printed that are now extant among us: the first, that of Cardinal Ximenes, printed at Complutum, or Alcala, in Spain; the second, that of Aldus, at Venice; and the third, that of Pope Sixtus V., at Rome.

1st, **The Complutensian edition of Cardinal Ximenes.** —That of Cardinal Ximenes was printed A. D. 1515, in his Polyglot Bible of Complutum, which contained, 1st, The Hebrew text; 2ndly, The Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos on the Pentateuch; 3rdly, The Greek Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and the Greek original of the New; and 4thly, The Latin version of both. It was prepared for the press by the study and care of the divines of the university of Alcala, and others called thither to assist in this work. But the whole being carried on under the direction, and at the costs and charges, of Cardinal Ximenes, it hath the name of his edition. The method proposed herein, as to the Septuagint, having been, out of all the copies they could meet with, to choose out that reading which was nearest the Hebrew original, they seem rather thereby to have given us a new Greek translation of their own composure than that ancient Greek version which, under the name of the Septuagint, was in so great use among the primitive Fathers of the Christian church. From this edition hath been printed the Septuagint which we have in both the Polyglots of Antwerp and

Paris; the former of which was published A. D. 1572, and the other A. D. 1645; and also the Septuagint of Commelin, printed at Heidelbergh, with Vatablus's Commentary, A. D. 1599.

2ndly, **The Aldine edition.** —Aldus's edition was published at Venice, A. D. 1518. It was, by the collation of many ancient manuscripts,

prepared for the press by Andreas Asulanus, father-in-law of the printer. And from this copy have been printed all the German editions, excepting that of Heidelberg by Commelin, already mentioned.

3rdly, **The Roman edition of Sextus V.** —But the Roman edition hath obtained the preference above the other two in the opinion of most learned men, though Isaac Vossius condemns it as the worst of all. The printing of this edition was first set on foot by Cardinal Montalto; and he having been afterwards pope, by the name of Sextus Quintus, at the time when it was published, A. D. 1587, it therefore came out under his name. He first recommended the work to Pope Gregory XIII., as being that which had been directed to be done by a decree of the council of Trent; and by his advice the work was committed to the care of Antony Caraffa, a learned man of a noble family in Italy, who was afterwards made a cardinal and library-keeper to the pope. He, by the assistance of several other learned men employed under him, in eight years' time finished this edition. It was, for the most part, according to an old manuscript in the Vatican library, which was written all in capital letters, without the marks of accents or points, and also without any distinction either of chapters or verses, and is supposed to be as ancient as the time of Jerome; only where this was defective (for some leaves of it are lost), they supplied the chasms out of other manuscripts; the principal of which were one that they had from Venice, out of the library of Cardinal Bessarion, and another that was brought them out of Magna Græcia, now called Calabria; which last so agreed with the Vatican manuscript, that they supposed them to have been written either the one from the other, or else both from the same copy. The next year after was published at Rome a Latin version of this edition, with the annotations of Flaminius Nobilius. Morinus reprinted both together at

Paris, A. D. 1628; and according to that edition have been published all those Septuagints that have been printed in England, that is, that of London, in 8vo, A. D. 1653, that in Walton's Polyglot, published 1657, and that of Cambridge, A. D. 1665; which last hath the learned preface of Bishop Pearson before it, and doth much more exactly give us the Roman edition than that of 1653, though both in some particulars differ from it.

The Alexandrine MS.—But the ancientest and the best manuscript of the Septuagint version now extant, according to the judgment of those who have thoroughly examined it, is the Alexandrian copy, which is in the king's library at St. James's. It is written all in capital letters, without the distinctions of chapters, verses, or words. It was sent for a present to King Charles I. by Cyrillus Lucaris, then patriarch of Constantinople. He had been before patriarch of Alexandria, and being translated from thence to the patriarchate of Constantinople, he brought thither this manuscript with him, and from thence sent it hither by Sir Thomas Roe, then ambassador from England to the Grand Seignior; and with it he sent this following account of the book, in a schedule annexed to it, written with his own hand.

"Liber iste Scripturæ Sacræ Novi et Veteris Testamenti, prout ex traditione habemus, est scriptus manu Thecle, nobilis fœminæ Ægyptiæ, ante mille et trecentos annos circiter, paulo post concilium Nicenum. Nomen Theclæ in fine libri erat exaratum; sed extincto Christianismo in Ægypto a Mahometanis, et libri una Christianorum in similem sunt redacti conditionem; extinctum enim est Theclæ nomen et laceratum; sed memoria et traditio recens observat.

"Cyrillus, Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus."

Which being rendered into English is as followeth:

"This book of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as we have it by tradition, was written by the hand of Thecla, a noble Egyptian lady, about one thousand three hundred years since, a little after the council of Nice. The name of Thecla was formerly written at the end of the book; but the Christian religion being by the Mahometans suppressed in Egypt,

the books of Christians were reduced to the like condition; and therefore the name of Thecla is extinguished and torn out of the book; but memory and tradition doth still observe it to have been hers.

"Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople."

The Grabian edition.—Dr. Ernestus Grabe, a learned Prussian, who had lived many years in England, did lately, under the government of her late Majesty Queen Anne, who gave him a pension for this purpose, undertake to publish an edition of the Septuagint according to the Alexandrian copy; and he hath accordingly given us two parts of it, and would have published the rest in two parts more, but that his death prevented him from proceeding any further. Would some other able hand, with the like accuracy and care, finish what he hath left undone, this might then be justly reckoned among us a fourth edition of the

---

Septuagint; and it is not doubted but that, when so completed, it will be approved as the most perfect and best of them all.

And thus far I have given an account of this ancient translation of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, and all the editions it hath gone through, both ancient and modern, so far as it belongs to an historian to relate. If any are desirous to know all the critical disputes and observations which have been made about it, and what learned men have written of this nature concerning it, they may consult Archbishop Usher's Syntagma de Græca LXX. Interpretum Versione; Morinus's Exercitatione Biblicæ, part 1, and his Preface before his Paris edition of the Septuagint; Wouver de Græca et Latina Bibliorum Interpretatione; Walton's Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglotta, cap. 9; Vossius de LXX. Interpretibus; Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament; Du Pin's History of the Canon of the Old Testament; Grabe's Prolegomena before those two parts of the Septuagint which were published by him; and especially Dr. Hody's learned book above cited, where he hath written the fullest and the best of all that have handled this argument. And here having concluded this long historical account of it, I shall with it conclude this book.

BOOK II.

JEWISH, EGYPTIAN, AND SYRIAN HISTORY, FROM THE COMPLETION OF THE SEPTUAGINT TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWISH NATION UNDER THE SELEUCIDE, B. C. 276 το 176.

I. CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY II. PHILADELPHUS,

B. C. 276-247.

Kings of Syria-Antiochus Soter, 279;

Antiochus Theus, 260.

High priests of the Jews-Manasseh, 276;

Onias II., 250.

Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, obtains the kingdom of Macedonia, 276. —SOSTHENES (who on his defeating the Gauls had for some time reigned in Macedon) being dead, Antiochus, the son of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, each claimed to succeed there as in their father's kingdom, Demetrius first, and afterwards Seleucus, having been kings of that country. But Antigonus, who had now from the time of his father's last expedition into Asia reigned in Greece ten years, being nearest, first took possession; whereon Antiochus resolving to march against him, and the other to keep what he had gotten, each raised great armies, and made strong alliances for the war. On this occasion Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having confederated with Antigonus, Antiochus, in his march towards Macedonia, not thinking it fit to leave such an enemy behind him in Asia, instead of passing over the Hellespont to attack Antigonus, led his army against Nicomedes, and

carried the war into Bithynia. But there both armies having for some time lain against each other, and neither of them having courage enough to assault

---

the other, it at length came to a treaty, and terms of agreement between them; by virtue of which, Antigonus having married Phila, the half-sister of Antiochus, as being the daughter of Stratonice by Seleucus, Antiochus quitted to him his claim to Macedonia, and Antigonus became quietly settled in that kingdom, where his posterity reigned for several descents, till at length Perseus, the last of that race, being conquered by Paulus Æmilius, that kingdom became a province of the Roman empire.

Antiochus Soter frees Asia Minor from the Gauls, 275. — Antiochus being thus freed from this war, marched against the Gauls (who having gotten a settlement in Asia, by the favour of Nicomedes, in the manner as hath been above related, overran and harassed all that country); and having, after a sharp conflict, overthrown them in battle, he thereby delivered those provinces from their oppressions, from whence he had the name of Soter, or the Saviour, given unto him.

Alliance formed between Ptolemy II. and the Romans, 274, 273. —In B. C. 274, the Romans having forced Pyrrhus, after a six years' war, to leave Italy, and return again into Epirus, with baffle and disappointment, their name began to grow of great note and fame among foreign nations; whereon Ptolemy Philadelphus sent ambassadors to them to desire their friendship; with which the Romans were well pleased, thinking it no small reputation to them that their friendship was sought for by so great a king. And therefore, to make a return of the like respects, the next year after (B. C. 273) they sent a solemn embassy into Egypt unto that king. The ambassadors were Q. Fabius Gurges, Cn. Fabius Pictor, and Q. Ogulinus, whose conduct in this employment was very remarkable: for with a mind as great as self-denying, they put off everything from themselves that might tend to their own proper interest. For when king Ptolemy, having invited them to supper with him, presented them, in the conclusion of the entertainment, with crowns of gold, they accepted of the crowns for the

sake of the honour that was done them thereby, but the next morning after crowned with them the statues of the king, which stood in the public places of the city; and being presented, on their taking their leave, with very valuable gifts from the king, they accepted of them, that they might not disgust him by the refusal; but as soon as they were returned to Rome they delivered them all into the public treasury, before they appeared in the senate to give an account of their embassy, declaring thereby that they desired no other advantage from the service of the public, than the honour of discharging it well. And this was the general temper and inclination of the Romans in those times; which made them prosper in all their undertakings. But afterwards, when the service of the public was only desired in order to plunder it, and men entered on the employments of the state with no other view or intent than to enrich themselves, and advance their own private fortunes, no wonder then that everything began to go backward with them. And so it must happen with all other states and kingdoms, when the public interest is sacrificed to that of private men, and the

---

offices and employments of the state are desired only to gratify the ambition and glut the avarice of them that can get into them. But the Romans, although they received into their treasury what their ambassadors thus generously delivered into it, yet were not wanting in what was proper for them to do for the encouraging so good an example, and the rewarding of them that gave it: for they ordered to be given to them, for their service done the state in this embassy, such sums out of their treasury, as equalled the value of what they thus delivered into it. So that the liberality of Ptolemy, the abstinence and self-denial of the ambassadors, and the justice of the Romans, were all signally made appear in the transactions of this matter.

Alliance between Ptolemy II. and the Lacedæmonians and Athenians against Antigonus Gonatas: its ill success, 268. —After the death of Pyrrhus, who was slain at Argos [B.C. 272] in an attempt made upon that city, Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedon, having much enlarged his power, and made himself thereby very formidable to the Grecian states,

the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians entered into a confederacy against him, and gained Ptolemy Philadelphus to join with them herein. Whereon Antigonus besieged Athens: for the relief of which Ptolemy sent a fleet under the command of Patroclus, one of his chief officers; and Areus, king of the Lacedæmonians, led thither an army by land for the same purpose. Patroclus, on his arrival with his fleet, sent to Areus to persuade him forthwith to engage the enemy, promising him at the same time, to land the forces which he had on board the fleet, and fall on them in the rear. But the provisions of the Lacedæmonians being all spent, Areus thought it better to retreat and march home; whereon Patroclus was forced to do the same, and sail back with his fleet again into Egypt, without accomplishing anything of the design for which he was sent: and Athens being thus deserted by its allies, fell into the hands of Antigonus, and he placed a garrison in it.

Death of Sotades, the satirical poet, 267. —Patroclus, in his return into Egypt, having found Sotades at Caunus, a maritime city of Caria, there seized on him, and wrapping him in a sheet of lead, cast him into the sea. He was a lewd poet, who having written some satirical verses against king Ptolemy, and in them bitterly reflected on him for his marriage with Arsinoe his sister, was fled from Alexandria, to avoid the indignation of that prince. But Patroclus, having thus met him in his flight, thought he could not better recommend himself to the favour of his prince, than by taking this vengeance on the person who had thus abused him. And it was a punishment which he well deserved; for he was a very vile and flagitious wretch, and was commonly called Sotades Cinædus; which name was given him by way of eminence, not only for his notorious guilt in that monstrous and abominable vice, but especially for that he had written in Iambic verses a very remarkable poem in commendation of it, which was in great repute among those who were guilty of that unnatural crime, and who were called from him, Sotadici Cinædi, as in Juvenal, Inter Sotadicos notissima fossa Cinædos; for so it ought

---

to be read, and not Socraticos, as in our printed books; for this latter was an alteration made in the text of that author by such as were wickedly addicted to this vice, thinking they might acquire some credit, or at least some

excuse, to this worst of uncleanness, if they could make it believed that Socrates, who was one of the best of men, had also been addicted to it.

Magas, governor of Cyrene and Libya for Ptolemy II., revolts and becomes king, 265, 264. —In B. C. 265, Magas, governor of Cyrene and Libya for king Ptolemy, rebelled against him, and made himself king of those provinces. He was half-brother to him, being son of Berenice by Philip, a Macedonian, who had been her husband before she married king Ptolemy Soter; and therefore, by her intercession, she prevailed with that prince to make him his lieutenant, to govern those provinces, on his again recovering them after the death of Ophellas, B. C. 307; where having strengthened himself by a long continuance in that government, and also by the marriage of Apame, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, king of Asia, he, in confidence hereof, rebelled against his brother, and not being contented to deprive him of the provinces of Libya and Cyrene, where he now reigned, sought to dispossess him also of Egypt; and therefore, having gotten together a great army, marched towards Alexandria for this purpose, and seized Parætonium, a city of Marmarica, in his way thither. But as he was proceeding further, a message being brought him that the Marmarides, a people of Libya, had revolted from him, he was forced to march back again for the suppressing of this defection. Ptolemy being then with a great army on the borders of Egypt, to defend his country against this invader, had a good opportunity, by falling on him in his retreat, utterly to have broken him. But he was hindered by a like defection at home, as Magas had been; for having for his defence in this war hired several mercenaries, and among them four thousand Gauls, he found they had entered into a conspiracy against him to take possession of Egypt, and drive him thence; for the preventing of which, he marched back into Egypt, and having led the conspirators into an island in the Nile, he there pent them up, till they all perished of famine, or, to avoid it, had slain each other with their own swords. Magas, as soon as he had removed the difficulties at home which called him thither, was for renewing his designs again upon Egypt; and for the carrying of them on with the better success, engaged Antiochus Soter, his father-in-law, to engage with him herein; and the project concerted between them was, that Antiochus should attack the territories of Ptolemy on one side, and Magas on the other. But in B. C. 264, while Antiochus was

providing an army for this purpose, Ptolemy, having full notice of what was intended, sent forces into all the maritime provinces which were under the dominion of Antiochus; whereby, having caused great ravages and devastations to be made in them, by this means he necessitated that prince to keep at home for the defence of his own territories, and Magas, without his assistance in the war, thought not fit to move any further in it.

Death and history of Philetærus, the founder of the kingdom of Pergamus, 263. —The next year after died Philetærus, the first founder of the kingdom of Pergamus, being eighty years old: he was a eunuch, and

---

served Docimus, who was one of the captains of Antigonus, and on his revolt from that prince to Lysimachus, passed with him into the same service; and Lysimachus finding him to have had a liberal education, and to be a person of great capacity, made him his treasurer, and thereon put the city of Pergamus into his hands, where, in a strong castle, his treasure was kept. And here he served Lysimachus many years with great fidelity; but being particularly attached to the interest of Agathocles, the eldest son of Lysimachus, and therefore having expressed great grief at his death, which was brought about by the contrivance of Arsinoe, the daughter of king Ptolemy Soter (whom Lysimachus had married in his old age, as hath been already related), he grew suspected to that lady; and finding thereon that designs were laid for his life also, he revolted from Lysimachus, and under the protection of Seleucus set up for himself: and having converted the treasure of Lysimachus to his own use, among the distractions that after followed, first on the death of Lysimachus, and then on that of Seleucus, within seven months after, and the unsettled state of them that succeeded them, he managed his affairs with that craft and subtlety that he secured himself in the possession of his castle, and all the country adjacent, for the term of twenty years, and there founded a kingdom, which lasted for several descents in his family after him, and was one of the most potent sovereignties in all Asia. He had indeed no children of his own, as being a eunuch; but he had two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus; the elder of which, Eumenes, had a son of the same name, who succeeded his uncle in his new-acquired kingdom, and reigned in it twenty-two years. This same year

began the first Punic war between the Romans and Carthaginians, which lasted twenty-four years.

Death of Antigonus Socho, president of the Jewish Sanhedrim. — Towards the end of the same year died Antigonus of Socho, who was president of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, and the great master and teacher of the Jewish law in their prime divinity school in that city; and had been in both these offices, say the Jews, from the death of Simon the Just, who was of the last of those who were called the men of the great synagogue. These taught the Scriptures only to the people. They who after succeeded, added the traditions of the elders to the Holy Scriptures, and taught them both to their scholars, obliging them to the observance of the one as well as the other, as if both had equally proceeded from Mount Sinai. These were called the Tanaim, or the Mishnical doctors, for the reason already mentioned: and the first of them was this Antigonus of Socho, who being now dead, was succeeded by Joseph the son of Joazer, and Joseph the son of John. The first of these was Nasi, or the president of the Sanhedrim, and the other Ab-Beth-Din, or vice-president; and both jointly taught together in the chief divinity school at Jerusalem.

Rise of the Sadducees. —In the time of this Antigonus began the sect of the Sadducees, to the rise of which he gave the occasion: for having, in his lectures, often inculcated to his scholars that they ought not to serve God in a servile manner with respect to the reward, but

---

out of the filial love and fear only which they owed unto him; Sadoc and Baithus, two of his scholars, hearing this from him, inferred from hence, that there were no rewards at all after this life; and therefore, separating from the school of their master, they taught that there was no resurrection nor future state, but that all the rewards which God gave to those that served him were in this life only. And many being perverted by them to this opinion, they began that sect among the Jews, which, from the name of Sadoc, the first founder of it, were called Sadducees; who differed from Epicurus only in this, that although they denied a future state, yet they allowed the power of God to create the world, and his providence to govern

it; whereas the Epicureans deny both the one and the other. A fuller account of them and their tenets shall be hereafter given, in the place where I shall treat of all those sects of the Jews together, which arose among them between this time and that of our Saviour.

Foundation of the city of Nicomedia, 262. —Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having built a new city in the place where Astachus before stood (which had been destroyed by Lysimachus), or very near it, as others say, caused it from his own name to be called Nicomedia; of which place, frequent mention is made in the histories of the latter Roman emperors, several of them having made it the seat of their residence in the East.

Syrian history: death of Antiochus Soter and succession of Antiochus Theus, 261. —Antiochus Soter, on his hearing of the death of Philetærus, thought to possess himself of his territories, whereon Eumenes marched with an army against him for his defence; and having encountered him near Sardis, overthrew him in battle, and thereby not only secured himself in the possession of what his uncle had left him, but also augmented it by several new acquisitions. Antiochus, after this defeat, returning to Antioch, there put to death one of his sons, who had raised some disturbances in his absence, and made the other, who was named also Antiochus, king, and a little after dying, left him in the sole possession of all his dominions. He was born to him by Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius, who had been first his mother-in-law, and afterwards his wife, as hath been already related. This Antiochus, on his first coming to the crown, had for his wife Laodice, his sister by the same father: he afterwards took the title of Theus, or the Divine; and by this he is usually distinguished from the other kings of that name who reigned in Syria. It was first given him by the Milesians, on his delivering them from the tyranny of Timarchus: for this Timarchus, being governor of Caria for Ptolemy Philadelphus (who at this time had, besides Egypt, Cœle-Syria, and Palestine, the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, in Lesser Asia), rebelled against him, and setting up for himself, fixed the chief seat of his tyranny at

Miletus. The Milesians, to be freed from him, called in Antiochus, who having vanquished and slain Timarchus, was for this reason honoured by them as a god, and had the title of Theus there given unto him; which was an impious flattery the people of those times were frequently guilty of towards the princes then reigning: for the Lemnians had a little before consecrated his father and grandfather to be gods, and built temples to them; and the Smyrnians did the same for Stratonice his mother.

Berosus, the Babylonian historian, dedicates his history to Antiochus Theus. —In the beginning of this king's reign lived Berosus, the famous Babylonian historian; for he dedicated his history to him: so saith Tatian. His words are "Berosus, the Babylonian, who was a priest of Belus at Babylon, and lived in the time of Alexander, dedicated to Antiochus, who was the third after him, his history, which he wrote in three books, of the affairs of the Chaldeans, and the actions of their kings." The third after Alexander was certainly Antiochus Theus: for Seleucus Nicator was the first, Antiochus Soter the second, and Antiochus Theus the third and therefore, according to Tatian, it must be to him that this dedication was made. But it being also said by Tatian, that he lived in the time of Alexander, who died sixty-four years before the first year of Antiochus Theus, the age of the historian makes it necessary to place this dedication to Antiochus as early as possible, that is, in the first year of his reign. For supposing Berosus to have been twenty at the death of Alexander, in whose time he is said to have lived, he must have been eighty-four in the first year of Antiochus Theus; and so great an age makes it probable he could not have lived long beyond it; and therefore below this year we cannot well place this dedication. And the account which Pliny gives us of this history, brings down the ending of it to have been hereabout; for he saith that it contained astronomical observations for four hundred and eighty years. Learned men, with good reason, begin the computation of these four hundred and eighty years from the beginning of the era of Nabonassar, and the four hundred and eightieth year of that era ended about six years before Antiochus Theus began his reign. And that he should end his history at a term of six years before he published it, is not hard to conceive, though perchance it might be deduced down to the death of Antiochus Soter, and the odd number be left out in the computation, it being usual in the

reckoning of such long sums to end them at a full number. After the Macedonians had made themselves masters of Babylon, he learned from them the Greek language; and passing from Babylon into Greece, first settled at Cos, a place famous for the birth of Hippocrates, the father of physicians, and did there set up a school for the teaching of astronomy and astrology; and afterwards from Cos he went to Athens, where he grew so famous for his astrological predictions, that they there erected to him in their gymnasium (the public place of their exercises) a statue with a golden tongue. Many noble fragments of his history are preserved by Josephus and Eusebius, which give great light to many passages in the

---

Scriptures of the Old Testament, and without which the series of the Babylonian kings could not have been well made out. Of the counterfeit Berosus, published by Annius of Viterbo, I have already spoken, and therefore need not here again repeat it.

Ptolemy II. draws all the East India trade from Tyre to Alexandria, 259. —Ptolemy being intent to advance the riches of his kingdom, contrived to bring all the trade of the East that was by sea into it. It had hitherto been managed by the Tyrians, and they carried it on by sea to Elath, and from thence by the way of Rhinocorura to Tyre. These were both sea-port towns; Elath on the east side of the Red Sea, and Rhinocorura at the bottom of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine, near the mouth of that river which the Scriptures call the river of Egypt: of both which places, and the trade carried on through them by the Tyrians, I have already spoken in the first part of this history. To draw this trade into Egypt, Ptolemy contrived to build a city on the western side of the Red Sea, from whence he might set out his shipping for the carrying of it on. But observing that the Red Sea towards the bottom of the gulf was of very difficult and dangerous navigation, by reason of its rocks and shelves, he built his city at as great distance from that part of this sea as he could, placing it almost as far down as the confines of Ethiopia, and called it Berenice, from the name of his mother. But that not having a good harbour, Myos Hormus, in the neighbourhood, was afterwards found to be a more convenient port; and therefore all the wares of Arabia, India, Persia, and

Ethiopia, being brought thither by sea, they were carried from thence on camels' backs, to Coptus on the Nile, and from thence down that river to Alexandria, from whence they were dispersed all over the West, and the wares of the West were carried back the same way into the East; by which means the Tyrians being deprived of this profitable traffic, it became thenceforth fixed at Alexandria; and this city from that time continued to be the prime mart of all the trade that was carried on between the East and the West for above seventeen hundred years after, till a little above two centuries since another passage from the West into those countries was found out by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. But the road from Coptus to the Red Sea being through deserts, where no water was to be had, nor any convenience of towns or houses for the lodging of passengers, Ptolemy, for the remedying of both these inconveniences, drew a ditch from Coptus, which carried the water of the Nile all along by that road, and built on it several inns, at such proper distances, as to afford every night lodgings and convenient refreshments, both for man and beast, to all that should pass that way. And as he thus projected to draw all the trade of the East and West into his kingdom, so he provided a very great fleet for the protecting of it, part of which he kept in the Red Sea, and part in the Mediterranean. That in the Mediterranean alone was very great, and some of the ships of it of a very unusual bigness: for he had in it two ships of thirty oars on a side, one of twenty oars, four of fourteen, two of twelve, fourteen of eleven, thirty of nine, thirty-seven of seven, five of six, seventeen of five; and of four oars and three

---

oars of a side, he had double the number of all these already mentioned; and he had, over and above, of the smaller sort of vessels a vast number. And by the strength of this fleet, he not only maintained and advanced the trade of his country, but also kept most of the maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, that is Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, and also the Cyclades, in thorough subjection to him as long as he lived.

Cyrene and Libya: Magas attempts a reconciliation with Ptolemy II., 258. —Magas, king of Cyrene and Libya, growing old and infirm, expressed a desire of composing all differences with king Ptolemy his

brother; and in order hereto proposed to marry his only daughter Berenice to king Ptolemy's eldest son, and with her to give the inheritance of his kingdoms after him; which being accepted of by Ptolemy, peace was made between them on these terms.

Death of Magas, 257. —But Magas, in the year following, died before the treaty was executed, after he had reigned fifty years over Libya and Cyrene, from the time that these provinces were first committed to his government, on the death of Ophellas. In the latter end of his life he gave himself much to ease and luxury, eating and drinking beyond all temperance and measure; whereon he grew so corpulent, that at length he weighed himself down into the grave by the load of his own fat.

Tragical amour of Apame, the widow of Magas. —After the death of Magas, Apame his wife (whom Justin calls Arsinoe), setting herself very violently to break the match contracted for her daughter with the son of king Ptolemy, as being agreed without her consent, sent into Macedon for Demetrius, the half-brother of king Antigonus Gonatas (for he was the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, by his last wife Ptolemais, the daughter of Ptolemy Soter), promising him her daughter in marriage, and the kingdoms of Libya and Cyrene with her. This invitation soon brought Demetrius thither. But Apame, on his arrival, finding him a very beautiful young man, fell in love with him herself; which Demetrius complying with, neglected the young princess, and gave himself wholly up to this scandalous amour with the mother; and being hereon thoroughly possessed of her favour, in confidence of it, began to carry himself with pride and insolence, not only towards the princess, but also towards the ministers and soldiers that served her father; whereon they all conspired against him. And Berenice herself, having led the conspirators to the door of her mother's bed-chamber, when he was there accompanying with her, they fell upon him, and slew him in her bed, notwithstanding she did all she could, by interposing her body between him and the swords of the conspirators, to save him from this assassination.

Apame exasperates Antiochus Theus against Ptolemy II., 256. — After this, Berenice went into Egypt, and there consummated the marriage with the son of king Ptolemy which her father had contracted for her,

and Apame was sent into Syria to king Antiochus Theus her brother. But on her arrival at his court, she so exasperated him against king Ptolemy, as to engage him to enter into a war with him, which lasted long, and was carried on with great violence, to the very great damage of king Antiochus; and at last administered the occasion for a cruel tragedy in his family, in which he himself perished, as will be hereafter related.

War between Antiochus Theus and Ptolemy II., 255. —For the carrying on of this war, Ptolemy employed his lieutenants, without appearing in it himself, by reason of the tender state of his health, which would not permit him to bear the hardships of a camp, or the fatigues of a campaign. But Antiochus, being in the vigour of his youth, headed his armies himself, and drew after him all the strength of Babylon and the East, for the more vigorous prosecuting of the war. But what were the successes of it on either side we have no account, through want of their being recorded in history; only we may presume there were no great advantages gotten, nor any signal events brought to pass, on either side, because if there had they could not have escaped being told us, in an age when there lived so many able historians and learned men to commit them to writing.

Egypt: Aratus of Sicyon assists Ptolemy II. in the enlargement of his library, 254. —But, amidst this war, Ptolemy did not omit his search for books for his library, and also for pictures and drawings which were the works of eminent artists. And for this Aratus, the famous Sicyonian, being one of his agents in Greece, he so far gained his favour by his service to him herein, that on his applying to him for his help towards the restoring of his city to liberty and peace, he gave him for this purpose one hundred and fifty talents. The case was thus:-Aratus having expelled Nicocles, the tyrant of Sicyon, and brought back the exiles again to their city, great disturbances did there arise hereon about the restoration of their lands, which had like to have put all into confusion among them, by reason most of those lands had been transferred to other proprietors, and by purchase and sale for valuable considerations, gone through several hands before the exiles were restored, who thought it hard to be deprived of what they had paid for; and there being no other way to satisfy them but by refunding their money again, for

this reason Aratus applied to king Ptolemy, and with the money he gave him, satisfied everybody, and restored peace to Sicyon.

Syrian empire: revolt from Antiochus Theus of the provinces eastward of the Tigris, 250. —While Antiochus was carrying on the war in which he was engaged against king Ptolemy, there happened a great defection from him in the eastern provinces of his empire; and, by reason of his embarrassments in this war, he not being at leisure immediately to suppress it, the revolt at length grew to a head too hard for him to master; and this gave beginning to the Parthian empire. The occasion of it was thus:-Agathocles, who was governor of Parthia for king Antiochus, attempted by force to commit an unnatural outrage upon a young man called Teridates. Whereupon Arsaces, the

---

brother of the youth, to rescue him from this violence, with some other of his friends joining with him, fell upon the governor, and slew him; and after that, drawing a company together after him for the vindication of the act, he in a little time, while neglected by Antiochus, grew strong enough to expel the Macedonians out of the province, and there set up for himself. And about the same time Theodotus revolted in Bactria, and from being governor of that province, declared himself king of it. And that country having one thousand cities in it, he got them all under his obedience; and while Antiochus delayed to look that way, by reason of his wars with Egypt, made himself too strong in them to be afterwards reduced: which example being followed by other nations in those parts, they all there generally revolted at the same time; and Antiochus lost almost all those eastern provinces of his empire that lay beyond the Tigris. This happened, Justin tells, while L. Manlius Vulso and M. Attilius Regulus were consuls at Rome.

Jewish history: elevation of Onias II. to the high priesthood.— This same year, on the death of Manasseh, high priest of the Jews, Onias, the second of that name, succeeded him in his office. He was the son of Simon the Just; but having been left an infant at his father's death, Eleazar, the brother of Simon, was then made high priest in his stead. And he also

dying before Onias was of an age capable for the executing of the office, Manasseh, the son of Jaddua, and uncle of Simon the Just, was called to it; and now, he being dead, Onias came into the office. But being a man of heavy temper, and a very sordid spirit, he behaved himself very meanly in that station, to the endangering of the whole Jewish state by the illness of his conduct, as will hereafter be related in its proper place.

Peace between Antiochus Theus and Ptolemy II., by the marriage of Antiochus with Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy, 249.—The commotions and revolts which happened in the East, making Antiochus weary of his war with king Ptolemy, peace was made between them on the terms that Antiochus, divorcing Laodice his former wife, should marry Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy, and make her his queen instead of the other, and entail his crown upon the male issue of that marriage. And this agreement being ratified on both sides, for the full performance of it, Antiochus put away Laodice, though she were his sister by the same father, and he had two sons born to him by her; and Ptolemy carrying his daughter to Pelusium, there put her on board his fleet, and sailed with her to Seleucia, a sea-port town near the mouth of the river Orontes in Syria; where having met Antiochus, he delivered his daughter to him, and the marriage was celebrated with great solemnity.

Fulfilment of the prophecy of Daniel concerning the marriage of the king's daughter of the south with the king of the north.—And thus "the king's daughter of the south came, and was married to the king of the north;" and by virtue of that marriage, "an agreement was made between those two kings," according to the prophecy of the prophet Daniel, xi. 5, 6. For in that place, by the king of the south is meant

---

the king of Egypt, and by the king of the north the king of Syria; and both are there so called in respect of Judæa, which lying between these two countries, hath Egypt on the south, and Syria on the north. For the fuller understanding of this prophecy, it is to be observed, that the holy prophet, after having spoken of Alexander the Great (ver. 3), and of the four kings among whom his empire was divided (ver. 4), confines the rest of his

prophecy in that chapter to two of them only, that is, to the king of Egypt and the king of Syria; and first he begins with that king of Egypt who first reigned in that country after Alexander, that is, Ptolemy Soter, whom he calls king of the south, and saith of him that he should be strong. And that he was so, all that write of him do sufficiently testify; for he had under him Egypt, Libya, Cyrene, Arabia, Palestine, Cœle-Syria, most of the maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, the island of Cyprus, several of the isles of the Ægean Sea now called the Archipelago, and some cities also in Greece, as Sicyon, Corinth, and others. And then the prophet proceedeth to speak of another of the four successors (or princes, as he call them) of Alexander, and he was Seleucus Nicator, king of the north; of whom he saith, that he "should be strong above the king of the south, and have great dominion also above him:" that is, greater than the king of the south. And that he had so, appears from the large territories he was possessed of, for he had under him all the countries of the East, from Mount Taurus to the river Indus, and several of the provinces of Lesser Asia, also from Mount Taurus to the Ægean Sea: and he had moreover added to them, before his death, Thrace and Macedon. And then in the next place (ver. 6), he tells us of "the coming of the king's daughter of the south, after the end of several years, to the king of the north, and the agreement, or treaty of peace, which should thereon be made between those two kings:" which plainly points out unto us this marriage of Berenice, daughter to Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, with Antiochus Theus king of Syria, and the peace which was thereon made between them: for all this was exactly transacted according to what was predicted by the holy prophet in this prophecy. After this the holy prophet proceeds, through the rest of the chapter, to foreshow all the other most remarkable events that were brought to pass in the transactions of the succeeding times of these two races of kings, till the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great persecutor of the Jewish nation: all which I shall take notice of in the following series of this history, and apply them to the prophecy for the explication of it, as they come in my way.

Death of Arsinoe, sister and wife of Ptolemy II., 248.—Ptolemy being a curious collector of statues, drawings, and pictures, that were the works of eminent artists, as well as of books, while he was in Syria the last year, saw there a statue of Diana, in one of her temples, which he was much

taken with; and therefore, desiring it of Antiochus, carried it with him into Egypt. But he had not been long returned thither ere Arsinoe, falling sick, dreamed that Diana appeared to her, and told her that the cause of her sickness was that Ptolemy had taken away her statue from the temple where it had been consecrated to her. Whereon the statue was sent back again into Syria, and there replaced in the temple from whence it had been taken, and many gifts and oblations

---

were added to appease the wrath of the goddess. But this did not at all help the sick queen; for she soon after died of the sickness she had languished under, and left Ptolemy in great grief for her loss: for though she were much older than he, and past child-bearing when he married her, yet he doted on her to the last; and after her death did all that he could for her honour, calling several cities which he had built by her name, and erecting obelisks to her memory, and doing many other unusual things to express the great affection and regard which he had for her: the most remarkable of which was his attempting to erect a temple to her at Alexandria, in which it was projected to build a dome, whose vault, being all arched with loadstone, should cause an image of hers, made of steel, there to hang in the air in the middle of the dome, by virtue of the attractive quality of the loadstones. This design was the contrivance of Dinocrates, a famous architect of those times: and when it was laid before king Ptolemy he was so pleased with it, that the work was forthwith begun under the direction of him that projected it. But whether it would take or no, never came to the trial; for both Ptolemy and the architect soon after dying, this did put an end to the design; so that no experiment was made of what the loadstones could do in this case. It hath long gone current among many that the body of Mahomet, after his death, being laid in an iron coffin, was thus hung in the air by virtue of loadstones in the roof of the room where it was reposited; but how fabulous this story is I have already shown in the life of that impostor.

Death and character of Ptolemy II., 247.—Ptolemy, after the death of Arsinoe, did not long survive her: for being originally of a tender constitution, and having further weakened it by a luxurious indulgence, he could not bear the approach of age, nor the grief of mind which he fell

under on the loss of his beloved wife; but sinking away under these burdens, died in his great climacteric, the sixty-third year of his life, after having reigned over Egypt thirty-eight years. He left behind him two sons and a daughter, which he had by Arsinoe the daughter of Lysimachus, his first wife. The oldest of the two sons was Ptolemy Euergetes, who reigned after him; the other was called Lysimachus, which was the name of his maternal grandfather. He was put to death by his brother for some insurrection which he had made against him. The daughter was Berenice, who was lately married to Antiochus Theus, king of Syria.

Character of Ptolemy II.—Ptolemy Philadelphus having been a very learned prince, and a great patron of learning, as well as a great collector of books, many of those who were eminent for any part of literature resorted to him from all parts, and partook of his favour and bounty. Seven celebrated poets of that age are especially said to have lived in his court; four of which, Theocritus, Callimachus, Lycophron, and Aratus, have of their works still remaining, and among these the first of them hath a whole Idyllium, and the second part of two hymns, written in his praise. Manetho, the Egyptian historian,

---

dedicated his history to him, of which we have already spoken. And Zoilus, the snarling critic, came also to his court; he had written against Homer, whom all besides highly valued and admired; and he had also criticised upon the works of other eminent writers in a very biting and detracting style; and from hence his name grew so infamous that it was afterwards given by way of reproach to all detractors; and carping Zoilus became a proverbial expression of infamy upon all such. Although his eminency this way was so remarkable that he excelled all men in it, yet this could not recommend him to king Ptolemy. How great soever his wit was, he hated him for the bitterness and ill-nature of it, and therefore would give him nothing; and for the same reason, having drawn on him the odium and aversion of all men, he at length died miserably: some say he was stoned, others that he was burned to death, and others that he was crucified by king Ptolemy for a crime he had committed deserving of that punishment.

Founded numerous cities.—This king had also been a great builder of new cities, and many old ones he repaired, and gave new names to them; and particularly two of this last sort were in Palestine: for there he rebuilt, on the west side of that country, Ace, a famous port on that coast; and on the eastern side, that ancient city which is so often mentioned in Scripture by the name of Rabbah of the children of Ammon. Ace he called, from one of his names, Ptolemais, and Rabbah, from the other of his names, Philadelphus. The former of these is still in being, and having recovered its old name, is called Acon; by which it is often mentioned, and is of very famous note in the histories of the holy war. The Turks at present name it Acre. And he left so many other monuments of his magnificence behind him in cities, in temples, and in other public edifices built by him, that it afterwards grew into a proverb, when any work was erected with more than ordinary sumptuousness, to call it Philadelphian.

His immense riches.—But notwithstanding the great expense he must have been at in all this, he died possessed of vast riches; for although he had two great fleets, one in the Mediterranean, and the other in the Red Sea, and maintained constantly in pay an army of two hundred thousand foot and forty thousand horse, and had also three hundred elephants, and two thousand armed chariots, besides arms in his magazines for three hundred thousand men more, and all other necessary implements and engines for war, yet he left in his treasury seven hundred and forty thousand Egyptian talents in ready money, which being reduced to our money make a prodigious sum: for every Egyptian talent contained seven thousand five hundred Attic drachms, which is one thousand five hundred drachms more than an Attic talent. This shows how vast his revenues must have been, which he had the art to make the most of: for it is Appian's character of

---

him, that as he was the most splendid and magnificent of all the kings of his time in the laying out of his money, so was he of all the most intent and skilful in the gathering of it in.

II. REIGN OF PTOLEMY III. EUERGETES, B. C. 246—222.

Kings of Syria—Antiochus Theus, 260;

Seleucus Callinicus, 245;

Seleucus Ceraunus, 225;

Antiochus the Great, 223.

High priests of the Jews—Onias II., 250.

Syrian history: poisoning of Antiochus Theus and accession of Seleucus Callinicus, 246.—Antiochus Theus, as soon as he heard of the death of king Ptolemy Philadelphus, his father-in-law, removed Berenice from his bed, and again recalled unto him Laodice and her children. But she knowing the unsteady and fickle humour of Antiochus, and therefore fearing that he might, upon as light change of mind, again recall Berenice, as he had her, resolved to make use of the present opportunity to secure the succession to her son. For by the late treaty with Ptolemy her children were to be disinherited, and the crown to be settled on the children which Berenice should bear unto him; and she already had one son by him. For the effecting of this design she procured Antiochus to be poisoned by his servants, and then, on his death, did put one Artemon, that was very much like him, into his bed, to personate him as sick, till she should have brought her matters to bear; who acting his part well, the death of the king was not known till, by orders forged in his name, her eldest son by him, Seleucus Callinicus, was secured of the succession; and then, the death of the king being publicly declared, Seleucus ascended the throne without any opposition, and sat in it twenty years. But Laodice not thinking him safe in the possession which he had thus taken of it, as long as Berenice and her son lived, designs were laid to cut them both off; which Berenice being informed of, she fled with her son to Daphne, and there shut herself up in the asylum which was built in that place by Seleucus Nicator. But she being circumvented by the fraud of those who, by the appointment of Laodice, did

there besiege her, first her son, and afterward she herself, were villanously slain, with all the Egyptian attendants that came with her. And hereby was exactly fulfilled what was foretold by the prophet Daniel concerning this marriage (ch. xi. ver. 6), that is, that "Neither he (that is, Antiochus king of the north) nor she (that is, Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy king of the south) should continue in their power; but that he (that is, king Antiochus) should fall, and that she (that is, Berenice), being deprived of him that strengthened her (that is, of her father who died a little before), should be given up, with those that brought her (that is, that came with her out of Egypt), and her son, whom she brought forth, to be cut off and destroyed." And so it happened to them all, in the manner as I have related.

Ptolemy III. conquers all the Syrian empire westward of the Tigris.—While Berenice continued shut up and besieged in Daphne, the cities of Lesser Asia, hearing of her distress, commiserated her case, and immediately, by a joint association, sent an army towards Antioch for her relief; and Ptolemy Euergetes, her brother, hastened thither with a greater force out of Egypt for the same purpose. But both Berenice and her son were cut off before either of them could arrive for their help: whereon both armies turning their desire of saving the queen and her son into a rage for the revenging of their death, the Asian forces joined the Egyptian for the effecting of it; and Ptolemy, at the head of both, carried all before him; for he not only slew Laodice, but also made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia, and then passing the Euphrates, brought all under him as far as Babylon and the river Tigris, and would have subjugated to him all the other provinces of the Syrian empire, but that a sedition arising in Egypt during his absence, called him back to suppress it. And therefore, having appointed Antiochus and Xantippus, two of his generals, the former of them to command the provinces he had taken on the west side of Mount Taurus, and the other to command the provinces he had taken on the east side of it, he marched back into Egypt, carrying with him vast treasures, which he had gotten together in the plunder of the conquered provinces: for he brought from thence with him forty thousand talents of silver, a vast number of precious vessels of silver and gold, and images also to the number of two

thousand five hundred, among which were many of the Egyptian idols, which Cambyses, on his conquering Egypt, carried thence into Persia. These Ptolemy having restored to their former temples, on his return from this expedition, he thereby much endeared himself to his people; for the Egyptians being then of all nations the most bigoted to their idolatrous worship, they highly valued this action of their king in thus bringing back their gods again to them. And in acknowledgment hereof it was, that he had the name of Euergetes (i. e. the Benefactor) given unto him by them. And all this happened exactly as it was foretold by the prophet Daniel (chap. xi. 7—9). For in that prophecy he tells us, that after the king's daughter of the south should, with her son and her attendants, be cut off, and he that strengthened her in those times (that is, her father, who was her chief support) should be dead, "there should one arise out of a branch of her roots in his estate," that is, Ptolemy Euergetes, who springing from the same root with her, as being her brother, did stand up in the estate of Ptolemy Philadelphus his father, whom he succeeded in his kingdom; and that "he should come with an army, and enter into the fortress of the king of the north, and prevail against him, and should carry captive into Egypt the gods of the Syrians, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and gold; and so should come, and return again into his own kingdom." And how exactly all this was fulfilled, what is above related doth sufficiently show. It is said also in the same prophecy (ver. 8), "That the king of the south, on his return into his kingdom, should continue more

---

years than the king of the north:" and so it happened; for Ptolemy Euergetes outlived Seleucus Callinicus four years, as will be hereafter shown.

Story of the seven stars of the hair of Berenice.—When Ptolemy Euergetes went on this expedition into Syria, Berenice his queen, out of the tender love she had for him, being much concerned because of the danger which she feared he might be exposed to in this war, made a vow of consecrating her hair (in the fineness of which, it seems, the chief of her beauty consisted), in case he returned again safe and unhurt; and therefore, on his coming back again with safety and full success, for the fulfilling of her vow she cut off her hair, and offered it up in the temple which Ptolemy

Philadelphus had built to his beloved wife Arsinoe, on the promontory of Zephyrium in Cyprus, by the name of the Zephyrian Venus. But there, a little after, the consecrated hair being lost, or perchance contemptuously flung away by the priests, and Ptolemy being much offended at it, Conon of Samos, a flattering mathematician then at Alexandria, to salve up the matter, and also to ingratiate himself with the king, gave out that this hair was catched up into heaven; and he there showed seven stars near the tail of the lion, not till then taken within any constellation, which he said were the queen's consecrated hair: which conceit of his, other flattering astronomers following with the same view, or perchance not daring to say otherwise, hence Coma Berenices, i. e. the hair of Berenice, became one of the constellations, and is so to this day. Callimachus the poet, who, as I have before shown, lived in those times, made a hymn upon this hair of queen Berenice, a translation of which being made by Catullus, is still extant among his poetical works.

Ptolemy III. sacrifices at Jerusalem and returns to Egypt.—On king Ptolemy Euergetes's return from this expedition, he took Jerusalem in his way, and there, by many sacrifices to the God of Israel, paid his acknowledgments for the victories he had obtained over the king of Syria, choosing rather to offer up his thanks to him than to the gods of Egypt for them: the reason of which very probably might be, that being shown the prophecies of Daniel concerning them, he inferred from thence, that he owed them only to that God whose prophet had so fully predicted them.

Seleucus Callinicus allies with his brother Antiochus, and attempts the recovery of his Syrian dominions from Ptolemy, 245, 244.—In B. C. 245, as soon as Ptolemy was returned into Egypt, Seleucus prepared a great fleet on the coasts of Syria for the reducing of the revolted cities of Asia. But he was no sooner put to sea, but meeting with a very violent storm, he lost all his ships in it, scarce anything remaining of so great a preparation besides himself, and some few of his followers, that escaped naked with him to land from this calamitous wreck. But this blow, how terrible soever it might at first appear, by a strange turn of affairs, did all, in the result, prove to his advantage; for the revolted cities of Asia (who, out of the abhorrence they had of him for the murder of Berenice and her

son, had gone over to Ptolemy), on their hearing of this great loss, thinking that murder to

---

be sufficiently revenged by it, took compassion of him, and returned again to him. By which fortunate revolution, being again restored to the best part of his dominions, he prepared [in B. C. 244] a great army against Ptolemy for the recovering of the rest. But in this attempt he had no better success than in the former: for being overthrown in battle by Ptolemy, he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped to Antioch from this misadventure with as few of his followers as from the former; whereon, for the restoration of his broken affairs, he invited Antiochus his brother to join him with his forces, promising him all the provinces in the Lesser Asia that belonged to the Syrian empire on this condition. He was then at the head of an army in those provinces; and although then he was but fourteen years old, yet, being of a forward and very aspiring spirit, or else, as is most probable, being conducted by others who were of this temper, he readily accepted of the proposal, and accordingly prepared for the accomplishment of it; but not so much out of a design of saving any part of the empire to his brother, as to gain it all to himself; for he was of a very rapacious and greedy disposition, laying his hands on all that he could get, right or wrong; whereon they called him Hierax, that is, the hawk, because that bird flies at all that comes in its way, and takes everything for good prey that it can lay its talons upon. After this second blow received by Seleucus, the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia in Lesser Asia, out of the affection which they bore unto him, entered into a league to join all their power and strength for the support of his interest and royal majesty; which they caused to be engraven on a large column of marble. This very marble column is now standing in the theatre yard at Oxford, with the said league engraven on it in Greek capital letters, still very legible: from whence it was published by me among the Marmora Oxoniensia about forty years since. It was brought out of Asia by Thomas, earl of Arundel, in the beginning of the reign of king Charles I., and was given, with other marbles, to the University of Oxford, by Henry, duke of Norfolk, his grandson, in the reign of king Charles II.

Peace between Ptolemy and Seleucus, 243.—Ptolemy, on his hearing that Antiochus was preparing to join Seleucus against him, that he might not have to do with both at the same time, came to agreement with Seleucus; and a peace was concluded between them for ten years.

War between Seleucus and Antiochus, 242.—However, Antiochus desisted not from his preparations, which Seleucus now understanding to be made against himself, marched over Mount Taurus to suppress him. The pretence for the war on Antiochus's part, was the promise that Seleucus had made him of all his provinces in Lesser Asia for his assistance against Ptolemy. But Seleucus being delivered from that war without his assistance, thought himself not obliged to anything by that promise. But Antiochus persisting in his demand, and the other in his refusal, this brought the controversy to the decision of a battle between them. It was fought near Ancyra in Lesser Asia, in

---

which Seleucus, being overthrown, hardly escaped with his life; and it fared very little better with Antiochus: for having won this victory chiefly by the assistance of the Galatians, or Gauls of Asia, whom he had hired into his service, these barbarians, on a rumour spread that Seleucus was slain in the battle, plotted the death of the other brother also, reckoning that, in case both were cut off, all Asia would be theirs; whereon Antiochus, having no other way to save himself, redeemed his life, by giving them all the treasure he had for the ransom of it.

Syrian empire curtailed on the western side by Eumenes, king of Pergamus.—Eumenes, king of Pergamus, making his advantage of these divisions, marched against Antiochus and the Gauls with all his forces, purposing to suppress them both at once. This forced Antiochus to a new treaty with the Gauls; wherein he was content, instead of being their master, to become their confederate, for the mutual defence of both; but Eumenes falling on them before they could recruit themselves after the losses they sustained in the late battle at Ancyra, had an easy victory over both, and thereon overran all the Lesser Asia.

Death of Eumenes: succession of Attalus to the kingdom of Pergamus, 241.—Eumenes, after this victory, giving himself up to much drinking, died in the excess of it, after he had reigned twenty-two years. He, having no children of his own, was succeeded in his kingdom by his cousin-german Attalus, the son of Attalus, his father's younger brother; who, being a wise and valiant prince, maintained himself in the acquisitions of his family; and having wholly subdued the Gauls, he found himself so firmly established in his dominions by it, that he thenceforth openly assumed the title of king; for his predecessors, though they had the thing, yet abstained from the name. Attalus was the first of that family that took it, upon the occasion that I have mentioned; and it was enjoyed by his posterity, with the dominions belonging to it, to the third generation after him.

Syrian empire curtailed on the eastern side by Theodotus and Arsaces.—While Eumenes, and Attalus after him, thus curtailed the Syrian empire on the west side, Theodotus and Arsaces did the same on the east. For it being reported that Seleucus had been slain in the battle of Ancyra, Arsaces, thinking this an opportunity for him to enlarge himself, seized on Hyrcania, and adding that to Parthia, established his kingdom over both: and a little after, Theodotus dying, he made a league with his son of the same name, who succeeded him in Bactria, for their mutual defence, and thereby they both strengthened themselves in the possession of what they had gotten.

Continuation of the war between Seleucus and Antiochus.—But notwithstanding all this, the two brothers still went on with their wars against each other, without regarding that, while they were thus contending between themselves for their father's empire, they lost it by piecemeals to others, who were enemies to both. This war in the course of it was at length carried into Mesopotamia: and then most likely

---

happened the battle in Babylonia, which Judas Maccabæus makes mention of in his speech to his army (2 Maccab. viii. 20), in which he saith eight thousand of the Babylonish Jews, joined with four thousand Macedonians, vanquished the Galatians, and slew of their army one hundred and twenty

thousand men. For Babylonia, or the province of Babylon, was a part of Mesopotamia, and Antiochus Hierax had the Galatians in confederacy with him; and at this time they are said to have come in such great swarms into the East, as to fill all Asia with their numbers; and that they did usually let themselves to hire in all wars, which in those times the Eastern kings had one with another, these princes thinking themselves best strengthened for victory when they had the most of them in their armies; and that this Antiochus was assisted by them in this war hath been already said.

Defeat and death of Antiochus, 240.—But whether it were by this or some other victory, Seleucus had at length the advantage in this war; so that Antiochus, being vanquished and broken, was forced to shift from place to place with the few remains of his baffled party, till at last being driven out of Mesopotamia, and finding no other place where he could be safe within the Syrian empire, he fled to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, whose daughter he had married. But that king, notwithstanding the alliance and affinity he had contracted with him, soon growing weary of maintaining an exile who could bring no advantage to him, ordered him to be cut off. But while measures were taking for the executing hereof, Antiochus, getting notice of the designs, escaped from thence into Egypt, choosing rather to put himself into the hands of Ptolemy, the professed enemy of his family, than trust himself upon any terms with his brother, whom he was conscious he had so much offended: and he fared not at all the better for it; for as soon as he arrived in Egypt, Ptolemy caused him to be clapped up in safe custody, in which he kept him confined several years, till at length having broken out of prison, by the assistance of a courtesan whom he was familiar with, as he was making his escape out of Egypt, he fell among thieves, and was slain by them.

Ptolemy enlarges the library at Alexandria, and appoints Eratosthenes to be library-keeper, 239.—In the interim king Ptolemy Euergetes, enjoying full peace, applied himself to the cultivating of learning in his kingdom, and the enlarging of his father's library at Alexandria, with all manner of books for the service of this design. The method which he took for the collecting of them hath been already mentioned; and the care of an able library-keeper being very necessary, both for the making of a good choice of books in the collection, and also for the preserving of them for the

use intended, on the death of Zenodotus, who from the time of Ptolemy Soter, the grandfather of the present king, had the keeping of the royal library at Alexandria, Euergetes invited Eratosthenes from Athens (where he was in great reputation for his learning) to take this charge upon him. He was, by his birth, a Cyrenian,

---

and had been scholar to Callimachus his countryman, and was a person of universal knowledge, and is often quoted as such by Pliny, Strabo, and others. And therefore they are mistaken, who, finding him called Beta (i. e. the second), think he had that name to denote him a second-rate man among the learned. By that appellation was meant no more than that he was the second library-keeper of the royal library of Alexandria after the first founding of it. As to his skill in all manner of learning, he was second to none of his time, as the many books he wrote did then sufficiently make appear, though not now extant. That which at present we are most beholden to him for is a catalogue which he hath given us of all the kings that reigned at Thebes in Egypt, with the years of their reigns from Menes, or Misraim, who first planted Egypt after the flood, down to the time of the Trojan war. It contains a series of thirty-eight kings reigning in a direct line of succession one after the other; and it is still extant in Syncellus. Our learned countryman, Sir John Marsham, hath made good use of it in settling the Egyptian chronology. It is one of the noblest and most venerable monuments of antiquity that is now extant; for it was extracted out of the ancientest records of that country at the command of Ptolemy Euergetes: and there is nothing in profane history that begins higher. It is probable this extract was made to supply the defect of Manetho, whose catalogue of the Theban kings in Egypt doth not begin but where this of Eratosthenes ends.

War between Seleucus and Arsaces, 236.—Seleucus being delivered from the troubles created him by his brother, and having repaired the disorders at home which that war had occasioned, marched eastward to reduce those that had revolted from him in those parts. But he had very lame success in this undertaking: for Arsaces, having now had a long time allowed him to settle himself in his usurpations, had made himself too strong in them to be again easily dispossessed; and therefore Seleucus,

having in vain attempted it in this expedition, was forced to return with baffle and disappointment. Perchance a longer stay in those parts might have opened him a way to better success: but some commotions arising at home during his absence, he was forced to return to suppress them. In the interim, Arsaces made use of the further respite hereby given him, so to strengthen and establish himself in his usurped dominions, that he became superior to all attempts that were afterwards made to disturb him.

Arsaces takes Seleucus prisoner, and establishes the Parthian empire, 230.—However, Seleucus, as soon as he had leisure from his other affairs, made a second expedition against him; but with much worse success than he had in the former: for his usual ill fortune here pursuing him, he was not only overthrown by Arsaces in a great battle, but was also himself taken prisoner in it. The day on which Arsaces gained

---

this victory was long after annually observed by the Parthians with great solemnity, as being, in their opinion, the first day of their freedom; whereas in truth it was the first of their slavery; for there was never any greater tyranny in the world than that of the Parthian kings, under which they thenceforth fell. The Macedonian yoke would have been much easier to them, had they still continued under it. From this time Arsaces took on him the title of king, and founded that empire in the East, which afterwards grew up to be so great and powerful as to become a terror even to the Romans, who were a terror to all else. From him all that reigned after him in that empire, in honour of him, took the name of *Arsaces*, in the same manner as all the kings of Egypt after Ptolemy Soter took the name of *Ptolemy*, as long as those of his race continued to reign in that country.

Jewish history: failure of Onias II. to pay the tribute to Ptolemy, and arrival of Athenion the Egyptian ambassador, 226.—Onias the high priest of the Jews at Jerusalem growing very old, and increasing in covetousness with his age, and being also a very weak and inconsiderate man, neglected to pay to king Ptolemy Euergetes the usual tribute of twenty talents, which had constantly been paid by the former high priests his predecessors, as the stated tribute annually due to the kings of Egypt from them. And the arrears now growing high, the king sent Athenion, one of his

court, to Jerusalem, to demand of the Jews the money, and to require full payment of it forthwith to be made; threatening, that in case this were not immediately complied with he would send his soldiers to dispossess them of their country, and divide it among them. On the arrival of Athenion at Jerusalem with this message, the whole city was put into a great fright, as not knowing what course to take for the appeasing of the king's wrath, and the delivering of themselves from the danger that was threatened. At this time there was a young man of great reputation among the Jews for his prudence, justice, and sanctity of life, called Joseph, who was nearly related to Onias; for he was the son of Tobias, a prime man of that nation, by a sister of his. Joseph being absent at his seat in the country, when this messenger came to Jerusalem, his mother took care to send him an account of what had happened; whereon coming immediately to Jerusalem, he very severely upbraided his uncle with his ill management of the public interest of the people, as thus, for the saving of his money, to expose them to such danger (for in those times the high priest was the chief governor in all the temporal affairs, as well as the ecclesiastical, of that nation): and he further told him, that things being brought to this pass by his ill conduct, there was no other way to be taken for the remedy, but for him to go to the Egyptian court, and there endeavour, by his application to the king, to make up the matter. But Onias, by the dulness of his temper, as well as by his age, wanting vigour for such an undertaking, utterly declined it, telling his nephew that he would quit his station both in church and state rather than put himself upon that journey.

Joseph gains the favour of the Egyptian ambassador, and proceeds to Egypt to excuse Onias to Ptolemy.—Joseph then desired that the matter might be committed to him, and he would go to the king in his stead: which Onias readily consenting to, Joseph went up unto the temple, and there called together the people (for the outer court of the temple was the usual place for the assembling of the people on all occasions), and acquainted them of his having undertaken, by the appointment of Onias, to go ambassador from them to the king on their behalf; and if they thought fit to approve hereof, he desired them no longer to disturb themselves with fears;

for he doubted not but that, on his access to the king, he should be able to set all right again with him. At which the people, much rejoicing, gave him great thanks for what he had proposed to do for them, and earnestly desired him to proceed in it. Hereon he immediately went to find out Athenion, and having gotten him to his house, and there entertained him, as long as he tarried at Jerusalem, with a very kind and splendid hospitality, and having also, at his departure, presented him with several very valuable gifts, he sent him away fully engaged to make as fair a representation to the king as the case would bear, and at the same time assured him that he would forthwith follow after him to the Egyptian court, there to give the king full satisfaction as to the matter which he had sent him about. Athenion returned to Alexandria exceedingly well pleased with the kind and obliging entertainment which he had from Joseph, and so much taken with the prudent behaviour and noble deportment which he observed in him, that on his making his report to the king of his embassy, and his telling him of the intentions of Joseph, the high priest's nephew, speedily to attend him, for the giving of him full satisfaction, he took occasion to set forth his character with so great advantage, as made the king very desirous of seeing him, and fully prepared to receive him with all manner of favour and respects. As soon as the ambassador was gone from Jerusalem, Joseph, having taken up of the bankers of Samaria twenty thousand drachms, which amounted to about seven hundred pounds of our money, and thereby provided himself an equipage to appear at the Egyptian court, he set out for Alexandria, and having on the way thither chanced on the road to fall in with several of the chief nobility of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, who were travelling to the same place, he joined company with them in the remaining part of the journey. Their business thither was to farm of the king his revenues of those provinces, and having provided themselves with very splendid equipages, to make the better appearance at Ptolemy's court, they laughed at Joseph for the meanness of his, and made it the subject of their sport for the most part of the way as they went. Joseph bore all this with patience, but in the mean time, accurately observing the discourse which they had with each other about their business, he got thereby such an insight into it, as put him in a condition to laugh at them ever after. On their arrival at Alexandria, they found the king was gone to Memphis: Joseph alone hastened thither after him, and had the good fortune to meet him on the road returning to

Alexandria, while Athenion was with him and his queen in the same chariot. As soon as Athenion had espied him, he pointed him out to the king, telling him that this was the young man, Onias's nephew, of whom he had spoken so much to him. Whereon

---

the king called him to him, and took him into his chariot; and having talked to him of the ill usage of Onias towards him, in not paying him his tribute, Joseph excused his uncle, by reason of his age and weakness, in so handsome a manner, as not only satisfied the king, but also raised in him so good an opinion of the advocate, that he took him into his particular favour, and on his arrival at Alexandria ordered him to be lodged in the palace, and to be there maintained at his own table.

Joseph obtains from Ptolemy the farming of the revenues of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Samaria.—Joseph afterwards did the king that service as made him sufficient recompense for it; for when the day was come whereon the king used annually to let to farm the revenues of the several provinces of his empire, and they were set up in their order, by way of auction, for the highest bidder; and the highest which the Syrians and Phœnicians, who had been Joseph's fellow-travellers into Egypt, would bid for the provinces of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Samaria, amounted to no more than eight thousand talents; Joseph, knowing, from the discourse which they had with each other on the road while he travelled with them, that they were worth more than twice as much, blamed them for beating down the king's revenues to so low a price, and offered upon them double as much, bidding sixteen thousand talents for those provinces, over and above the forfeitures; for he proposed to give so much for the ordinary revenues only, and to return all the forfeitures besides into the king's treasury, which used before to belong to the farmers. Ptolemy liked very well the advancing of his revenues by so large an augmentation; but doubting the ability of the bidder to make good his proposal, asked him what security he would give him for it? Joseph very facetiously replied, that he would give him the security of persons beyond all exception; and when bid to name them, he named the king and the queen to be bound to each other for the faithful performance of what he undertook: the king, laughing

at the pleasantness of the answer, was so taken with it that he trusted him upon his own word, without any other securities. Whereon Joseph, having borrowed five hundred talents at Alexandria, and satisfied the king as to his uncle's arrears, was admitted to the trust of being the king's receiver-general of all his revenues in the provinces above mentioned; and having received a guard of two thousand men, at his desire, for the supporting of him in the execution of his office, he immediately left Alexandria to enter on it. On his arrival at Askelon, and there demanding the king's duties, they not only refused payment, but also affronted him with rude and opprobrious language; whereon having commanded his soldiers to take up twenty of the ringleaders, he executed exemplary justice upon them, and sent their forfeited estates to the king, amounting to one thousand talents; and he having done the like at Scythopolis, another city in Palestine, where he was resisted in the same manner, the example which he made of these two places so terrified all the rest, that after this everywhere else the gates were opened to him, and all paid him the king's dues without any more refusal or opposition: of which he having given the king a full account, the prudence and steadiness of his conduct met with such thorough approbation, that he continued in this office under Ptolemy Euergetes, and

---

Ptolemy Philopator his son, twenty-two years, till Ptolemy Epiphanes, the son of Philopator, lost those provinces to Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, in the first year of his reign.

True date of the concluding year of Joseph's office.—This is the date at which I place the end of the twenty-two years which Josephus assigns Joseph for his continuance in this office, and not in the end of his life, as most others do. For the same Josephus tells us, that he was a young man when he first undertook it; and, in another place, that he was very old when he sent Hyrcanus his son into Egypt, which was some time before his death. But twenty-two years was too short a time from being young to grow very old; for supposing him to have been thirty when he first became tax-gatherer for the king of Egypt in Syria and Palestine, twenty-two more would make him but fifty-two; and he could not be said to be old at that age, and much less at any time before it. Cœle-Syria and Palestine had been

again restored to Ptolemy Epiphanes, on his marrying Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus the Great; and after that it was that Joseph, having been again restored to his office of tax-gatherer in those provinces, sent Hyrcanus into Egypt to congratulate the king on the birth of his eldest son, he being then too old, as Josephus tells us, to go himself. Allowing the twenty-two years of Joseph's office of tax-gatherer in Cœle-Syria and Palestine for the king of Egypt to end on Antiochus's taking those provinces from Ptolemy Epiphanes, and that, on their being again restored to him, Joseph was again restored to his office, and died in it, about the beginning of the reign of Seleucus Philopator in Syria, this will solve all difficulties in the history which Josephus gives us of this matter. That his life could not end with these twenty-two years hath been already shown, for he was an old man before he died; and where then can the end of these twenty-two years of his office be better placed, than where ended in those provinces the authority of the king of Egypt, under which he held it? And this ending of these twenty-two years tells us where they did begin: and that they could not begin sooner than where I have said, the age of Onias sufficiently proves, for the history of Josephus tells us it was when he was grown very old, which must determine us to the latter end of his life; and it was but eight years before his death where I place it. They who put the beginning of these twenty-two years higher up, or end them with the end of Joseph's life (as most chronologers do both), can never make Josephus consistent with himself in that relation which he hath given us of this whole matter.

Death of Seleucus Callinicus in Parthia.—Seleucus, having continued a prisoner in Parthia till this time, there died of a fall from his horse, as he was riding abroad. Athenæus tells us that Arsaces maintained him royally during his captivity; but that he released him (as some will have it), doth not anywhere appear. Justin tells us that he died in the manner as I have related, being then in banishment, and having

---

lost his kingdom; which can be understood no otherwise than of the banishment and loss of reigning which he sustained, by being held in captivity by this Parthian king, till he died in it. His wife was Laodice, the sister of Andromachus, one of the generals of his armies. By her he had two

sons and a daughter; the sons were Seleucus and Antiochus; the daughter he married to Mithridates, king of Pontus, with whom he gave Phrygia to him in dower.

Syrian history: short reign of Seleucus Ceraunus, 225-223.—Seleucus, being the eldest of the two sons, succeeded Seleucus Callinicus in the throne, and took the name of Ceraunus, i. e. the Thunderer, a title which very little became him; for he was a very weak prince, in body, mind, and purse, and never did anything worthy of that name. His reign was very short, and his authority low, both in the army and the provinces; and that he was supported in either was owing to his kinsman Achæus, the son of Andromachus, his mother's brother, who, being a wise and valiant man, regulated and guided his affairs, as well as the shattered state his father left them in would admit. As to Andromachus, he, having been taken prisoner by Ptolemy in the wars which he had with Callinicus, was detained a prisoner at Alexandria during all this reign, and some part of the next; till at length the Rhodians, to gain favour with Achæus, got him released, and sent him to him, while he reigned in Lesser Asia. In B. C. 224, Attalus, king of Pergamus, having possessed himself of all Lesser Asia, from Mount Taurus to the Hellespont, Seleucus marched with an army against him, leaving Hermias, a Carian, his lieutenant in Syria during his absence. Achæus, his kinsman, accompanied him in this expedition, and served him in it, as well as the circumstances of his affairs would admit. But in B. C. 223, money being wanting to pay the army, and the weakness of the king rendering him contemptible to the soldiers, Nicanor and Apaturius, two of his chief commanders, conspired against him, while he lay in Phrygia, and by poison put an end to his life.

Antiochus Magnus secured on the throne by Achæus, 223.—But Achæus, being then in the army, revenged his death by cutting off the traitorous authors of it, with all that were concerned with them in the treason; and afterward managed the army with that prudence and resolution that he not only kept all there in order, but also prevented Attalus from reaping any advantage from this accident, which otherwise might have ruined the whole interest of the Syrian empire in those parts. Seleucus dying without children, the army offered Achæus the crown: and several of the provinces concurred with them herein. But he then generously refused it,

though he was afterwards, in a less favourable juncture, forced to assume it in his own defence, having then no other way left to secure himself against the designs which the ministers at court had there contrived for his ruin. At present, instead of taking it to himself, he carefully preserved it for the next lawful successor, Antiochus, the brother of the late deceased king, who was then a minor not exceeding the fifteenth year of his age. When Seleucus marched into the Lesser Asia, he sent him to Babylonia to

---

be there educated; and there he was at the time of Seleucus's death: from whence being sent for to Antioch, he there ascended the throne after his brother, and sat on it thirty-six years. By reason of the many great actions done by him, he had the surname of Magnus (i. e. the Great). Achæus, the better to secure him in the succession, sent part of the army which followed Seleucus to him into Syria, under the command of Epigenes, one of the most experienced commanders of the late king: the rest he retained with him in the Lesser Asia for the support of the Syrian interest in those parts.

Media and Persia revolt from the Syrian empire, under Molon and Alexander, 222.—Antiochus, on the first settling of his kingdom, sent Molon and Alexander, two brothers, into the East, making the former governor of Media, and the other governor of Persia. All the provinces of Lesser Asia he committed to the charge of Achæus. Epigenes he made general of the forces which he kept about him, and retained Hermias the Carian to be his chief minister of state, in the same station which he held under his brother. Achæus soon recovered all that Attalus had wrested from the Syrian empire, and reduced him within the narrow limits of his own kingdom of Pergamus. But Alexander and Molon, despising the youth of the king, as soon as they were settled in the provinces which they were sent to govern, rebelled against him, and set up for themselves, each declaring himself sovereign of the country he had taken possession of.

Great earthquake at Rhodes: history of the colossus and its overthrow.—While these things were a doing, there happened a very violent earthquake in the East, which made great devastations in those parts, especially in Caria and the island of Rhodes. In the latter it threw down not

only the walls of the city of Rhodes, and their houses, but also the great colossus there erected in the mouth of their harbour, which was one of the seven wonders of the world. It was a prodigious statue of brass, there erected to the sun, of seventy cubits, or a hundred and five feet, in height, and everything else of it was in proportion hereto. Demetrius Poliorcetes having for a whole year besieged the city of Rhodes, without being able to take it, at length being wearied out with so long lying there, was content to make peace with them, as I have already related in the eighth book of the first part of this history. On his departure thence, he left the Rhodians all his engines and other preparations of war, which he had there provided for the carrying on of that siege. These the Rhodians afterwards sold for three hundred talents, with which money, adding other sums thereto, they erected this colossus. The artificer that made it was Chares of Lindus, who was twelve years in completing the work; and sixty-six years after, it was thrown down by this earthquake. It was begun, therefore, to be made in the year B. C. 300; it was finished in B. C. 288,

---

and overthrown in B. C. 222. On this accident the Rhodians sent abroad ambassadors a begging to all the princes and states of the Grecian name or original, who, exaggerating their losses, procured vast sums for the repairing of them, especially from the kings of Egypt, Macedon, Syria, Pontus, and Bithynia, which above five times exceeded the value of their damages. And when they had got the money, instead of setting up the colossus again (for which most of it was given), they pretended that an oracle from Delphos forbade it, and put the whole sum into their own pockets; whereby they very much enriched themselves. So this colossus lay where it fell, without being any more erected, and there was let lie eight hundred and ninety-four years; till at length, in A. D. 672, Moawias, the sixth caliph or emperor of the Saracens, having taken Rhodes, sold the brass to a Jewish merchant, who loaded with it nine hundred camels; and, therefore, allowing eight hundred pounds weight to every camel’s burden, the brass of this colossus, after the waste of so many years by the rust and wear of the brass itself, and the purloinings and embezzlements of men, amounted to seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight.

Death and character of Ptolemy III.—Toward the end of this year died Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt, after he had reigned over that kingdom twenty-five years. He was the last king of that race that governed himself with any temper or virtue, all that after succeeded being monsters of luxury and vice. After having made peace with Syria, he mostly applied himself to the enlarging of his dominions southward; and he extended them a great way down the Red Sea, making himself master of all the coasts of it, both on the Arabian as well as the Ethiopian side, even down to the straits through which it dischargeth itself into the Southern Ocean.

III. REIGN OF PTOLEMY IV. PHILOPATOR, B. C. 221-204.

Kings of Syria—Antiochus the Great, 223.

High priests of the Jews—Onias II. 250;

Simon II. 217.

Flagitious character of Ptolemy Philopator: death of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, 221.—Ptolemy Euergetes was succeeded on his death by his son Ptolemy Philopator, a most profligate and vicious young prince. He was supposed to have made away with his father by poison; and he had not been long on the throne ere he added to that parricide the murder of his mother, and of Magas his brother: and a little after followed the death of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, occasioned by the same measures of wickedness and barbarity. Cleomenes, having been vanquished and driven out of Greece by Antigonus, king of Macedon, fled to Ptolemy Euergetes, and was kindly received by him; but that

---

king a little after dying, he had not that favour from his successor. However, being looked upon as a person of great wisdom and sagacity, Sosibius, who was Philopator's chief minister of state, thought fit to communicate to him

his master's design of cutting off Magas his brother, and to ask his advice about it; which Cleomenes having dissuaded him from, and given some reasons for it which much displeased Sosibius, occasion was taken, from another matter, to cast him into prison: from whence having gotten loose, and gathered his friends and followers together who came with him from Sparta, he took the advantage of Ptolemy's being absent from Alexandria, to call and excite the people to assume their liberty, and free themselves from the tyranny which they were then under: but not succeeding in this attempt, he slew himself in the streets of the city, as did also the rest that were with him. Plutarch, in his Life of Cleomenes, hath given us a full narrative of this matter, and so also hath Polybius in the fifth book of his history.

Syrian empire: Antiochus Magnus unsuccessfully attempts to recover Syria Proper from Ptolemy, and Media and Persia from Molon and Alexander.—Antiochus, taking the advantage of Euergetes's death, and the succession of so voluptuous and profligate a prince after him, thought it a proper time for him to attempt the recovery of Syria; and Hermias his prime minister pressed hard for his going in person to this war, contrary to the opinion of Epigenes his general, who thought it chiefly concerned him to suppress the rebellion of Alexander and Molon in the East; and therefore advised him to march immediately in person with the main of his army for the subduing of those rebels, before they should gather greater strength in the revolted provinces against him. But the opinion of Hermias taking place, Antiochus marched towards Cœle-Syria with one part of his army, and sent Zeno and Theodotus Hermiolius, two of his generals, with the other to suppress the rebels. While he was on his march towards Cœle-Syria, being arrived at Seleucia near Zeugma, there was brought thither to him Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates, king of Pontus, to be his wife, which caused his stay for some time in that place to celebrate the nuptials. But the joy of his marriage was soon interrupted by ill news from the East: for his generals there being overpowered by the joint forces of Alexander and Molon, were forced to retire and leave them masters of the field. Hereon Antiochus, inclining to the advice given by Epigenes, resolved to desist from his expedition into Cœle-Syria, and march directly with all his forces into the East for the suppressing of this rebellion, before it should grow to any greater head. But Hermias, persisting in his former opinion, for

the sake of some private views of his own which he had therein, overbore all opposition to it, and prevailed with the king to send another general with more forces into the East, and proceed himself in his former intended expedition into Cœle-Syria. The general sent into the East was Xinætas an Achæan, whose commission was to join the forces which were there before under the two former generals, and take upon him the chief command of the whole army. But he came off with worse success than those whom he succeeded; for passing the Tigris, he was there drawn into a snare, and

circumvented by a stratagem of the enemy's, and he and all the forces that passed with him were cut off and destroyed; whereon the rebels made themselves masters of the province of Babylonia, and almost all Mesopotamia, without any opposition. In the interim, Antiochus, proceeding in his expedition into Cœle-Syria, penetrated as far as the valley which lieth between the two ridges of mountains called Libanus and Antilibanus; but there he found the passes of those mountains so well fortified, and such resistance made in them by Theodotus an Ætolian, who was there governor for Ptolemy, that he was forced to retreat without making any further progress that way; and the ill news which he had by this time received of the loss of Xinætas and his army in the East hastened his return. For now being fully convinced that he had nothing else to do but to follow the advice which Epigenes had at first given him, and march in person against the rebels, and all else about him being of the same opinion, he fully resolved on it; and Hermias durst not say any more against it. But to be revenged on Epigenes for thwarting his designs herein, he did by forged letters fix a plot of treason upon him, and caused him to be cut off for it. In the interim, Antiochus, though the year was now far spent, passed the Euphrates, and having there joined his other forces, that he might be the nearer at hand for action the next spring, he put his army into winter-quarters in those parts, and there waited the proper season for the beginning of the war.

Antiochus crosses the Tigris in person against Molon and Alexander, and recovers Media and Persia, 220.—And as soon as that approached, Antiochus marched directly to the Tigris, and having passed that river,

forced Molon to a battle, wherein he got such an entire victory over him, that the rebel, finding his cause absolutely lost, out of despair slew himself. Alexander was then absent in Persia; but Nicolas, another brother, escaping from the battle, brought him the ill news thither: whereon they slew first their mother, then their wives and children, and lastly themselves, that so they might avoid falling into the hands of the conqueror. And thus ended this rebellion (as it is to be wished all rebellions might end), in a most calamitous destruction of all that were concerned in it. After this victory the remains of the conquered army submitted to the king, who, after a severe reprimand upon them for their rebellion, received them to pardon, and ordered them into Media, under the command of those whom he sent to regulate the affairs of that province; and then returning to Seleucia on the Tigris, there continued for some time, to give his orders for the resettling of his authority in the revolted provinces, and the reducing of all things again in them to their former order; which having effected by such proper instruments as he thought fit to employ herein, he marched against the Atropatians, a people inhabiting on the west of Media, in the country now called Georgia: Artabazes their king, being then a very old man, and grown decrepit with age, was so terrified on the approach of Antiochus with his victorious army, that he sent ambassadors to make his submission, and agreed to peace with him on his own terms.

Death of Hermias.—By this time Hermias, through his insolence and haughty conduct growing intolerable to his master, as well as to

---

all else, Apollophanes, the king's physician, who had at all times his ear on the occasions of his health, took the advantage of it to represent unto him the danger he was in from this minister, telling him that it was time for him to look to himself, and take care that he did not meet with the same fate as his brother did in Phrygia, and be cut off by those he most confided in; that it was manifest Hermias was laying designs for himself; and that no time was any longer to be lost for the preventing of them.

Antiochus, who had the same sentiments with his physician, but had hitherto suppressed them out of diffidence to whom to communicate them,

very gladly received the proposal, and immediately entered on measures for the ridding himself of this odious and dangerous minister; and accordingly, as it had been concerted, having drawn him off from the army to accompany him on a walking abroad to take the air, as was pretended, for his health, as soon as he had thus decoyed him, at a convenient distance from all that might give him any assistance, he ordered him to be cut off by those that attended him; which was much to the satisfaction of all the provinces of the Syrian empire: for he being a man of great cruelty, pride, and insolence, managed all things with severity and violence, bearing no contradiction to his sentiments, or opposition to anything he would have done, or suffering any person or thing to stand in his way to what he intended; which drew on him a general odium everywhere. But nowhere was there a more signal instance of it than at Apamea in Syria; for there they no sooner heard of his death, but they fell on his wife and children, whom he had left in that city, and stoned them all to death.

Antiochus prepares to recover Syria Proper from Ptolemy and Lesser Asia from Achæus.—After this, Antiochus having thus successfully managed his affairs in the East, and settled all the provinces there under such governors as he thought he might best confide in, he marched back into Syria, and there put his army into winter-quarters; and at Antioch spent the remaining part of the year in consulting with his ministers and the officers of his army, about the operation of the next year's war. For he had still two dangerous enterprises to undertake for the restoring of the Syrian empire; the first against Ptolemy for the recovery of Syria, and the other against Achæus, who had made himself master of all the Lesser Asia. For Ptolemy Euergetes having, in the beginning of the reign of Seleucus Callinicus, seized all Syria, as hath been above related, a great part of it was still held by his successor, the present Egyptian king; and Antiochus had reason to be very uneasy in having him so near a neighbour. And as to Achæus, it hath been already related how he refused the crown, when offered him, on the death of Seleucus Ceraunus; and instead of putting it on his own head, faithfully preserved it for Antiochus, the next rightful heir. Hereon Antiochus committed to him the government of all his provinces in Lesser Asia; which charge he having managed with that valour and wisdom of conduct as to recover them all out of the hands of Attalus king of

Pergamus, who had in a manner made himself absolute master of them, this success made him envied by the chief minister and others who had the king's ear at court; and therefore, resolutions being taken to suppress him, forged letters were produced to prove him to have entertained traitorous

---

designs for the usurping of the crown, and to hold correspondence with Ptolemy, and to be in league with him for this purpose; which Achæus having notice of, found he had no other way to secure himself against the mischievous machinations of those men, than by doing what he was charged with. And therefore, being necessitated for his own defence to set up for himself, he assumed the crown, which he had before refused, and declared himself king of Asia. So that Antiochus having these two dangerous wars upon his hands, which of these two he should first undertake, either that against Ptolemy for the recovery of Syria, or that against Achæus for the recovery of Lesser Asia, was the matter which was under debate in the king's council.

Commencement of the campaign of Antiochus against Ptolemy: capture of Seleucia, 219.—But at length, upon full consideration, it being resolved first to reduce all that belonged to the Syrian empire on that side Mount Taurus, before they marched over it against Achæus, the operations of the ensuing campaign were concerted and ordered accordingly. For the garrisons which the Egyptians had in Syria being the deepest thorn in their side, and which they were most sensible of, it was thought the best course to remove this first; and therefore, at present, only threatening letters were sent to Achæus, and the whole army rendezvoused at Apamea to carry the war into Cœle-Syria. But in a council there held before the march of the army from thence, Apollophanes, the king's physician, having represented how preposterous a thing it was for him to pass into Cœle-Syria, and leave Seleucia, a place so near his capital, in the enemy's hands behind him, he drew all over to him by the reason of the thing: for this city stood upon the same river with Antioch, at the distance only of fifteen miles below it, near the mouth of that river. On Ptolemy Euergetes's having invaded Syria in the cause of Berenice his sister, which hath been above related, he seized this city; and a garrison of Egyptians having been then placed in it, they had

held the place ever since, now full twenty-seven years; which was not only a constant annoyance to the Antiochians, but also intercepted their communication with the sea, and spoiled all their trade that way: for Seleucia lying near the mouth of the river Orontes, was the sea-port to Antioch; and they suffered much by being deprived of it. All which being set forth by Apollophanes, in his representation of this matter, it fully determined the king and all his council to follow the measures he proposed, and begin the campaign with the siege of Seleucia; and accordingly, the whole army marched thither, and invested that place; and having carried it by a general assault, drove the Egyptians thence.

Theodotus, governor of Cœle-Syria for Ptolemy, declares for Antiochus.—After this Antiochus hastened into Cœle-Syria, being called thither by Theodotus the Ætolian, Ptolemy's governor of that province, with offer of putting the whole country into his hands. It hath been already related how valiantly he repulsed Antiochus in his last irruption into that country. But this was not enough to please those who governed at court; they expected more from him, which they imagined was in his power to have done, and therefore called him to Alexandria, to answer for it at the peril of his head. And although he were acquitted on the

---

hearing of his cause, and sent back to his government, yet he did not acquit them of the wrong they did him by this injurious accusation, but returned into Cœle-Syria with such resentment and indignation for this ill usage and affront, that he resolved to be revenged for it. And while he attended his cause at court, having observed in how vile and dissolute a manner all lived there, this augmented his indignation, he not being able to bear, with any patience, his being made obnoxious to so despicable a set of men; for nothing could be more lewd and abominable than the conduct of Philopator, during all the time of his reign; and his whole court was formed after his example. He is said to have poisoned his father; and he made this the more believed, that after his decease he openly and avowedly put to death Berenice his mother and Magas his only brother: and then, thinking himself free from all control and fear of danger, he gave himself up to the vilest entertainments of lust and luxury, minding little else than the glutting of

himself in all the pleasures which the most detestable vices could afford him.

His chief minister was Sosibius, a man bad enough to suit the service of such a master, and crafty enough to know and use all the means whereby best to secure his interest under him. But those that most governed him were Agathocles, Agathoclea his sister, and Oenanthe their mother. The first was his pathic, the second his concubine, and the last his bawd. Agathoclea was at first a public woman and a common strumpet; but having engaged Philopator's affection, she had an absolute ascendant over him all his life after, and his love to her was the foundation on which was built his favour to the other two. Theodotus, on his being at Alexandria, having observed all this, could not but abhor so vile a conduct, and, being a gallant man, scorned to be any longer under it; and this, with his resentments for his ill usage, put him upon a resolution of seeking for a new master, that might be more worthy of his service. And therefore, on his return to his province, having seized Tyre and Ptolemais, he declared for king Antiochus, and sent him the message I have mentioned, to call him into these parts, and on his arrival delivered to him these two cities; whereby he put him in a fair way of becoming master of all the rest of that country.

Antiochus captures Tyre, Ptolemais, and Damascus.—Nicolas, one of Ptolemy's generals in those parts, made some opposition to Antiochus in this invasion, although not sufficient to obstruct his progress: for although he were a countryman of Theodotus's, as being an Ætolian, yet he would not join with him in this defection, but still adhered to the interest of king Ptolemy, according to his first engagements to him; and therefore, as soon as Theodotus had seized Ptolemais, he besieged him in it; and on Antiochus marching thither to raise the siege, he seized the passes of Mount Libanus against him, and defended them to the utmost; but being overborne by the superior power of Antiochus, he was forced to recede, and Antiochus had thereon Tyre and Ptolemais put into his hands by Theodotus; where having found great magazines of war which Ptolemy had in these two places prepared and laid up for his army, and also a fleet of forty sail of ships, he seized both for his service. The ships he delivered to Diognetus, his admiral, with orders to sail to Pelusium, purposing at the same time to march thither by

land with all his army, and invade Egypt. But being informed, that at that time of the year the banks of the Nile used to be cut, and all the country laid under water, and that therefore the invading of that realm was then impracticable, he altered his purpose, and turned all his force for the reducing of the rest of Cœle-Syria; and having taken some places in it by surrender, and others by force, he at length made himself master of Damascus, the chief city of the province, having taken it by a stratagem, with which he overreached Dinon, who had the command of it for king Ptolemy. His last attempt in this campaign was upon Dora, a maritime town near Mount Carmel, called Dor in the Holy Scriptures; but the place being strongly situated, and well fortified and provided for by the care of Nicolas, he could make no impression upon it; and therefore was glad to accept of a proposal which was there offered him, of making a truce with Ptolemy for four months; and thereon drawing off under the credit of it, he marched back to Seleucia on the Orontes, and there put his army into winter-quarters, leaving those places which he had taken in this year's war under the care and government of Theodotus the Ætolian.

Four months' truce between Antiochus and Ptolemy.—During this truce a treaty was set on foot between the two contending princes, but without any other design on either side than to gain time. Ptolemy lacked it to make preparation for the ensuing war, and Antiochus to look after Achæus; for he having now manifest designs of usurping Syria from him, as well as Lesser Asia, he wanted to be at home to provide against them. In this treaty, the chief point in debate was, to whom Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judæa did belong, by virtue of the partition that was made of Alexander's empire between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus, slain in the battle of Ipsus. Ptolemy claimed these provinces, as having been by that treaty assigned, as he said, to Ptolemy Soter, his great-grandfather. On the other side, Antiochus alleged, that they had in that partition been assigned to Seleucus Nicator, and therefore he claimed them to belong to him, as the heir and successor of that king in the Syrian empire.

Renewal of the war: successful campaign of Antiochus against Ptolemy's general Nicolas, 218.—While these pretences were alleged on both sides, and neither yielded to the other, the time of the truce wore out; and nothing being effected by the treaty, both parties again provided for the war. Nicolas the Ætolian having given sufficient proof of his valour and fidelity in his last year's service for king Ptolemy, was this year made his generalissimo for this war, and had the whole care of his interest in the contested provinces committed to his charge; and Perigenes, his admiral, was sent with a fleet to carry on the war by sea. Nicolas having rendezvoused his forces at Gaza, and being there furnished from Egypt with all necessary accoutrements and provisions for the war, marched directly from thence for Mount Libanus, and seized the straits which lay between that ridge of mountains and the sea, through which it was necessary for Antiochus to pass, resolving to expect him there, and by the advantage of the place

---

obstruct his further progress that way. In the interim Antiochus was not idle; but having made all due preparations for the war, both by sea and land, committed his fleet to the command of Diognetus, his admiral, and then marched himself with his army by land. The fleets on both sides coasting the armies as they marched by land, they all met at those straits where Nicolas had posted himself; and while Antiochus there assaulted Nicolas by land, the fleets encountered at sea, and the battle was begun on both sides both by sea and land at the same time, and in sight of each other. At sea the fight ended upon equal terms on both sides, neither party getting the better of the other. But at land, Antiochus having gotten the advantage, Nicolas was forced to retire to Sidon, with the loss of four thousand of his men slain and taken; and thither also Perigenes followed him with the Egyptian fleet.

Antiochus pursued them thither both by sea and land, with intention to besiege the place; but finding it too strongly provided with men and all other necessaries to be easily taken, he thought not fit to sit down before it; but having sent his fleet to Tyre, he marched with his army into Galilee, and having taken Philoteria, on the north end of the Sea of Tiberias, and Scythopolis (or Bethsan) on the south end, he marched to Attabyrium, a city

situated on Mount Tabor, the mountain afterwards made famous by the transfiguration of our Saviour on it, and by a stratagem soon made himself master of the place; and, by taking these cities, having brought all Galilee under him, he marched over the river Jordan into the land of Gilead, and took possession of all that country, which formerly had been the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, on that side of the river. After that he took Rabbah of the children of Ammon. Polybius calls it Rabbatamana (i. e. Rabbath-Ammon). I have shown before how Ptolemy Philadelphus, having rebuilt this city, called it Philadelphia. It being strong and populous, it made a vigorous resistance against Antiochus and all his army; but at length he brought them to a surrender, by stopping their water-course. On his making himself master of this place, he forced all the neighbouring Arabs to submit to him. But by this time the year being far spent, he repassed the river Jordan, and having placed Hippolochus and Keræas (who lately revolted to him from king Ptolemy) in the government of Samaria, with five thousand men, to keep that part of the country in quiet, he led back all the rest of his forces to Ptolemais, and there put them into winter-quarters.

Decisive battle of Raphia, between Ptolemy and Antiochus: retreat of Antiochus, 217.—As soon as the spring began, both parties again took the field. Ptolemy, having gotten together an army of seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy-three elephants, ordered them to rendezvous at Pelusium; where, putting himself at the head of them, as soon as all was got ready for the march, he led them over the deserts that parted Egypt and Palestine, and encamped at Raphia, a town lying between Rhinocorura and Gaza: and there Antiochus met him with an army little inferior to his; for he had sixty-two thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a hundred and two elephants; and

---

there he encamped, first within ten furlongs, and afterwards within five of the enemy. While they lay thus near to each other, many bickerings happened between parties, as they went out on each side, either for watering or forage, and many bold adventures were made by particular persons from both armies. But that of Theodotus the Ætolian was the most remarkable:

for being well acquainted with the Egyptian usages, as having long served Ptolemy, till he revolted from him to Antiochus, he took the advantage of a dusky evening, when his face could not be well discerned, to enter into the enemy's camp with two companions, and being there taken for one of them, went into Ptolemy's tent with design to have killed him, and with that one stroke to have put an end to the war. But not finding him there, he slew his chief physician instead of him, wounded two others, and then, amidst the hurry and tumult raised hereon, escaped safe back again into his own camp.

At length both kings drew out all their forces for a decisive battle, and both rode before the front of their respective armies, to excite and encourage their men for the fight. Arsinoe, who was sister and wife to king Ptolemy, accompanied him in this action, and not only exerted herself in the encouraging of the soldiers before the fight, but also continued with her husband in the battle throughout all the heat and dangers of it. The event of the battle was, Antiochus, commanding the right wing, routed the opposite wing of the enemy; but pursuing them too far, in the interim the other wing of the enemy, having beaten his left wing, fell upon the main body, then left naked, and utterly broke them, before he could return to their assistance. An old officer of Antiochus's army, observing which way the cloud of dust went, concluded from thence that the main body was routed, and showed it to the king. But although he immediately returned, he came too late to recover this fault, finding all the rest of his army put to flight on his coming back to them. Hereon he was forced to retreat, first to Raphia, and next to Gaza, with the loss of ten thousand of his men slain, and four thousand taken prisoners: after which, being no more able to make head against Ptolemy in those parts, he quitted them to the conqueror, and having gathered together the remains of his broken forces, he returned with them to Antioch. This battle at Raphia was fought at the same time that Hannibal vanquished Flaminius, the Roman consul, at the lake of Thrasimenus, in Hetruria.

Cœle-Syria and Palestine again submit to Ptolemy.—On the retreat of Antiochus, the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine were at a strife which of them should first yield themselves again to Ptolemy: for having been long under the government of the Egyptians, they were in their affections inclined rather to their old masters than to Antiochus. It was only by force

that they had submitted to the latter; and therefore, that force being now removed, they returned again to their former bent, and Ptolemy's court was thronged with ambassadors from them to make their submissions, and offer presents unto him; among whom were ambassadors from the Jews, who were all kindly received.

Ptolemy visits Jerusalem, and enters the Holy of Holies.—Ptolemy

---

having thus regained these provinces, made a progress through them; and among other cities which he visited in this perambulation, Jerusalem was one that had this favour from him. On his arrival thither, he took a view of the temple, and there offered up many sacrifices to the God of Israel, and made many oblations to the temple, and gave several very valuable donatives to it. But not being content to view it only from the outer court, beyond which it was not lawful for any Gentile to pass, he would have pressed into the sanctuary itself, and into the Holy of Holies in the temple, where none but the high priest only, once a year, on the great day of expiation, was to enter. This made a great uproar all over the city. The high priest informed him of the sacredness of the place, and the law of God which forbade his entrance thither. And the priests and Levites gathered together to hinder it, and all the people to deprecate it: and great lamentation was made everywhere among them on the apprehension of the great profanation which would hereby be offered to their holy temple, and all hands were lifted up unto God in prayer to avert it. But the king, the more he was opposed, growing the more intent to have his will in this matter, pressed into the inner court; but as he was passing further to go into the temple itself, he was smitten from God with such a terror and confusion of mind, that he was carried out of the place in a manner half dead. On this he departed from Jerusalem, filled with great wrath against the whole nation of the Jews, for that which happened to him in that place, and venting many threatenings against them for it.

Simon, son of Onias II., high priest: deplorable condition of the Jews.—The high priest who withstood Ptolemy in this attempt upon the temple was Simon, the son of Onias, the second of that name: for his father

dying towards the end of the former year, he succeeded him in his office; and this was the first year of his pontificate: and it was well that a wiser man was then in that office when this difficulty happened; for during the whole time of Onias's ministration, all the affairs of the Jews were, both in church and state, very negligently and supinely managed; for he being a very weak man, and withal exceedingly covetous, minded little else but how to heap up money. The Samaritans, observing this, took the advantage of it to be very vexatious to the Jews, and out of their old enmity to them did them many and great damages, plundering and ravaging their country, and carrying many of the inhabitants into captivity, and selling them for slaves; and this they had in some measure practised ever since the contention arose between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopator about the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, screening themselves sometimes under the one side and sometimes under the other, according as they found they might be most vexatious to the Jews. And during all the time that this war lasted, the Jews suffered very much by it from both parties, as did all the rest of the inhabitants of Palestine: for Palestine, of which Judæa was a part, being one of the countries in contest, while these two potent princes thus strove for it, it happened to those that dwelt in it (as usually it does to all others in this case), that they

---

were ground between both; for as sometimes the one side, and sometimes the other, were masters of the country, they were sure to be harassed by each in their turns; and this continued to be their case as long as that contest lasted, and they suffered exceedingly by it.

Antiochus concludes a treaty with Ptolemy by the cession of Cœle-Syria and Palestine.—Antiochus, as soon as he was returned to Antioch, sent ambassadors to Ptolemy to move for peace. That which induced him to this was, he mistrusted the fidelity of his own people, finding, on his return, both his interest and his authority much sunk by his late misfortune at Raphia: and another reason for it was, it was time for him to look after Achæus; for he having, by his victories over Attalus, made himself absolute master of all the Lesser Asia, should he be let alone to settle his authority there, Antiochus well saw it would not be long ere he

must expect him in Syria, there to push for the whole empire; to prevent this, he thought it his best course to make peace with Ptolemy, lest, having two such powerful enemies, one on each hand of him, to deal with at the same time, he should be crushed between them; and therefore he empowered his ambassadors to yield to Ptolemy all those provinces which were in contest between them, that is, all Cœle-Syria and Palestine. I have before shown that Cœle-Syria contained that part of Syria that lay between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus; and Palestine, all that country which was formerly the inheritance of the children of Israel, and that the maritime parts of both were what the Greeks called Phoenicia. All this Antiochus was willing to part with to the king of Egypt for the obtaining of peace with him in the present juncture, choosing rather to quit his claim to all these countries, than for the sake of them to run the risk of losing all the rest. And accordingly, a truce being agreed on for a year, before that was expired, a peace was made upon the terms proposed: and hereby Antiochus was left wholly at leisure to attend the recovery of Lesser Asia, and the suppressing of Achæus, which was a matter of much greater moment unto him at this time; and Ptolemy, that he might be again fully at liberty to follow his voluptuous enjoyments, was as fond of being rid of this war as the other. And therefore, as soon as the truce was concluded, after having tarried three months in those provinces to settle his affairs in them, he committed the chief command over them to Andromachus of Aspendus, and returned again to Alexandria; and on his arrival thither, immersed himself again deeper than ever in all the vile pleasures of his former life; and that he might not be interrupted in his enjoyment of them, he sent Sosibius, his chief minister, to Antioch, to turn the truce into a peace, which was accordingly done on the terms I have mentioned. And thus Ptolemy, for the sake of his pleasures, contenting himself with the recovery of the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, made no other advantage of his victory at Raphia: but this did not content his people, who expected much more from it. It is certain, had he pursued that blow, he might have deprived Antiochus not only of Palestine and Cœle-Syria, but of all the rest of his empire; and this was what the Egyptians would have had done, and were very angry when they found themselves disappointed of it by so disadvantageous a peace. The discontent which followed herefrom gave rise to those disorders

in Egypt, which soon after broke out into a rebellion; and thus Ptolemy, by avoiding a war abroad, caused one at home in his own kingdom.

Decree of Ptolemy degrading all the Jews at Alexandria who would not sacrifice to the gods, 216.—Ptolemy, on his return to Alexandria, carrying thither with him his anger against the Jews for their obstructing his entrance into their temple at Jerusalem, resolved to be revenged for it on all of that nation who were then at Alexandria. And therefore he published a decree, and caused it to be engraven on a pillar erected at the gates of his palace, whereby he forbade all to enter thither that did not sacrifice to the gods which he worshipped; whereby he excluded the Jews from all access to him, either for the suing to him for justice, or the obtaining of his protection, in what case soever they should stand in need of it. And whereas the inhabitants of Alexandria were of three ranks; first, the Macedonians who were the original founders of the city, and had the first right in it; secondly, the mercenary soldiers, who came thither to serve in the army; and thirdly, the native Egyptians; and by the favour of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy Soter, the Jews were enrolled among the first rank, and had all the privileges of original Macedonians conferred on them, Philopator resolved to deprive them of this right; and therefore, by another decree, ordered that all of the Jewish nation that lived in Alexandria should be degraded from the first rank, of which they had hitherto always been from the first founding of the city, and be enrolled in the third rank, among the common people of Egypt; and that all of them should come thus to be enrolled, and, at the time of their enrolment, have the mark of an ivy leaf, the badge of his god Bacchus, by a hot iron impressed upon them; and that all those who should refuse to be thus enrolled, and stigmatized with the said mark, should be made slaves; and that if any of them should stand out against this decree, he should be put to death. He would have them marked with the badge of his god Bacchus, not only in that, by his drunkenness, he had made himself a great devotee of his, but most especially in that the Ptolemys of Egypt pretended to derive their pedigree from him, and therefore he himself was marked with this badge; for which reason they gave him the nickname of Gallus, because the priests called Galli were so marked. So saith the author of the Greek Etymologicon: his words are,

"Ptolemy Philopator was called Gallus, because he was stigmatized or marked with the leaf of an ivy, in the same manner as the priests called Galli; for in all the Bacchanal solemnities they were crowned with ivy." But that he might not seem an enemy to all of that nation, he ordained that as many of them as would be initiated into the heathen religion, and sacrifice unto his gods, should retain their former privileges, and remain still in the same rank which they were of before.

Ptolemy resolves on destroying all the Jewish nation, beginning with those in Egypt.—But of the many thousands of the Jewish race which then dwelt at Alexandria, there were found only three hundred who accepted of this condition, and forsook their God to gain the favour of their king. The rest stood all firm to their religion, rather choosing to suffer anything than depart in the least from it; and those of them that had riches freely departed with them to the king's officers, to get themselves excused from being thus enrolled and stigmatized; but others were forced to submit hereto. But all of them so abhorred those that apostatized from their God to please the king on this occasion, that they thenceforth excluded them from all manner of communication with them, none of them vouchsafing after that to converse, or on any occasion whatsoever to have any more to do with such impious wretches: which being interpreted as done by them in opposition to the king's authority, this so enraged him against them, that he took a resolution of destroying them all; that is, not only those Jews that were of Alexandria, but all the other of that nation, wheresoever they lived, within his dominions, purposing first to begin with those of Egypt, and then to proceed, in the next place, against the inhabitants of Judæa and Jerusalem, and extirpate the whole nation.

Story of the miraculous preservation of the Jews in the Hippodrome at Alexandria: revocation of all the decrees.—Accordingly, in the first place, Ptolemy sent out his orders to command that all the Jews, who lived anywhere in Egypt, should be brought in chains to Alexandria; and having them accordingly thus brought thither, he shut them up in the Hippodrome (a large place without the city, where the people used to assemble to see horse-races and other shows), purposing there to expose

them for a spectacle to be destroyed by his elephants. But when they were all met at the day appointed to see the sight, and the elephants were brought forth ready prepared for the execution, they were disappointed of the show for that day by the king's absence; for being late up the night before at a drunken carousal, he slept so long the next day, that the time for the show was over before he awoke; whereon it was put off to the next day following, and then the same cause made another disappointment: for another such fit of drunkenness had so drowned his thoughts, that when called up the next morning then to see the show, he remembered nothing of it, but thought those out of their wits who spoke to him of it; which caused that the show was put off again to the third day. All this while the Jews, continuing shut up in the Hippodrome, ceased not, with lifted up hands and voices, to pray unto God for their deliverance, which he accordingly vouchsafed unto them; for on the third day, when the king was present, and the elephants were brought forth, and made drunk with wine mingled with frankincense (as they had been the two days before), that they might with the more rage execute what was intended upon those people, and were accordingly let loose upon them, instead of falling upon the Jews, they turned their rage all upon those who came to see the show, and destroyed great numbers of them; and besides, several appearances were seen in the air, which much frighted the king and all the spectators. All which manifesting the interposal of a divine power in the protection of those people, Philopator durst not any longer

---

prosecute his rage against them, but ordered them to be all again set free; and fearing the divine vengeance upon him in their behalf, for the appeasing and diverting of it, he restored them to all their privileges, rescinding and revoking all his decrees which he had published against them: and he added over and above many gifts and favours unto them: among which one was, that he gave them liberty to put to death all those Jews who had apostatized from their religion; which they accordingly executed, not sparing a man of them. Josephus gives us no account, in his Antiquities, of all this matter; but there is mention of it in his second book against Apion. But it is to be observed, that we have this only in the Latin edition of Ruffinus: for the

Greek text is there wanting; and also there this whole matter is said to be transacted in the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, many years after the time where I have here placed it, according to the Third Book of the Maccabees: for there the whole history of this persecution, and the deliverance of the Jews from it, is at large related, it being the whole subject of that book; and therein it is said to have been all transacted in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, immediately on his return from Syria, after the victory obtained by him at the battle of Raphia; and when that battle was fought Polybius and other authors have told us.

Third Book of the Maccabees its history and character. —The name of Maccabees was first given to Judas and his brethren for the reason which will be hereafter mentioned; and therefore the first book and the second book, which give us an account of their actions, are called the First Book and the Second Book of the Maccabees. But because they were sufferers in the cause of their religion, hence others, who were like sufferers in the same cause, and by their sufferings bore witness to the truth, were in after-times called also Maccabees by the Jews. And for this reason it is that Josephus, having written apart by itself the history of those who suffered martyrdom under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, gives it the title of the Maccabees; and for the same reason this history of the persecution of Ptolemy Philopator against the Jews in Egypt, and their suffering under it, is called the Third Book of Maccabees, although, as to the subject-matter of it, it ought to be called the first book; for the things which it relates were first in order of time, as being transacted before ever those Maccabees, of whom we have the history in the First and Second Book of the Maccabees, were at all in being. But this book being of less authority and repute than the other two, it hath, for this reason, been reckoned after them, according to the order of dignity, though it be before them in the order of time. It seems to have been written by some Alexandrian Jew, in the Greek language, not long after the time of Siracides. What is related in the beginning of it concerning the exploit of Theodotus, the battle of Raphia, and Arsinoe's accompanying her husband in it, is manifestly taken from Polybius; and therefore it must have been written after the publication of that history. It is extant also in Syriac; but the author of that version seems not well to have understood the Greek original; for in some places he varies from it through

manifest ignorance of the Greek language. It is in most of the ancient manuscript copies of the Greek Septuagint; as particularly it is in the Alexandrian manuscript in the king's library at St. James's, and in the Vatican manuscript at Rome, which are two of the ancientest manuscripts

---

of the Septuagint now in being; but was never inserted into the Vulgar Latin version of the Bible, nor is it to be found in any manuscript of it. And that version being only in use through the whole Western church till the Reformation, the first translations which we have of the Bible into English were made from thence; and, for that reason, none of those having the Third Book of Maccabees among the apocryphal books, it hath never since been added, though it deserves a place there much better than some parts of the Second Book of Maccabees: for though it comes to us in a romantic dress, with some enlargements and embellishments of a Jewish invention, yet it is not to be doubted but the groundwork of it is true; and that there really was such a persecution raised against the Jews of Alexandria by Ptolemy Philopator as that book relates there are accounts of other persecutions they there underwent, altogether as bad, which no one doubts of. The first authentic mention we have of this book is in Eusebius's Chronicon. It is also named with the two other books of the Maccabees in the eighty-fifth of the Apostolic Canons. But when that canon was added is uncertain. Some manuscript Greek Bibles have not only this Third Book of the Maccabees, but also Josephus's history of the martyrs that suffered under Antiochus Epiphanes, inserted after it, by the name of the Fourth Book of the Maccabees.

Syrian empire: Antiochus Magnus allies with Attalus king of Pergamus, and prepares to reduce Achæus. —In the interim, Antiochus, after the peace made with Ptolemy, turning all his thoughts to the making of war against Achæus, and having made great preparations for it, marched over Mount Taurus into Lesser Asia for the suppressing of him; where having joined himself in league with Attalus king of Pergamus, by virtue of this conjunction he so distressed Achæus, that he drove him out of the field, and shut him up in Sardis, and thereon sitting down before that place, besieged him in it with his whole army.

Antiochus captures Sardis, and beheads Achæus, 215.—Achæus there held out above a year against him. In the interim, many sallies were made, and many skirmishes were fought under the walls; till at length, in the second year of the siege, by the craft of Ligoras, one of Antiochus's commanders, the city was taken; whereon Achæus retreated into the castle, and there defended himself for some time, till at last he was, by the treacherous contrivance of two crafty Cretans, delivered into the hands of Antiochus. The manner of it was thus: Ptolemy Philopator, having entered into a strict alliance with Achæus, was much concerned on his hearing of his being so closely shut up in the castle of Sardis, and therefore committed it to the care of his chief minister Sosibius, by any means possible to get him out of this danger. There being at that time in Ptolemy's court a crafty Cretan called Bolis, who had long resided there, Sosibius consulted with him about this matter, and asked his advice for the finding out of proper means for the accomplishing of what his master desired. Bolis, asking time to consider of it, at the next conference undertook the matter, and communicated to

---

him the way which he thought of whereby to accomplish it; for he told him that he had an intimate friend, who was also a near relation of his, called Cambylus, that was captain of the Cretan mercenaries in Antiochus's army, and had then the keeping of a fortress behind the castle at Sardis; that him he would deal with to permit Achæus to make his escape that way. Sosibius, approving of the project, forthwith sent Bolis to Sardis to put it in execution, and gave him ten talents to bear him through in it. Bolis having communicated the matter to Cambylus, they, like two crafty knaves, consulting together how to make the most of it, agreed to discover the whole to Antiochus; and, on his promise of a suitable reward, to turn the plot for the betraying of Achæus into his hands, and then divide that reward, and also the ten talents which Bolis had from Sosibius, between them. Antiochus, on his receiving of this proposal, was much pleased with it, and promised rewards large enough to encourage the undertakers to go on with the plot. Bolis, by the means of Cambylus, having got into the castle, and by virtue of his credentials from Sosibius and other friends gained full

credit with the unfortunate prince, so that he was hereby induced to put himself into the hands of these two false Cretans; they, as soon as they had gotten him out of the castle, seized his person, and delivered him to Antiochus; who, having caused him forthwith to be beheaded, did thereby put an end to the Asian war: for as soon as the death of Achæus was known, they that were in the castle forthwith surrendered; and soon after, all the other places through the Asian provinces did the same: and therefore Antiochus, having received them all again under his obedience, left such governors over them as he might best confide in, and then returned again to Antioch.

Egypt: revolt of the Egyptians against Ptolemy, 213.—About this time the discontents of the Egyptians against Philopator, which I have above mentioned, broke out into a civil war. Polybius tells us that there was such a war; but neither he nor any other author gives us any account of the event of it. But Philopator still retaining his royal dignity and power, without any diminution of either, this sufficiently proves that he mastered this difficulty. Which side the Jews (who now made a considerable part of the bulk of the people of Egypt) took in this war is not said; but it seems most likely that they were of that party which came by the worst: for Eusebius tells us, that about this time forty thousand of them were cut off and destroyed.

Syrian empire: Antiochus recovers Media from Arsaces II., king of Parthia, 212.—Antiochus, having settled his affairs in Lesser Asia, made an expedition into the East for the reducing of those provinces which had revolted from the Syrian empire; and the Parthians having lately seized Media, his first attempt was upon that province. There reigned at that time over the Parthians, Arsaces, the son of that Arsaces who first founded the Parthian empire: he, taking the advantage of Antiochus's being otherwise engaged in his wars with Ptolemy and Achæus, had entered Media, and made himself master of that country,

---

and added it to his former dominions. On Antiochus's approach that way, he endeavoured to hinder his passage by stopping up all the wells in the deserts

through which he was to march, no army being able there to be subsisted without them. But Antiochus, being aware of the design, sent a party of horse before him to secure those wells; who having driven away the party that was sent to destroy them, Antiochus safely passed those deserts with all his army, and entering Media, drove Arsaces thence: and having recovered all that country, spent the remainder of the year in settling of it again in its former order under his dominion, and in providing for the further operations of the war.

Antiochus makes a successful campaign in Parthia and Media, 211, 210.—Early the next spring, B. C. 211, Antiochus marched into Parthia; and there having obtained the same success as in Media, Arsaces was forced to retreat into Hyrcania, where thinking to secure himself behind the mountains which parted that country from Parthia, he placed guards in all the passes through which the Syrian army was to march, hoping thereby to obstruct their further progress that way. But the next year, B. C. 210, Antiochus, as soon as the season would admit, took the field to drive them thence; and by dividing his army into several parties, and assaulting those guards all at the same time in their several stations, he soon made himself master of all those passes; and therefore marching securely through them over those mountains, he descended from them with all his army into the country of Hyrcania, and there laid siege to Syringis, the capital of the province; and after some time having, by undermining the walls, made a great breach in them, he took the place by storm, and all the inhabitants surrendered themselves to his mercy. In the interim Arsaces was not idle; but all the way as he retreated, having gathered forces, at length made up an army of one hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, with which being strong enough to face the enemy, he made a stand against him, and with great valour opposed his further progress, which drew out the war into a great length. But after many conflicts that happened between the two armies, no further advantage being gained on the part of Antiochus, he found it would be no easy matter for him to vanquish so valiant an enemy, and wholly dispossess him of the provinces which he had been so long settled in.

Treaty of peace between Antiochus and Arsaces II., 208.— Antiochus therefore became inclined to hearken to terms of accommodation

for the ending of so troublesome a war: and accordingly a treaty being set on foot, it was agreed that Arsaces should hold Parthia and Hyrcania, on the terms of becoming a confederate of Antiochus's, and assisting him in his wars for the recovery of the other provinces which had revolted from him.

Antiochus carries on a useless war with Euthydemus king of Bactria, 207.—Antiochus having thus made peace with Arsaces, carried the war in the next place against Euthydemus king of Bactria. It hath been above related how Theodotus first usurped Bactria from the empire of the Syrian kings, and left it to his son of the same name. Him Euthydemus having vanquished and driven out, reigned in his stead; and being a very valiant and wise prince, he maintained a long

---

war against Antiochus in defence of the country which he had made himself master of, and everywhere made good his ground against him; so that Antiochus only wasted his army in this country, without gaining any advantage by it.

Egypt: murder of Arsinoe, the wife of Ptolemy. —In the interim, Philopator went on in his old course of life, giving himself wholly up to his pleasures. Agathoclea his concubine, and Agathocles her brother, governed him absolutely. Drinking, gaming, and the vilest sensuality were the whole employments of his life. Sosibius, being an old crafty minister, who had now served in the court under three kings, did, as far as the favourites would permit, manage the affairs of the state, in which, by his long experience, he was thoroughly versed, but was wicked enough to serve such a king and such his favourites in all their vilest purposes. While things were thus managed, Arsinoe, who was sister and wife to Philopator, was little regarded, which she not having patience enough to bear, spared neither her complaints nor her clamours on all occasions; which much offending the king, and also the two degraded beings who governed him, orders were given to Sosibius to put her to death, which he accordingly executed by the hands of one Philammon, whom he employed for the effecting of this cruel and barbarous murder. Justin calls her Eurydice, and Livy, Cleopatra; but

according to Polybius, who writeth with the most exactness of these matters, her name was Arsinoe.

Sosibius, the minister of Ptolemy, compelled to give way to Tlepolemus, 206.—These things very much displeasing the people, they forced Sosibius, during the life-time of the king, to quit his office of chief minister, and called to it Tlepolemus, a young nobleman of great note in the army for his valour and military prowess and skill; and by a general vote in the grand council appointed him to succeed therein. And accordingly Sosibius resigned to him the king's signet, which was the badge of his office; and by virtue hereof, Tlepolemus managed all the public affairs of the kingdom during the remainder of the king's life; but in that short time he abundantly showed that he was no way equal to the charge he undertook, having neither the experience, craft, nor application of his predecessor to qualify him for it.

Syrian empire: treaty of peace between Antiochus and Euthydemus : Antiochus renews his alliance with the king of Media. — In the mean while Antiochus carried on the war against Euthydemus in Bactria; but after his utmost efforts for the dispossessing him of that country, finding that he made but little progress herein, by reason of the valour and vigilancy of those he had to deal with, he grew weary of the war, and therefore admitted ambassadors from Euthydemus to treat of an accommodation. By them Euthydemus complained of the injustice of the war which Antiochus had made against him, telling him that he was not of those that had revolted from him, and that therefore he had not on this account any right of war against him; that the revolt of the Bactrians from the Syrian empire had been made under the leading of others before his time; that he was possessed of that country by having vanquished and driven out the descendants of those revolters,

---

and held it as the just prize of his victory over them. He further ordered it to be suggested to Antiochus, that the Scythians, taking advantage of the war in which they were now wasting each other, were preparing a great army to invade Bactria; and that therefore, if they continued any longer their

contention about it, a fair opportunity would be given those barbarians to take it from both. This consideration, added to the desire which Antiochus afore had to get rid of this tedious and troublesome war, brought him to agree to such terms as produced a peace; for the confirming and ratifying of which, Euthydemus sent his son to Antiochus, who took such liking to the young man, that he gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and for his sake allowed the father to take the title and style of king of Bactria. And then, having received from him all his elephants (which was one of the terms of the peace), he marched over Mount Caucasus [more properly the Paropamisus, or Hindoo Koosh] into India; where having renewed his league with Sophagasenus, the king of that country, and received so many elephants from him, as when added to those which he had from Euthydemus made up their number to a hundred and fifty, he marched from thence into Arachosia, and from that country into Drangiana, and from thence into Carmania, settling, as he went, all those countries in due order under his obedience.

Great reputation of Antiochus, 205.—After having wintered in Carmania, Antiochus returned through Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia again unto Antioch, after having been seven years absent from thence on this expedition. By the boldness of his attempts, and the wisdom of his conduct through this whole war, he gained the reputation of a very wise and valiant prince, which made his name terrible through all Europe as well as Asia, and thereby he kept all the provinces of his empire in thorough subjection to him and thus far his actions might well have deserved the name of the Great, which was given unto him, and he might have carried it with full glory and honour to his grave, but that he unfortunately engaged in a war with the Romans. Being blown up with vanity and conceit on the reputation he had gained, he thought none could now stand before him, and this made him project the conquest of Greece and Italy: but failing in the attempt, he fell low by the ill success of it; and afterwards concluded his reign in a very unfortunate and dishonourable death, as will be hereafter related.

Egyptian history: death of Ptolemy IV. Philopator, 204.— Antiochus had not been long returned to Antioch, ere he had an account of the death of Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt. This prince having worn out

a very strong body by his intemperance and debaucheries, ended his life, as it usually happens to others in this case, before he had lived out half its course. He was very little above twenty when he first came to the throne, and he sat on it only seventeen years.

IV. REIGN OF PTOLEMY V. EPIPHANES TO THE CONQUEST OF PALESTINE BY ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT, B. C. 204—198.

Kings of Syria—Antiochus the Great, 223.

High priests of the Jews—Simon II. 217.

Egyptian history: Agathocles aims at the regency.—Ptolemy Epiphanes, son of Ptolemy Philopator, was only a child of five years of age when he succeeded his father in the kingdom of Egypt. None but Agathocles, Agathoclea, and their creatures being about Philopator at the time of his death, they concealed it as long as they could, and in the interim plundered the palace of all the treasure and riches there left by the deceased king that they could lay their hands upon; and at the same time were framing projects for their continuing in the same power which they had under the deceased king, by usurping the regency during the minority of his successor: and vainly imagining that they could carry this point, if Tlepolemus were out of the way, they laid a plot to have him cut off; and therefore, when the king's death was known, they called together the Macedonians to a general council: and when they were met, Agathocles and Agathoclea came out to them; and Agathocles, having the young king in his arms, after much weeping, spoke to them. The effect of this speech was to implore their protection for the young king, whom, he said, his father at his death had delivered (pointing at Agathoclea) into her hands; and that at the same time he had recommended him to the fidelity of his Macedonian

subjects; and therefore he implored their aid and assistance against Tlepolemus, of whom, he told them, he had certain information that he was preparing to seize the crown: and then he would have produced several witnesses whom he had then present, to prove his charge. He foolishly hoped, by this weak artifice, to have stirred up the Macedonians to cut him off, and then to have established himself, upon his death, in the regency. But the folly of this contrivance being easily seen through, it at first provoked the laughter, and afterward the rage of all that heard it; and the ruin of him and his sister, and all their creatures, followed immediately after.

Rising of the people, and execution of Agathocles, Agathoclea, and Oenanthe. —For on this occasion, all their misdemeanours being called to remembrance, all the people of Alexandria arose in a general uproar against them. And therefore, having first taken from them the young king, and placed him on the throne in the public hippodrome, they there brought before him, first Agathocles, and next Agathoclea, and Oenanthe their mother, and caused them there, as by the king's order, to be all put to death in his presence; and then proceeded in the same manner against the sisters and kindred of Agathocles and Agathoclea, and all other their creatures, till they had cut them all off. And such reckonings wicked favourites are often brought to, when deprived of

---

that power whereby they have abused the people. The power alone in this case is apt enough to create envy, but is much more so when employed for unjust and wicked purposes: the only method to make any one safe in such stations is to do nothing else in them but what shall be in all times justifiable. About three days before this uproar happened, Philammon, who had been employed in the murdering of Arsinoe, being come from Cyrene to Alexandria, the ladies who had been of her attendance hearing of it, took the advantage of this disorder, to revenge on him the death of their mistress: for, breaking into his house, they fell upon him with stones and clubs, till they had beaten him to death; a punishment which he well deserved by becoming the instrument of so wicked an act.

Regency of Sosibius. —After this, the guardianship of the young king was for the present committed to the charge of Sosibius, the son of that Sosibius who had been the ruling minister of the court during the last three reigns. Whether he were then living or no is not said; it is certain he lived to a very great age; his continuance for above sixty years in the ministry is a sufficient instance of it; and for this reason he was called Πολυχρόνιος, i. e. the long-liver. And no doubt by the Sosibius who is said in the history of Aristeas to be one of the chief promoters of the Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures, called the Septuagint, is meant none other than this Sosibius by the writer of that apocryphal book. But whether he were brought so early upon the stage, the distance of the time gives us reason to doubt. For we have placed the making of that version in the year 277, which was seventy-one years before the time that he left the ministry. He was as crafty and as wicked a minister as ever governed the public affairs of any kingdom, not caring how wicked and vile any means were, so that they conduced to the effecting of the ends he proposed, which is exactly that scheme of politics which Machiavel hath since with a bare face recommended to the world, and so many in our time have practised after him. But that which is most remarkable in this old Egyptian politician is, that he continued so long in prosperity, and was permitted at last so easily to retire, which hath scarce ever happened to any other that have acted by his principles.

Syrian history: league between Antiochus and Philip V., king of Macedon, 203.—Antiochus king of Syria and Philip king of Macedon, thinking to serve themselves of the advantage they had by the death of Philopator, and the succession of an infant king after him, entered into a league to divide his dominions between them, agreeing that Philip should have Caria, Libya, Cyrene, and Egypt, Antiochus all the rest. And accordingly Antiochus forthwith marched into Cœle-Syria and Palestine, and partly this year, and partly in the next, made himself master of those provinces, and all the several districts and cities in them.

Egyptian court send an embassy to Rome, 202. —Scipio having beaten Hannibal in Africa, and thereby put an end to the second Punic war with victory and honour, the name of the Romans began to be everywhere

of great note; and therefore the Egyptian court, finding themselves much distressed by the league made between Philip and Antiochus against their infant king, and the usurpations which had thereon been made by them on his provinces, sent an embassy to Rome to pray their protection, offering them the guardianship of their king, and the regency of his dominions, during his minority; and, to induce them to accept hereof, alleged that the deceased king had recommended both to them at his death. The Romans, thinking this would enlarge their fame, complied with what was desired, and took on them the tuition of the young king.

Extraordinary chronological error of the Jewish historians. — This year being the three thousand five hundred and sixtieth year of the Jewish era of the creation, the writers of that nation tell us, that Joshua, the son of Perachia, was admitted president of the Sanhedrim, and Nathan the Arbelite his vice-president, and that both together had the charge of being rectors of the divinity school at Jerusalem. They tell us nothing in particular of the latter; neither is what they say of the other consisting with the time in which they place him, or of any truth as to the matters related. For they tell us of him, that when Alexander the Asmonean, king of Judæa, slew the doctors of the law at Jerusalem, for telling him that he ought to be contented with the crown, and not hold that and the high priesthood together, Joshua, then escaping from his wrath, fled into Egypt; and that Jesus Christ, being his scholar, accompanied him thither. But the year of the Jewish era above mentioned, under which they placed the first entering of this Joshua on his presidentship, was two hundred years before Christ's birth, and many years also before the reign of Alexander the Asmonean in Judæa; but to be out two or three hundred years in their chronology is nothing with the Jews. They are certainly the worst historians and the worst accounters of times that ever pretended to be either.

Roman embassy to Antiochus and Philip, and intervention in Egypt, 201.—The Romans, having complied with the request of the Egyptian embassy to them, which I have mentioned, sent three ambassadors to Philip king of Macedon, and Antiochus king of Syria, to let them know that they had taken on them the tuition of Ptolemy king of Egypt during his

nonage; and to require them, that they therefore desist from invading the dominions of their pupil, and that otherwise they should be obliged to make war upon them for his protection. After they had delivered this embassy to both kings, M. Æmilius Lepidus, who was one of them, according to the instructions he had received from the senate at his first setting out, went to Alexandria to take on him in their name the tuition of the young king; where, having regulated his affairs as well as the then circumstances of them would admit, he appointed Aristomenes, an Acarnanian, to be his guardian and chief minister, and then returned again to Rome.

Aristomenes guardian of the young Ptolemy: preparations against the invasions of Antiochus and Philip, 200.— This Aristomenes was an old experienced minister of that court, who had long been conversant

---

in all the affairs of it; and having undertaken this charge, he managed it with great prudence and fidelity. The first thing that he did was to provide against the invasions of the two confederated kings; in order whereto he took care to recruit the army with the best soldiers he could get: for which purpose he sent Scopas into Ætolia, with vast sums of money, to raise as many men there as he could, they being then reputed the best soldiers of the age. This Scopas had formerly been the chief governor of that country, and was a person of great note in his time for his military skill and prowess: when the time of his ministry was expired, and he missed of being continued in it as he desired, he left Ætolia, and went into the service of the king of Egypt; and being employed to make this levy, he brought to him from Ætolia six thousand stout men, which was a very considerable reinforcement to the army.

War in Asia Minor between Antiochus and Attalus: successes of the Egyptian general Scopas in Judea, 199.—At this time Antiochus having passed into Lesser Asia, and there engaged himself in a war with Attalus king of Pergamus, the ministry at Alexandria took the advantage hereof to sent Scopas with an army into Palestine and Cœle-Syria, for the recovery of those provinces; where he managed the war with that success, that he took several cities, and reduced all Judæa by force, and put a

garrison into the castle at Jerusalem; and on the approach of winter returned to Alexandria with full honour for the victories he had obtained, and with as great riches, which he had gathered from the plunder of the country. But it soon appeared that his successes this campaign were mostly owing to the absence of Antiochus, and the want of that opposition thereon which otherwise would have been made against him.

Antiochus utterly defeats Scopas, and thoroughly subdues Palestine and Cæle-Syria, 198.—For after Antiochus had on the interposition of the Romans desisted from his war against Attalus, and was come in person into Cæle-Syria, this soon turned the scales, and brought the victory absolutely over on the other side. For although Scopas came again with a great army into those parts, yet being encountered by Antiochus at Paneas, near the fountains of the river Jordan, he was there overthrown with a great slaughter, and forced to flee to Sidon; where being shut up with ten thousand of his men, he was there besieged by Antiochus, till at length he was forced by famine to surrender on terms of life only; and he and his men were sent thence stripped and naked. The regency at Alexandria were not wanting to do the utmost for his relief; for on their hearing of his being besieged in Sidon, they sent three of their best generals with the best of their forces to raise the siege. But Antiochus having disposed all matters so that they could find no way to effect it, Scopas and his men were forced to submit to the dishonourable conditions I have mentioned, and to return to Alexandria, to be there provided with new clothes and new arms for future service. After this Antiochus marched to Gaza,

---

and finding there a resistance that provoked his anger, he gave up the place when taken to be plundered and ravaged by his soldiers; and then, having secured the passes there against the march of any new forces out of Egypt to disturb him in his conquests, he marched back, and took in Batanea, Samaria, Abila, Gadera, and all the other remaining parts of Palestine and Cœle-Syria, and made himself wholly master both of the countries and all the cities in them.

V. JUDÆA A SYRIAN PROVINCE: CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT, B. C. 198—187.

Kings of Egypt—Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, 204.

High priests of the Jews—Simon II. 217;

Onias III. 195.

Jewish nation gladly submit to Antiochus, and are treated with great favour. —The Jews were at this time very much alienated in their affections from the Egyptian king: whether it were by reason of the former ill treatment of their nation by his father, or for some fresher ill usage they had received, is not said. It is most likely it was because of the ravages and robberies of Scopas, on his taking Jerusalem the former year: for he was a very covetous and rapacious man, laying his hands everywhere on all that he could get and therefore, on Antiochus's marching that way, they willingly rendered all places unto him; and on his coming to Jerusalem, the priests and elders went out in a solemn procession to meet him, and received him with gladness, and entertained him and all his army in their city, provided for his horses and elephants, and assisted him with their arms for the reducing of the castle, where Scopas had left a garrison. In acknowledgment hereof, Antiochus, in a decree directed to Ptolemy, one of his lieutenants, granted them many privileges and favours; and in another decree published in their favour, he particularly ordained, that no stranger should enter within the sept of the temple; which seems to have been provided against with respect to the attempt which Philopator made to put a force upon them as to this matter, and which, I doubt not, was no small part of the reason that made them so disaffected to the Egyptian cause, contrary to their former inclinations towards it. And it is to be remarked that Antiochus, by former favours granted by him to their brethren who were settled in Babylonia and Mesopotamia, had declared himself a friend to their nation, in such a manner as had made them much more desirous of having him for their sovereign than the Egyptian king, who had used them ill; and therefore they gladly laid hold of this opportunity to revolt from him. For Antiochus, in his

eastern expeditions, having found the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia very serviceable to him, and very steady to his interest, entertained a great opinion of their fidelity to him; and therefore, on some commotions that happened in Phrygia and Lydia, by a decree directed to Zeuxis, an old commander of his, and then his lieutenant in those provinces,

---

he ordered two thousand families of the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia to be sent thither for the suppressing of those seditions, and the keeping of those parts in quiet, commanding that they and all that they had should be transported thither at the king's charges: and that on their arrival thither, they should be placed in the strongest fortresses for guards of the country, and have lands and possessions there divided out unto them for a plentiful subsistence; and that till they should receive the fruits of those lands, they should be maintained out of the king's stores. All which was a great argument of the opinion he had of their fidelity, and of the confidence which on the account hereof he placed in them. And from those Jews who were on this occasion transplanted from Babylonia into those parts were descended most of the Jews whom we find afterwards scattered in great numbers all over the Lesser Asia, especially in the times of the first preaching of the gospel.

Antiochus renews his attempt to subject all Asia Minor, and projects the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra with Ptolemy, 198, 197. —Antiochus, having thus brought all Cœle-Syria and Palestine into subjection to him, projected the doing of the same in Lesser Asia, his grand aim being to restore the Syrian empire to the full extent in which it had been held by any of his ancestors, especially by Seleucus Nicator, the founder of it. But to quiet the Egyptians, that they might not renew the war in Palestine and Cœle-Syria in his absence, he sent Eucles of Rhodes to Alexandria, with proposals of a marriage between Cleopatra his daughter and king Ptolemy, to be consummated as soon as they should be of an age fit for it, promising the restoration of those provinces on the day of the nuptials by way of dower with the young princess; which offer being accepted of, and the contract fully agreed to on these terms, the Egyptians acquiesced in Antiochus's engagements for the performance of them, and no more

renewed the war upon him, but left him wholly free to pursue his other designs. This, Jerome tells us, was done in the seventh year of the reign of Epiphanes.

Antiochus therefore having thus secured all in peace behind him, early the next spring [B. C. 197] did set forward with a great fleet for the carrying on of his designs upon Lesser Asia; and at the same time sent thither Ardyes and Mithridates, two of his sons, with a great army by land, ordering them to march to Sardis, and there tarry his coming to them. At this time T. Quintius Flaminius, the Roman general, was in Greece with a great army, making war with Philip king of Macedon. Attalus king of Pergamus, and the Rhodians, were confederates with the Romans in this war; and Antiochus having been in league with king Philip ever since the death of Ptolemy Philopator, was well understood to have come into those parts to give him all the assistance he was able. Thus stood the state of affairs in those parts when Antiochus first set out on this expedition; but he had not proceeded far in it, before they received a considerable change in two particulars, that is, in the death of Attalus king of Pergamus, and the overthrow of Philip king of Macedon by the Romans.

History of Pergamus: death of Attalus and accession of Eumenes.—For Attalus having at Thebes made an oration to the Bœotians, to

---

persuade them to join with the Romans against Philip, spoke it with that vehemence that his soul in a manner expiring with his voice, he swooned away, and fell down as dead in the middle of it; after this, having lain sick awhile at Thebes, he was carried to Pergamus, and there died, after having lived seventy-two years, and reigned forty-four. He having left behind him four sons, Eumenes, Attalus, Philetærus, and Athenæus; Eumenes, the eldest of them, succeeded him in his throne, and was the founder of the famous library that was at Pergamus. His three brothers carried it with that fidelity to him, and he with that affection to them, that they seemed all of them to have one and the same interest; and continuing in this concord and unanimity all their life after, they became a rare example of brotherly love to each other.

Philip of Macedon utterly defeated by the Romans at Cynocephalus.—As to Philip king of Macedon, he having come to a battle with the Romans at a place called Cynocephalus in Thessaly, was there overthrown with the loss of eight thousand men slain and five thousand taken prisoners; whereon being brought to distress, he sued for peace, which was granted him barely on this consideration, that the Romans understanding that Antiochus was coming into those parts with great forces, both by sea and land, they might not have to do with two such potent and warlike princes at the same time.

Greek cities of Asia call in the aid of the Romans against Antiochus.—In the interim Antiochus, having with his fleet sailed along the coasts of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, took in a great many of the maritime cities of those provinces and the islands adjoining; and at length coming round to Ephesus, seized that city, and there set up for his winter-quarters, spending the remainder of the year in projecting and concerting those measures which might be most proper for the accomplishing of the designs that brought him into those parts. But Smyrna, Lampsacus, and other Greek cities in Asia which then enjoyed their liberties, finding his scheme was to reduce them all to be in the same subjection to him as they had formerly been to his ancestors, resolved to stand out against him, and sent to the Romans for their protection, which they readily undertook in their behalf. For they being resolved to put a stop to Antiochus's farther progress westward, as fearing to what the power of so great a king might grow, should he establish himself in those parts of Asia according to his designs, gladly laid hold of this opportunity to oppose themselves against him; and therefore forthwith sent ambassadors to him, to require of him that he should restore to king Ptolemy all the cities of Lesser Asia that he had taken from him; that he should quit those that had been king Philip's; and that he should permit all the Grecian cities in those parts to enjoy their liberties, and not pass into Europe; and to declare, that in case they had not satisfaction in all these particulars, they would make war against him.

Roman embassy dismissed by Antiochus, 196.—But before these ambassadors came to him, he had caused one part of his forces to lay siege to Smyrna, and another to Lampsacus, and with the rest he passed over the Hellespont, and seized all the Thracian Chersonesus; where finding the city Lysimachia (which lay in the neck of the isthmus leading into that Chersonesus or Peninsula) lying in its ruins (it having a few years before been reduced to this condition by the Thracians), he set himself to rebuild it, designing there to lay the foundation of a kingdom for Seleucus his second son, and subject the neighbouring country to him, and make this the prime seat for his residence. While he was busying himself in these projects, the ambassadors sent to him from Rome came into Thrace, and finding him at Selymbria, a city of that country, they there had audience of him, and communicated their commission to him. On their debating with him the particulars of it which are above mentioned, the Romans argued how unreasonable a thing it was that, when they had vanquished king Philip, Antiochus should reap the fruits of their victory by seizing his cities in Asia; that they having undertaken the guardianship of king Ptolemy during his minority, it was incumbent on them to demand restitution of all those cities that were taken from him; and that they having decreed the restoration of all the Greek cities to their liberties, it became them to see that what they had decreed should be made good; that they required his not passing into Europe, because they could not see with what other intent he should make that passage, and now build Lysimachia on that side, as they found him then doing, than to be as a step to a further war, which must light upon them. To this Antiochus answered, that as to Ptolemy, full satisfaction would be given him on that king's marrying his daughter, which was then agreed on; that as to the Greek cities, he intended them their freedom, but that they should owe it to him, and not to the Romans; that as to Lysimachia, he rebuilt it to be a residence for his son Seleucus; that Thrace, and the Chersonesus as a part of it, belonged all to him, as having been conquered by Seleucus Nicator his ancestor, on his vanquishing of Lysimachus, and therefore he passed over into it as his just inheritance. As to Asia and the cities in it, he told them that they had no more to do there than he had in Italy; and that since he meddled not with any of the affairs of the latter, he wondered that they concerned themselves with what was done in the former. Hereon the Romans having desired that the ambassadors from Smyrna and Lampsacus

might be called in, and they, on their being admitted, having spoken very freely as to their cause, Antiochus could not bear it, but fell into a passion and cried out, that the Romans were not to be his judges in these matters; whereon the assembly broke up in confusion, and no satisfaction was given on either side, but all things tended towards a breach between them.

Rumoured death of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes: Antiochus leaves Asia for Egypt.—While these matters were thus treating of, there came a rumour that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead in Egypt; whereon Antiochus, reckoning Egypt to be his own, made haste on board his fleet to sail thither to take possession of it; and having left Seleucus his son with

---

his army at Lysimachia, to finish what was there intended, he first called in at Ephesus, and having joined to his fleet such other ships as he had in that port, from thence made all the sail he could for Egypt: but on his arrival at Pateræ in Lycia, finding the report of Ptolemy's death to be there, upon good evidence, contradicted, instead of steering for Egypt, he shaped his course directly for Cyprus, purposing to seize that island; but in his way thither meeting with a violent storm, in which he lost a great many of his ships and men, he was glad, after having gathered up the remainders of this ruinous wreck, to put in at Seleucia to repair his shattered ships, and then wintered at Antioch, without doing anything more this year.

Origin of the rumour in the frustrated conspiracy of Scopas against the life of Ptolemy.—That which occasioned the rumour of Ptolemy's death was a treasonable plot then laid against his life; which, being first supposed, was afterwards reported to have taken effect. Scopas the *Ætolian* was the author of this conspiracy, who being general of the mercenaries, most of which were *Ætolians*, and by virtue of that command having under him a numerous and strong band of veteran soldiers, thought he had hereby an advantage now in the infancy of the king to make himself master of Egypt, and usurp the sovereignty over it. And accordingly he had formed his scheme for the attempt, and no doubt he would have succeeded in it, had he executed his treason with the same boldness and resolution as he first contrived it. But although he were a very valiant man, yet when it

came to the point of execution, his heart failing him, instead of immediately falling on, as such a desperate case required, he sat at home consulting and debating with his friends and partisans how best to manage the matter; and while he was thus doubting and delaying, the opportunity was lost. For Aristomenes, the chief minister, having in the interim gotten information of the whole matter, took such care to prevent it that Scopas was seized, and being brought before the council was there convicted of the treason, and thereon he and all his accomplices were put to death for it: and as to the rest of his Ætolians, they having on this occasion forfeited the confidence which the government had before in them, were most of them hereon cashiered out of the king's service, and sent home into their own country. Thus ended the treason of Scopas: and he is not the only villain that, having with great resolution entered on wicked designs, hath failed of courage at the time of execution, and defeated his own treason for want of it; for few men are so entirely wicked as to be thorough proof against that horror and confusion of mind which very wicked actions usually create whenever they come to be executed. At his death he was found to be possessed of vast riches, which he had gotten in the king's service by plundering those countries where he commanded as general; and he having, while he was victorious in Palestine, recovered Judea and Jerusalem to the king of Egypt, no doubt a great part of his plunder was gotten from thence. One of the chiefest of his accomplices in this treason was Dicæarchus, who had formerly been admiral under Philip, king of Macedon; and being sent by him to make war upon the Cyclades on a very unjust and wicked account, to show how little he regarded either piety or justice, before he sailed

---

out of the port on that expedition, he erected two altars, one to Iniquity, and the other to Impiety, and sacrificed on them both. And do not all else do the same who engage in such horrid designs of assassination and treason as that was in which this man perished? He having so signally distinguished himself by his wickedness, Aristomenes very justly distinguished him from all the rest of the conspirators in his punishment; for all the others he poisoned, but him he tormented to death.

Ptolemy attains his majority, and is solemnly enthroned.—When this conspiracy was fully mastered, the king, being now fourteen years old, was, according to the usage of that country, declared to be out of his minority, and his enthronization (which the Alexandrians called his anaclateria) was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity; and hereby the government was put into his hands, and he actually admitted to the administration of it. And as long as he managed it by Aristomenes, his former minister, all things went well; but when he grew weary of that able and faithful servant, and put him to death to get rid of him, the remainder of his reign was all turned into disorder and confusion, and his kingdom suffered the same, or rather more, by it than in the worst times of his father.

Antiochus returns to Asia Minor, and is joined by Hannibal, 195.—Early the next spring Antiochus set out from Antioch to return to Ephesus. He was no sooner gone, but Hannibal came thither to put himself under his protection. He had lived six years quietly at Carthage since the late peace with the Romans; but being now under a suspicion of holding secret correspondence with Antiochus, and plotting with him for the bringing of a new war upon Italy, and some that maligned him at home having sent to Rome clandestine information to this effect, the Romans sent ambassadors to Carthage to make inquiry into the matter, and to demand Hannibal to be delivered to them, if they found reason for it. Hannibal, hearing of their arrival, suspected their business; and therefore, before they had time to deliver their message, got privately away to the sea-shore, and putting himself on board a ship which he had there ready provided, escaped to Tyre, and from thence went to Antioch, hoping to find Antiochus there; but he being gone for Ephesus before his arrival, he made thither after him. Antiochus was there at that time in debate with himself on the point of making war with the Romans, being very doubtful and fluctuating in his mind whether he should enter on it or no. But Hannibal's coming to him soon determined his resolutions for the war, he being hereon excited to it, not only by the arguments which this great adversary of the Romans pressed upon him for it, but especially because of the opinion he had of the man. For he having often vanquished the Romans, and thereby justly acquired the reputation of having exceeded all other generals in military skill, this created in Antiochus a confidence of being able to do all things with him on

his side. And, therefore, thinking of nothing thenceforth but of victories and conquests, he became fixed for the war; and all this year and the next were spent in making preparations for it. In the mean time however ambassadors

---

were sent from both sides, on pretence of accommodating matters, but in reality only to spy out and discover what each other was a doing.

Jewish history: death of Simon, and accession of Onias III.—This year Simon the high priest of the Jews being dead, his eldest son Onias, the third of that name, succeeded in his stead, and held that office, reckoning it to the time of his death, twenty-four years. He had the character of a very worthy good man, but falling into ill times, he perished in them, in the manner as will be hereafter related.

Egyptian history: Eratosthenes, second library-keeper at Alexandria, dies, and is succeeded by Apollonius Rhodius, 194.—About this time died Eratosthenes, the second library-keeper at Alexandria, being eighty-two years old at the time of his death, and was succeeded in his office by Apollonius Rhodius, the author of the Argonautics. This Apollonius had been a scholar of Callimachus; but having afterwards very much offended him, Callimachus wrote a very bitter invective against him, which he called Ibis, from the name of a bird in Egypt, which used to foul his bill by cleansing his breech, intimating thereby, as if the offence given him by his scholar was by foul words against him, and that he therefore gave him this name to express thereby that he was a foul-mouthed person. Hence Ovid, writing an invective against one that had in a like manner offended him, calls him, in imitation of Callimachus, by the same name of Ibis. Although this Apollonius was called Rhodes, it was only for that he had long lived at Rhodes, not that he was born there: for he was a native of Alexandria, and there at length he ended his days, being called thither from Rhodes to take upon him this office in the king's library.

Syrian history: Antiochus prepares for a war against the Romans: Eumenes, king of Pergamus, refuses his alliance, 193.—Antiochus being eagerly set in his mind for a war with the Romans, after having made the preparations I have mentioned, he endeavoured further to strengthen

himself by making alliances with the neighbouring princes. To this intent he went to Raphia, the place on the confines of Palestine and Egypt which hath been above mentioned, and there married his daughter Cleopatra to king Ptolemy Epiphanes, agreeing to give with her, by way of dower, the provinces of Cele-Syria and Palestine, upon the terms of sharing the revenues equally between them, according as had been before promised. And on his return from thence to Antioch, he married Antiochis, another of his daughters, to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia; and would have given a third to Eumenes, king of Pergamus. But that king refused his alliance, contrary to the opinion of his three brothers: for they thought it would be a great strengthening of his interest to be son-in-law to so great a king, and therefore advised him to it. But Eumenes soon convinced them, by the reasons which he gave for the refusal, that he had much better considered the matter: for he told them, that if he married Antiochus's daughter, he should

---

be obliged thereby to engage with him in his war against the Romans, which he saw he was at that time entering on; and then, if the Romans were conquerors, as he had reason to think they would, he must partake of the misfortunes of the conquered, and be undone by it: and on the other hand, if Antiochus should have the better, he should have no other advantage by it, but, under the notion of being his son-in-law, the easier to become his slave; for whenever he should gain the upper hand in the war, all Asia must truckle to him, and every prince therein become his homager; that much better terms were to be expected from the Romans, and that therefore he would stick to them and the event sufficiently proved the wisdom of his choice.

Death of the eldest son of Antiochus, 192.—After these marriages were over, Antiochus hastened again into Lesser Asia, and came to Ephesus in the depth of the winter: from thence in the beginning of the spring he marched against the Pisidians, who stood out against him. But he had not long been engaged in this war, ere he had the news of the death of Antiochus his eldest son. This brought him back again to Ephesus, there to mourn for this loss; and a great show of sorrow was there made by him on this account. But it was commonly said, that it was all show only; that, in

reality, he himself procured his son's death, and made him fall a sacrifice to his jealousy: for he was a prince of great hopes, and had given such proofs of his wisdom, goodness, and other royal virtues, that he became the idol of all that knew him. This, they say, made the old king jealous of him; and therefore, on his last arrival at Ephesus, having sent him back into Syria, on pretence that he might there take care of the eastern provinces, caused poison to be there given him by some of the eunuchs of the court, and so did rid himself of him. But scarce any prince hath died an untimely death whose life was desirable, but suspicions have been raised, and rumours spread about of poison, or some other violence, for the cause of it; and perchance such a bare suspicion was all that was in this case.

Antiochus resolves on carrying the war into Greece, contrary to the advice of Hannibal.—As soon as the solemnity of this mourning was somewhat over, and Antiochus began again to betake himself to business, great consultation was had between him and those of his council about his passing into Greece, and there beginning the war which he had resolved on with the Romans. Hannibal, who was for making Italy, and not Greece, the seat of the war, was not called to any of these councils: for being then under suspicion with Antiochus, he had no more of his confidence. This was effected by the craft of Publius Villius, who thereby overreached the craftiest and the most cautious of men: for this Villius, being ambassador from the Romans to Antiochus, took all opportunities to converse with Hannibal. This had the effect he intended, which was to bring him into suspicion with Antiochus; and hereon his counsel being no more regarded, Greece was made the seat of the war, and not Italy, as he advised. This saved Italy from having Hannibal again with another war in its bowels, which might have been as dangerous to the Roman state as when he was there

---

in the former war. But that which pinned down his resolution for the beginning of the war in Greece was an embassy from the Ætolians to invite him thither. The Ætolians, from being late confederates of the Romans, being now on some disgust become their enemies, sent this embassy to Antiochus, to draw him into Greece against them; not only promising him

the assistance of all their forces, but also giving him assurances that he might depend on the joining of Philip king of Macedonia, Nabis king of Lacedæmonia, and other of the Grecian principalities and states with him; who having conceived, as they told him, great enmity against the Romans, waited only his coming to declare against them. Thoas, who was at the head of this embassy, pressed all this upon him with great earnestness, telling him that the Romans, being gone home with their army, had left Greece empty; that now was the time for him to take possession of it: that if he laid hold of this opportunity, he would find all things, as it were, prepared for the putting of the whole country into his hands; and that he had nothing more to do but to come over thither to make himself master of it.

Rash commencement of the campaign.—The representation of the Ætolian embassy prevailed so far with Antiochus, that he immediately passed over into Greece, and thereby rashly precipitated himself into a war with the Romans, without duly concerting the measures proper for such an undertaking, or carrying a sufficient number of men with him to support it. For he left Lampsacus, Troas, and Smyrna, three powerful cities in Asia, behind him, unreduced; and his forces that were coming to him from Syria and the eastern countries having not reached him, he passed over with no more than ten thousand foot and five hundred horse, which were scarce enough to take possession of the country were it wholly naked, and he to have no war with the Romans in it. With these forces he arrived in the island of Eubœa about the end of the summer, and from thence passed to Demetrius, a town in Thessaly, where he called all his officers and chief commanders of his army together, to consult with them about the future operations of the war: and Hannibal, being again restored to the king's favour and confidence, had his place among them; and being asked his opinion in the first place, he insisted on what he had often declared, that the Romans were not to be overcome but in Italy, and that therefore it had been his constant advice to begin the war there. But since other measures had been taken, and the king was then in Greece there to begin the war, his advice in the present state of affairs was, that the king should immediately send for all his other forces out of Asia, without depending any longer either on the Ætolians or other Grecian confederates, who he foresaw would deceive him; and that as soon as they were arrived, he should march with

them towards those coasts of Greece that were over against Italy, and there have his fleet with him on the same coasts; one half of which he advised should be employed to ravage and alarm the coasts of Italy, and the other half kept in some port near him, to make a show of his passing over, and accordingly to be ready

---

to pass over for the taking of all such advantages as occasions might offer. This, he said, would keep the Romans at home to defend their own coasts, and would be the properest method which could then be taken of carrying the war into Italy, where alone, he persisted, the Romans could be conquered. And this was the best advice which could then be given Antiochus. But he followed it only in that particular which related to the fetching over his forces out of Asia: for he immediately sent to Polyxenidas, his admiral, to transport them into Greece. But as to all other particulars, his courtiers and flatterers diverted him from hearkening to them. They blew him up into a conceit, that victory was certain on his side; that if he made his way to it by the methods which Hannibal had advised, then he, as the adviser and director, would have the glory of it, which the king ought to reserve wholly to himself; and therefore they advised him to follow his own counsels, without hearkening any more to that Carthaginian. After this the king went to Lamia, and there being invested with the chief command of the Ætolians, and having received thereon the applause and acclamations of that people, he returned to Euboea, and having made himself master of Chalcis in that island, there took up his winter-quarters for the ensuing winter. In the interim Eumenes, king of Pergamus, sent Attalus his brother to Rome, to acquaint the senate of Antiochus's passage into Greece; whereon they immediately prepared for the war, and sent Acilius Glabrio their consul into Greece, with an army for the managing of it.

Foolish marriage of Antiochus: is compelled to retreat from Greece to Asia by the rapid advance of the Romans, 191.—Antiochus, while he lay in his winter-quarters, fell in love with the daughter of his host, in whose house he lodged; and although now past fifty, was so desperately enamoured of this young girl, who was under twenty, that nothing could satisfy him, but he must marry her; and thereon he spent the remaining part

of the winter in nuptial feastings and dalliances, instead of making those preparations which were necessary for the carrying on of that dangerous war he was then engaged in; which created a great loose and thorough relaxation of discipline in all else about him, till at length he was roused up by the news that Acilius, the Roman consul, was on a full march into Thessaly against him. All that he could do on this alarm was to seize the straits of Thermopylæ, and send to the Ætolians for more forces; for Polyxenidas having not been able to transport his Asian forces, by reason of contrary winds and ill weather, he had no other forces then with him but those whom he first brought over. But before any of the Ætolians could come to him, Cato, one of the Roman generals then with the consul, having with a strong detachment gotten over the mountains, by the same path in which Xerxes, and after him Brennus, had formerly forced a passage over them, his men, seeing themselves hereby ready to be encompassed, threw down their arms and fled; whereon being pursued by the Romans, they were all cut in pieces, excepting only five hundred, with whom

---

Antiochus made his escape to Chalcis. On his arrival thither, he made all the haste he could from thence to his fleet, and having gotten on board it with this poor remainder of his forces, passed over to Ephesus, carrying with him his new-married wife; and there thinking himself safe from the Romans, neglected everything that might make him so, and again relapsed into his former dotage on that woman, indulging himself in it to a total neglect of all his affairs, till at length Hannibal roused him out of it, by laying before him his danger, and representing to him what was necessary for him forthwith to do for the securing of himself from it.

Defeat of the fleet of Antiochus at Corycus. — Hereon Antiochus sent to hasten the march of those forces from the eastern provinces which were not yet arrived; and having fitted out his fleet, sailed with it to the Thracian Chersonesus; and having there reinforced Lysimachia, and further fortified and strengthened Sestus and Abydus, and all other places thereabout, for the hindering of the Romans from passing the Hellespont into Asia, he returned again to Ephesus, where, in a grand council, it being resolved to try their fortune by sea, Polyxenidas, Antiochus's admiral, was

ordered out with a fleet to fight C. Livius, the Roman admiral, then newly come into the Ægean Sea. Near Mount Corycus, in Ionia, both fleets meeting, a sharp fight ensued between them, wherein Polyxenidas being beaten, with the loss of ten ships sunk and thirteen taken, was forced to retire with the remainder to Ephesus; and the Romans putting in at Canæ, a port in Æolis, did there set up their fleet for the ensuing winter, fortifying the place, where they drew it to land, with a ditch and a rampart.

Antiochus prepares for a renewal of the war. —In the interim Antiochus was at Magnesia, busying himself in drawing together his land army. On his hearing of this defeat of his fleet at Corycus, he hastened to the sea-coasts, and applied himself with the utmost care to repair the loss, and set out a new fleet that might keep the mastery of those seas. In order whereto, he refitted those ships that had escaped from the late defeat, added others to them, and sent Hannibal into Syria, to bring from thence the Syrian and Phœnician fleets for their reinforcement: and then having ordered Seleucus his son, with one part of the army, into Æolis, to watch the Roman fleet, and keep all there in subjection to him, he with the rest took up his quarters in Phrygia for the ensuing winter.

Second and third defeats of the fleet of Antiochus, 190. —The next year the Romans sent Lucius Scipio, their consul, and Scipio Africanus, his brother, as his lieutenant, to carry on the war against Antiochus by land, in the place of Acilius Glabrio, and L. Æmilius Rhegellus to command their fleet at sea, in the place of C. Livius. In the beginning of the year Polyxenidas, Antiochus's admiral, having by a stratagem overreached Pausistratus, who commanded the Rhodian fleet that was sent to the assistance of the Romans, surprised him in the port of Samos, and there destroyed twenty-nine of his ships, and him with them. But the Rhodians, instead of being discouraged by this loss, were enraged for the revenging of it, and immediately set out another fleet more powerful than the former: with which, in conjunction with Æmilius,

---

the Roman admiral, they sailed to Elea, and there relieved Eumenes, king of Pergamus, when almost swallowed up by Antiochus; and afterward being

sent to meet Hannibal, on his coming with the Syrian and Phœnician fleet to the king, they alone encountered him on the coasts of Pamphylia, and by the goodness of their ships and the skilfulness of their marines overthrew that great warrior, and having driven him into port, there pent him up, so that he could stir no farther for the assistance of the king.

Antiochus hearing of this defeat, and at the same time having received an account that the Roman consul was with a great army on his full march through Macedonia, in order to pass the Hellespont into Asia, he could think of no better course for the hindering of his passage, and the keeping of the war out of Asia, than to recover again the mastery of the seas, which he had in a great measure lost by the two late defeats: for then he might have his fleets at leisure, and in full power, to cut off all possibility of passing an army into Asia, either by the Hellespont or any other way. And therefore, resolving to attempt this at the hazard of another battle, he came to Ephesus, where his fleet lay, and having there, on a review, put it into the best posture he was able, and furnished his marines with all things necessary for another encounter, he sent them forth under the command of Polyxenidas, his admiral, to fight the enemy. And they having met Æmilius, with the Roman fleet, near Myonnesus, a maritime town in Ionia, they there fell upon him, but with no better success than in the former engagements; for Æmilius having gained an entire victory, Polyxenidas was forced to flee back again to Ephesus, with the loss of twenty-nine of his ships sunk, and thirteen taken.

Antiochus withdraws his forces from the Hellespont: advance of the Romans into Asia, under the two Scipios. —This put Antiochus into such a consternation, that being frighted, as it were, out of his wits, he very absurdly sent to recall his forces out of Lysimachia and the other towns on the Hellespont, for fear lest they should fall into the enemy's hands, who were approaching those parts to pass into Asia; whereas the only way left him to have hindered that passage was to have continued them there. But he did not only thus absurdly withdraw them from thence, when he most needed them there, but did it with such precipitation, that he left all the provisions which he had laid up there for the war behind him; so that when the Romans came thither, they found all necessaries for their army in such plenty stored up in those places, as if they had been of purpose provided for

them, and the passage of the Hellespont left so free to them, that they transported their army over it without any opposition, where only, with the best advantage, opposition could have been made against them.

Utter defeat of Antiochus at Sipylus. — When Antiochus heard of the Romans being in Asia, he began to grow diffident of his cause, and would gladly have got rid of the war with them, which he had so rashly run himself into; and therefore sent ambassadors to the two Scipios to desire peace; and to make his way the easier to it, he restored to Scipio Africanus his son (who had been taken prisoner in this war)

---

without ransom. But notwithstanding this, being able on no other terms to obtain peace, than on the quitting of all Asia on this side Mount Taurus, and paying the Romans all the expenses of the war, he thought he could suffer nothing by the war more grievous than such a peace, and therefore prepared to decide the matter by battle; and the Romans did the same. Antiochus's army, accordingly to Livy, consisted of seventy thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and fifty-four elephants; whereas all the Roman forces amounted to no more than thirty thousand. Both armies met near Magnesia, under Mount Sipylus; and there it came to a decisive stroke between them, in which Antiochus, receiving a total overthrow, lost fifty thousand foot and four thousand horse slain upon the field of battle, and one thousand four hundred more taken prisoners, and he himself difficultly escaped to Sardis, gathering up in his way such of his forces as survived this terrible slaughter. From Sardis he passed to Celænæ in Phrygia, where he heard his son Seleucus had escaped from the battle; and having there joined him, made all the haste he could over Mount Taurus into Syria. Hannibal and Scipio Africanus were both absent from this battle; the former being with the Syrian fleet pent up in Pamphylia by the Rhodians, and the other detained by sickness at Elea.

Antiochus sues for peace: pays the expenses of the war, and retires beyond the Taurus. —As soon as Antiochus was arrived at Antioch, he sent from thence Antipater, his brother's son, and Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia and Phrygia under him, to desire peace of the

Romans. They found the consul at Sardis; and there Scipio Africanus, who was now recovered from his sickness, being come, they first applied themselves to him, and he introduced them to the consul, his brother: whereon a council being held on the subject of their embassy, after a full consultation therein had about it, the ambassadors were called in, and Scipio Africanus, delivering the sense of the council, told them, that as the Romans used not to sink low when vanquished, so neither would they carry themselves too high when conquerors; and that therefore they would require no other terms of peace after the battle, than those which were demanded before it; that is, that Antiochus should pay the whole expenses of the war, and quit all Asia on this side Mount Taurus: which being then accepted of, and the expenses of the war estimated at fifteen thousand talents of Eubœa, it

---

was agreed that it should be paid in manner following; that is to say, five hundred talents present, two thousand five hundred when the senate should ratify what was then agreed, and the rest in twelve years' time, at the rate of one thousand talents in each of those years. And L. Cotta was sent from the consul with the ambassadors to Rome, to acquaint the senate of the agreement, and there fully conclude and ratify the same. And a little after, the five hundred talents were paid the consul at Ephesus, and hostages were given for the payment of the rest, and the performance of all other articles that were agreed on; among whom one was Antiochus, one of the king's sons, who afterwards reigned in Syria, by the name of Antiochus Epiphanes. Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Thoas the Ætolian, who were the chief incensors of this war, were also demanded by the Romans to be delivered up unto them on the making of the peace. But as soon as they heard that a treaty was entered on, foreseeing what would be the result of it, they both took care to get out of the way before it came to a conclusion.

Manlius succeeds the Scipios in Asia Minor: fulfilment of the treaty with Antiochus, 189. —The next year Cn. Manlius Vulso, who succeeded L. Scipio in the consulship, coming into Asia to succeed him in that province, Scipio delivered to him the army, and with Scipio Africanus his brother returned to Rome, where the peace which they made with

Antiochus being ratified and confirmed, and all Asia on this side Mount Taurus delivered into the hands of the Romans, they restored the Grecian cities to their liberties, gratified the Rhodians with the provinces of Caria and Lycia, and gave all the rest of it, that had before belonged to Antiochus, to Eumenes king of Pergamus. For Eumenes and the Rhodians having been their confederates through this whole war, and much assisted them in it, they had these countries given them for the reward of their service.

Manlius subdues the Gauls of Asia Minor, and establishes the Roman supremacy as far as the Halys and Mount Taurus, 188. — Manlius, after the time of his consulship was out, being continued still in the same province as pro-consul, he there waged war against the Gauls

---

who had planted themselves in Asia; and having subdued them in several battles, and reduced them to live orderly within the limits assigned them, he thereby delivered all that country from the terror of those barbarous people, who lived mostly hitherto by harassing and plundering their neighbours; and so quieted all things in those parts, that thenceforth the empire of the Romans became thoroughly settled in all that country, as far as the river Halys on the one side, and Mount Taurus on the other; and the Syrian kings became thenceforth utterly excluded from having anything more to do in all the Lesser Asia. Whereon Antiochus is said to have expressed himself, That he was much beholden to the Romans, in that they had hereby eased him of the great care and trouble which the governing of so large a country must have cost him.

Death and character of Antiochus the Great, 187. —Antiochus being at great difficulties how to raise the money which he was to pay the Romans, he marched into the eastern provinces, to gather the tribute of those countries to enable him to it, leaving his son Seleucus (whom he had declared his successor) to govern in Syria during his absence. On his coming into the province of Elymais, hearing that there was a great treasure in the temple of Jupiter Belus in that country, he seized the temple by night, and spoiled it of the riches that were laid up in it; whereon, the people of the country, rising upon him for the revenging of this sacrilege, slew him and

all that were with him. So Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Strabo, and Jerome relate the manner of his death; but Aurelius Victor tells us, that he was slain by some of his own followers whom he did beat in a drunken fit, while at one of his carousals. He was a prince of a very laudable character for humanity, clemency, and beneficence, and of great justice in the administration of his government, and, till the fiftieth year of his life, managed all his affairs with that valour, prudence, and application, as made him to prosper in all his undertakings; which deservedly gained him the title of the Great. But after that age, declining in the wisdom of his conduct, as well as in the vigour of his application, everything that he did afterwards lessened him as fast as all his actions had aggrandized him before, till at length, being vanquished by the Romans, he was driven out of the best part of his dominions, and forced to submit to very hard and disgraceful terms of peace; and at last ending his life in a very ill and impious attempt, he went out in a stink, like the snuff of a candle.

Fulfilment of the prophecies of Daniel concerning the wars between Antiochus the Great, Ptolemy Philopator, and Ptolemy Epiphanes. — The prophecies of Daniel (chap. xi. from the tenth verse to the nineteenth inclusive) refer to the actions of this king, and were all fulfilled by them. What we find foretold in the tenth verse was exactly accomplished in the war which Antiochus made upon Ptolemy Philopator, for the conquering of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, as it is above related, in the years B. C. 221, 220, 219, and 218. In the eleventh and twelfth verses are foretold the expedition which Philopator made into Palestine against Antiochus, B. C. 217, and the victory which he then got over

---

him at Raphia. For there, the great multitude, that is, the great army which Antiochus brought thither against him, was given into his hands; and Ptolemy did cast down, that is, slew, many thousands of them, and dissipated and put to flight all the rest. And yet the same prophecy tells us, that notwithstanding all this, "he should not be strengthened by it;" and so it happened. For Ptolemy, being wholly given up to luxury, sloth, and voluptuousness, made haste back again into Egypt, there to enjoy his fill of them after this victory, without taking the advantages which it gave him. By

which ill conduct he stirred up some of his people to sedition and rebellion, and weakened himself in the affection and esteem of all the rest, as is above related under the years B. C. 216 and 215. What follows to the end of the seventeenth verse foretells the renewal of that war by Antiochus, "after certain years;" that is, B. C. 203, fourteen years after the ending of the former war: when on the death of Philopator, and the succeeding of his infant son Ptolemy Epiphanes in his stead, Antiochus "king of the north, returned and came again" into Cœle-Syria and Palestine for the recovering of those provinces, bringing with him "a greater multitude than in the former war," that is, that "great army" which he brought with him out of the East on his late return from thence. What is said in the fourteenth verse, that "in those times" (that is, in the first years of the reign of Epiphanes the king of the south) "many should stand up against him," was fully verified by the leaguing of the kings of Macedon and Syria together against him, to seize all his dominions, and divide them between them; by the sedition of Agathocles, Agathoclea, and Tlepolemus, to invade his royal power; and by the conspiracy of Scopas utterly to extinguish it, and seize the kingdom for himself; all which are above related to have happened in these times. And the same prophecy tells us, that in those times many "violators of the law among the people of the prophet," that is, the Jews apostatizing from the law, should "exalt" themselves, that is, under the favour of the king of the south; for the pleasing of whom they should forsake their God and their holy religion; but that "they should fall" and be cut off, i. e. by Antiochus; and so it came to pass: for Antiochus having, B. C. 198, made himself master of Judæa and Jerusalem, did cut off or drive from thence all those of Ptolemy's "party" who had thus far given themselves up to him, but showed particular favour to those Jews who, persevering in the observance of their law, would not comply with any proposals of the king of Egypt to apostatize from it. In the fifteenth verse the holy prophet foreshows the victory by which Antiochus "the king of the north" should make himself again master of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, that is, how he should "come" again into those provinces, "and cast up mounts against the most fenced cities in them, and take them;" and this he did in the year B. C. 198. For having then vanquished the king of Egypt's army at Paneas, he besieged and took first Sidon, and next Gaza, and then all the other cities of those provinces, and made himself thorough master of the whole country. For

although the king of Egypt sent an army against him of "his chosen people," that is, of his choicest troops, and under the command of his best generals, yet they could not prevail, or "have any strength to withstand him," but were vanquished and repulsed by him; so that, as the prophet proceeds to tell us in the sixteenth verse, "he did according to his will" in all Cæle-Syria

---

and Palestine, and "none could there stand before him." And on the subjecting of these provinces to him, the same prophetic text goes on to tell us, "that he should stand in the glorious land," and that it should be consumed by his hand; and so accordingly it came to pass. For on his subduing Palestine, he entered into Judæa, "the glorious land," which was a part of Palestine, and there established his authority, and made it there firmly "to stand," after he had expelled out of the castle of Jerusalem the garrison which Scopas had left there. But that garrison having made such resistance that Antiochus was forced to go thither with all his army to reduce it, and the siege continuing some time, it happened hereby that the country was eaten up and consumed by the foraging of the soldiers and Jerusalem suffered such damage during the siege of the castle, both from the besieged and the besiegers, that it was near ruined by it; which fully appears by the decree which Antiochus afterwards granted the Jews for repairing of their demolished city, and the restoring of it from the ruinous condition into which it was then reduced. This decree was directed to Ptolemy, one of Antiochus's lieutenants, and who then seems to have been his deputy-governor in that province: and it is still extant in Josephus. In the seventeenth verse is foretold, how that when Antiochus was ready to have "entered" Egypt, "with the strength of his whole kingdom, he made an agreement with Ptolemy to give him his daughter in marriage, corrupting her," that is, with ill principles, to betray her husband to him, and thereby make him master of Egypt. For Jerome tells us, this match was made with this fraudulent design. But "she did not stand on his side, neither was for him," but when married to king Ptolemy, forsook the interest of her father, and wholly embraced that of her husband and therefore we find her joining with him in an embassy to the Romans, for the congratulating of their victory gained by Acilius at the Straits of Thermopyle over her own father.

The eighteenth verse tells us of Antiochus's "turning of his face unto the isles, and his taking of many of them;" and so accordingly it was done. For after having finished the war in Cœle-Syria and Palestine, anno 197, he sent two of his sons with his army by land to Sardis, and he himself with a great fleet at the same time sailed into the Ægean Sea, and there took in many of the islands in it, and extended his power and dominion much in those parts, till at length "the prince of the people to whom he had offered reproach" by that invasion, that is, Lucius Scipio the Roman consul, "made the reproach turn upon him," by overthrowing him in the battle at Mount Sipylus, and driving him out of all Lesser Asia. This forced him, according to what is foretold in the nineteenth verse, "to return to the fort of his own land," that is, to Antioch, the chief seat and fortress of his kingdom. From whence going into the eastern provinces to gather money to pay the Romans, "he stumbled and fell, and was no more found," as the sacred text expresseth it; that is, on his attempting to rob the temple in Elymais, he failed in his design, and was cut off and slain in it; so that he returned not into Syria, or was any more found there.

Egyptian history: birth of Ptolemy VI. Philometor: Joseph sends his son Hyrcanus to Alexandria to congratulate the king and queen. — In the year that Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter, queen of

---

Egypt, bore unto Ptolemy Epiphanes her husband a son, who reigned after him in Egypt by the name of Ptolemy Philometor. Hereon all the great men and prime nobility of Cœle-Syria and Palestine hastened to Alexandria to congratulate the king and queen, and make them those presents which were usual on such an occasion. But Joseph (who, on the restoration of those provinces to the king of Egypt, was again restored to his office of collecting the king's revenues in them), being too old to take on him such a journey himself, sent Hyrcanus his son to make his compliment in his stead. This Hyrcanus was the youngest of his sons, but, being of the quickest parts and best understanding of them all, was best qualified for this employment.

Story of Joseph's marriage with his niece, the mother of Hyrcanus. — The history of the birth of Hyrcanus is very remarkable; it is

told at large by Josephus, in the twelfth book of his Antiquities, in manner as followeth:-Joseph, in the time of the former Ptolemy, father of Epiphanes, going to Alexandria on his occasions (as he frequently had such there, while collector of the king's revenues in Cœle-Syria and Palestine), Solymius his brother accompanied him in the journey, and carried with him a daughter of his, with intent, on his coming to Alexandria, to marry her to some Jew of that place whom he should find of quality suitable for her. Joseph, on his arrival at Alexandria, going to court, and there supping with the king, fell desperately in love with a young beautiful damsel whom he saw dancing before the king, and not being able to master his inordinate passion, he communicated it to his brother, and desired him, if possible, to procure for him this young woman, and in as secret a manner as he could, because of the sin and shame that would attend such an act; which Solymius undertaking, put his own daughter to bed to him. Joseph, having drunk well over-night, perceived not that it was his niece; and having in the same secret manner accompanied with her several times without discovering the deceit, and being every time more and more enamoured with her, still supposing her to be the dancer, he at length made his moan to his brother, lamenting that his love had taken such deep root in his heart, that he feared he should never be able to get it out, and that his grief was that the Jewish law would not permit him to marry her, she being an alien; and if it would, the king would never grant her unto him. Hereon his brother discovered to him the whole matter, telling him that he might take to wife the woman with whom he had so often accompanied, and was so much enamoured of; for she whom he had put to bed to him was his own daughter: that he had chosen rather to do this wrong to his own child, than suffer him to do so shameful and sinful a thing as to join himself to a strange woman, which their holy law forbade. Joseph, being much surprised at this discovery, and as

---

much affected with his brother's kindness to him, expressed himself with all the thankfulness which so great an obligation deserved, and forthwith took the young woman to wife; and of her the next year after was born Hyrcanus. For according to the Jewish law, an uncle might marry his niece, though an aunt could not her nephew; for which the Jewish writers give this reason,

that the aunt being, in respect of the nephew, in the same degree with the father or mother in the line of descent, hath naturally a superiority above him; and therefore for him to make her his wife, and thereby bring her down to be in a degree below him (as all wives are in respect of their husbands), would be to disturb and invert the order of nature. But that there is no such thing done where the uncle marries the niece; for in this case, both keep the same degree and order which they were in before, without any mutation in it.

Hyrcanus by profuse presents obtains from Ptolemy V. Epiphanes the farming of the revenues previously held by Joseph. — Joseph had by another wife seven other sons, all elder than Hyrcanus, to each of which he offered this commission of going for him to the Egyptian court, on the occasion mentioned: but they having all refused it, Hyrcanus undertook it, though he were then a very young man, not being above twenty, if so much. And having persuaded his father not to send his presents from Judæa, but to enable him on his arrival at Alexandria to buy there such curiosities for the king and queen, as when on the spot he should find would be most acceptable to them, he obtained from him letters of credit to Arion his agent at Alexandria, by whose hands he returned the king's taxes into his treasury, to furnish him with money for this purpose, without limiting the sum, reckoning that about ten talents would be the most he would need. But Hyrcanus on his arrival at Alexandria, taking the advantage of his father's unlimited order, instead of ten talents, demanded one thousand; and having forced Arion (who had then three thousand talents of Joseph's money in his hands) to pay him that whole sum, which amounted to above two hundred thousand pounds of our money, he bought one hundred beautiful boys for the king, and one hundred beautiful young maids for the queen, at the price of a talent a head: and when he presented them, they carried each a talent in their hands, the boys for the king, and the young maids for the queen; so that this article alone cost him four hundred talents. Some part of the rest he expended in valuable gifts to the courtiers and great officers about the king, keeping the remainder to his own use. By which means having procured in a high degree the favour of the king and queen, and their whole court, he returned with a commission to be collector of the king's revenues in all the country beyond Jordan.

Subsequent contests between Hyrcanus and his brethren: suicide of Hyrcanus. —Having thus overreached his father, Hyrcanus made all the interest which Joseph formerly had in the Egyptian court to devolve from him upon himself, and got into his hands also the best of his estate; which exceedingly angering his brothers, who were before ill affected towards him, they conspired to waylay him, and cut him off as he returned, having their father's connivance, if not his consent, for the same; so much was he angered against him by what he had done

---

in Egypt. But Hyrcanus coming well attended with soldiers to assist him in the execution of his office, got the better of them in the assault which they made upon him, and two of his brothers were left dead upon the spot. But on coming to Jerusalem, finding his father exceedingly exasperated against him, both for his conduct in Egypt, and the death of his brothers on his return, and that for this reason no one there would own him, he passed over Jordan, and there entered on his office of collecting the king's revenues in those parts. A little after this Joseph died, and thereon a war commenced between Hyrcanus and the surviving brothers about their father's estate; which for some time disturbed the peace of the Jews at Jerusalem. But the high priest and the generality of the people taking part with the brothers, he was forced again to retreat over Jordan, where he built a very strong castle, which he called Tyre; from whence he made war upon the neighbouring Arabs, infesting them with incursions and depredations for seven years together. This was while Seleucus Philopator, the son of Antiochus the Great, reigned in Syria. But when Antiochus Epiphanes succeeded Seleucus, and had instated himself in Cœle-Syria and Palestine, as well as in the other provinces of the Syrian empire, Hyrcanus being threatened by him with his wrath for his conduct in this and other matters, for fear of him, fell on his own sword and slew himself. Some time before his death, he seems to have recovered the favour of Onias the high priest, and to have had him wholly in his interest: for he took his treasure into his charge, and laid it up in the treasury of the temple, there to secure it for him; and in his answer to Heliodorus, he saith of him, that he was a man of great dignity. And Onias's favouring him thus far might perchance be the true cause of

that breach which happened between him and Simon the governor of the temple, who upon good reason is supposed to have been the eldest of the brothers of Hyrcanus, and the head of the family of the Tobiadse (or sons of Tobias). And it is most likely this provoked him to lay that design of betraying the treasury of the temple into the hands of the king of Syria, which we shall by and by speak of, that so Hyrcanus might lose what he had deposited in it.

VI. REIGN OF SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR, B. C. 186-176.

Kings of Egypt-Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, 204;

Ptolemy VI. Philometor, 180.

High priests of the Jews-Onias III., 195.

Low state of the Syrian empire, 186. —After the death of Antiochus the Great, Seleucus Philopator his eldest son, whom he left at Antioch on his departure thence into the East, succeeded him in the kingdom, but made a very poor figure in it, by reason of the low state which the Romans had reduced the Syrian empire to, and the heavy tribute of one thousand talents a year, which through the whole time of his reign he was obliged to pay them, by the treaty of peace lately granted by them to his father.

Egyptian history: Ptolemy V. Epiphanes poisons his minister Aristomenes and becomes a tyrant. — Ptolemy had hitherto managed his government with approbation and applause, being till now directed in

---

all things by the counsel and advice of Aristomenes his chief minister, who was as a father unto him. But at length the flatteries of his courtiers prevailing over the wise councils of this able minister, he began to deviate into all the vicious and evil courses of his father and not being able to bear the freedom with which Aristomenes frequently advised him to a better conduct, he made him away by a cup of poison, and then gave himself up

with a full swing into all manner of vicious pleasures; and this led him into as great miscarriages in the government: for thenceforth, instead of that clemency and justice with which he had hitherto governed the kingdom, he turned all into tyranny and cruelty, conducting himself in all things that he did by nothing else but by corrupt will and arbitrary pleasure.

Revolt of the Egyptians suppressed through the wisdom of Polycrates, 185—183.—The Egyptians, not being able to bear the grievances which they suffered under this great maladministration of their king, began to combine and make associations against him; and, being headed by many of the greatest power in the land, formed designs for the deposing of him from his throne, and had very near succeeded in it. For the extricating himself out of these troubles, he made Polycrates his chief minister, who was a wise and valiant man, and long experienced in all the affairs both of war and peace; for he had been one of his father's generals in the battle of Raphia, and much of that victory, which was there gained, was owing unto him. After that he had been governor of Cyprus, and coming from thence to Alexandria, just upon the breaking out of the conspiracy of Scopas, he had a great hand in the suppressing of it. By this means Ptolemy, having subdued the revolters, brought many of their leaders (who were of the chief nobility of his kingdom) upon terms of accommodation to submit to him; but when he had gotten them into his power, he broke his faith with them: for after having treated them with great cruelty, he caused them all to be put to death; which base action involved him in new difficulties, but the wisdom of Polycrates extricated him out of all.

Jewish history: letter from the Lacedæmonians to Onias III., claiming kindred with the Jews. —Agisipolis, who on the death of Cleomenes had been in his infancy declared king of Lacedæmon, being slain by pirates in a voyage which he was making to Rome, Archbishop Usher thinks that Areus, a noble Lacedæmonian much spoken of in those times, had the title of king of Lacedæmon after him, and that from him was sent that letter to Onias the high priest of the Jews, in which the Lacedæmonians claimed kindred with the Jews and desired friendship with them on this account. Josephus indeed saith, that this letter was written to Onias the son of Simon, who was the third of that name that was high priest at Jerusalem; but it is hard in his time to find an Areus king of Lacedæmon.

For Archbishop Usher's conjecture will not do; that Areus, on whom he would fix the title of king of Lacedæmon, for the fathering of this letter to Onias, is nowhere said to be so, neither is it any way likely that he ever had that title; for before his time both the royal families of the kings of Lacedæmon had failed and become extinct; and the government there, which had for some

---

time before been invaded by tyrants, was then turned into another form. And besides, Jonathan in his letter to the Lacedæmonians (1 Maccab. xii. 10), wherein he makes mention of this letter of Areus, saith, that "there was a long time passed since it had been sent unto them," which could not have been said by Jonathan in respect of the time in which Onias the third was high priest; since from the death of that Onias, to the time that Jonathan was made prince of the Jews, there had passed no more than twelve years. It is most likely Josephus mistook the Onias to whom this letter was directed, and ascribed that to Onias the third, which was done only in the time of Onias the first. For while Onias the first of that name, the son of Jaddua, was high priest of the Jews, there was an Areus king of Lacedæmon, and from him most likely it was that this letter was written. But the greatest difficulty as to this letter is to know on what foundation the Lacedæmonians claimed kindred with the Jews. Areus saith in his letter, that "it was found in a certain writing, that the Lacedæmonians and the Jews were brethren, and that they were both of the stock of Abraham." But what this writing was, or how this pedigree mentioned in it was to be made out, is not said. No doubt it was from some old fabulous story now lost; learned men have been offering several conjectures for the making out of this matter, but all so lame as not to be worth relating.

Egyptian history: death of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, and accession of Ptolemy VI. Philometor, under the guardianship of Cleopatra, 180.— Ptolemy, having suppressed his rebellious subjects at home, projected a war abroad against Seleucus king of Syria. But as he was laying his designs for it, one of his chief commanders asked him where he would have money to carry it on? To this he answered, that his friends were his money: from whence many of the chief men about him inferring that he intended to take

their money from them for carrying on of this war; for the preventing of it, procured poison to be given him, which did put an end to this project and his life together, after he had reigned twenty-four years, and lived twenty-nine. Ptolemy Philometor his son, an infant of six years old, succeeded him in the kingdom, under the guardianship of Cleopatra his mother.

Syrian history: marriage of Laodice, daughter of Seleucus, with Perseus king of Macedon, 177.—Perseus, having succeeded his father Philip in the kingdom of Macedon, married Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus king of Syria; and the Rhodians with their whole fleet conducted her from Syria into Macedon. In their way thither they stopped at Delos, an island in the Ægean Sea, sacred to Apollo, where he had a temple erected to him, which next that at Delphos was reckoned to be of the greatest note in all Greece. While the fleet lay there, Laodice having made many offerings to the temple, and given many gifts to the people of the place, they in acknowledgment hereof there erected a statue to her, on the pedestal whereof was engraven this inscription: Δῆμος ὁ Δηλίων Βασιλίσσαν Λαοδίκην Βασιλέως Σελεύκου, γυναῖκα δὲ Βασιλέως Περσέως, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ εὐνοίας

πρὸς τὸν Δῆμον τῶν Δηλίων, i. e. "The people of Delos erected this for queen Laodice, the daughter of king Seleucus, and the wife of king Perseus, because of her virtue, and of her piety to the temple, and her beneficence to the people of Delos." The marble whereon this inscription was engraven is still extant among the Arundel marbles at Oxford, from whence it was published by me among the Marmora Oxoniensia, No. 142, p. 276.

Jewish history: disputes between Onias III. and Simon the governor of the temple, 176.—Simon a Benjamite being made governor or protector of the temple at Jerusalem (which office he seems to have had from the death of Joseph, and was most probably one of his sons), differences arose between them and Onias the high priest; and when he found that he could not prevail against Onias, he with the rest of the sons of Tobias fled from Jerusalem, and went to Apollonius, who was governor of Cœle-Syria and Palestine for Seleucus king of Syria, and told him of great treasures which

he said were laid up in the temple at Jerusalem; whereon Apollonius informing the king, Heliodorus his treasurer was sent to make seizure of it, and bring it to Antioch. How the hand of God appeared in a very miraculous manner against Heliodorus in this sacrilegious attempt, is at large related in the third chapter of the Second Book of Maccabees. However, Simon still carrying on his malice against Onias, and murders having been thereon committed by those of his faction, and Apollonius encouraging him herein, Onias went to Antioch to make complaint to the king of these violences; but he had not been long there ere the king died.

Syrian history: Seleucus sends his only son Demetrius to Rome, in exchange for his younger brother Antiochus (Epiphanes). —It hath been above related, that when Antiochus the Great, the father of Seleucus, made peace with the Romans after the battle of Mount Sipylus, among other hostages which were then given for the observance of that peace, one was Antiochus the king's son, and younger brother to Seleucus. He having been now thirteen years at Rome, Seleucus had a desire to have him home; and therefore, for the redeeming of him, he sent Demetrius, his only son, then about twelve years old, to be there in his stead by way of exchange for him. Whether he did this, as some moderns think, that his son might have the benefit of a Roman education, or that he might make use of Antiochus for the executing of some designs he might then have upon Egypt, during the minority of Philometor, as is conjectured by others, or for some other reason different from both, is not said in any authentic history of those times.

Seleucus poisoned by Heliodorus. —While both the next heirs of the crown were thus absent (Demetrius being gone for Rome, and Antiochus not yet returned from thence), Heliodorus, the king's treasurer, the same that had been sent to rob the temple at Jerusalem, thinking this a fit opportunity for him to usurp the crown, were Seleucus out of the way, caused poison to be treacherously given him, of which he died.

Judæa, Phœnicia, and Cæle-Syria possessed by Seleucus. —It appears from the third and fourth chapters of the Second Book of

Maccabees, and also from Josephus, that Seleucus had been in possession of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa, some time before his death. For Apollonius was governor of those provinces for him, and Heliodorus was sent to Jerusalem by his commission, when he would have there seized the treasure of the temple for his use; and Onias, when oppressed by Simon the Benjamite and his faction, applied himself to Seleucus king of Syria, and not to Ptolemy king of Egypt, for redress of his grievances: all which plainly proves, that Seleucus was then in possession of the sovereignty of those provinces; but how he came by it is nowhere said in history. After the battle of Paneas it is certain Antiochus the Great made himself master of all Cœle-Syria and Palestine, and utterly excluded Ptolemy from the sovereignty, which till then the Egyptian kings had in those provinces. But when the same Antiochus married his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy Epiphanes, he agreed to restore them to him by way of dower with her, reserving to himself one-half of the revenues of those provinces. And if they were then restored to Ptolemy, the question ariseth herefrom, How then came Seleucus to be possessed of them? By what we find in Polybius it may be inferred, that this agreement was never faithfully executed either by Antiochus or Seleucus his son; but that both of them held these provinces, notwithstanding that article of the marriage, whereby it was agreed to surrender them to the Egyptian king. For that author tells us, that from the time of the battle of Paneas, where Antiochus vanquished Scopas and the Egyptian army, all parts of the above-mentioned provinces were subject to the king of Syria. And he also tells us, that Antiochus Epiphanes (who succeeded Seleucus), in an answer which he gave to the ambassadors that came to him from Greece to compose the differences that were between him and king Ptolemy Philometor, denied that Antiochus his father ever agreed to surrender Cole-Syria to Ptolemy Epiphanes on his marrying of his daughter to him which may seem to infer, that Cæle-Syria and Palestine, notwithstanding the said agreement, were still retained in the possession of the Syrian kings. But what Josephus saith of Hyrcanus's journey to congratulate king Ptolemy Epiphanes, and Cleopatra his queen, on the birth of Philometor their son, and the flocking of the nobles of Cœle-Syria thither on the same account, is a clear proof of the contrary; that is, that Cæle-Syria and Palestine were then in the possession of the Egyptian king, by what means soever it afterwards became that he was put out of it. It is most likely

that Seleucus, having just cause of war given him by the preparations that Ptolemy Epiphanes was making against him at the time of his death, took the advantage of the minority of Philometor his son, to prosecute this war against him which his father had begun, and therein seized these provinces; for it is certain, both from the Maccabees and Josephus, that Seleucus was in possession of them at the time of his death.

Fulfilment of the prophecies of Daniel concerning Seleucus. —The whole of this king's reign is expressed in Daniel xi. 20. For in that text

---

it is foretold, that after Antiochus the Great, who is spoken of in the foregoing verses, "there should stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes." And Seleucus was no more than such all his time, for the whole business of his reign was to raise the thousand talents every year, which, by the treaty of peace that his father made with the Romans, he was obliged for twelve years together annually to pay that people; and the last of those twelve years was the last of his life. For as the same text saith, that "within a few years after he shall be destroyed, and that neither in anger nor in battle;" so accordingly it happened. For he reigned only eleven years, and his death was neither in battle nor in anger; that is, neither in war abroad, nor in sedition or rebellion at home, but by the secret treachery of one of his own friends. His successor was Antiochus Epiphanes his brother, of whom we shall treat in the next book.

BOOK III.

JEWISH AND SYRIAN HISTORY, FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWISH NATION UNDER THE SELEUCIDE UNTIL THE DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, B. C. 175 το 164.

I. REIGN OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES TILL THE JEWISH WAR AND DEATH OF MATTATHIAS, B. C. 175—166.

Kings of Egypt—Ptolemy VI. Philometor, 180.

High priests of the Jews—Onias III., 195;

Jason, 175;

Menelaus, 172.

Antiochus overcomes the usurper Heliodorus, and establishes himself on the throne of Syria, 175.—ON the death of Seleucus Philopator, Heliodorus, who had been the treacherous author of his death, endeavoured to seize the crown of Syria. Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, was then on his return from Rome. While at Athens in his journey, he there heard of the death of his brother, and the attempt of Heliodorus to usurp the throne; and finding that the usurper had a great party with him to support him in his pretensions, and that there was another party also forming for Ptolemy (who made some claim to the succession in right of his mother, she being sister to the deceased king), and that both of them were agreed "not to give unto him (though the next heir in the absence of Demetrius) the honour of the kingdom," as the holy prophet Daniel foretold, he applied himself to Eumenes king of Pergamus, and Attalus his brother, and, "by flattering speeches" and great promises of friendship, prevailed with them to help him against Heliodorus. And by their means that usurper being suppressed, he was quietly placed on the throne, and all

submitted to him, and permitted him, without any further opposition, peaceably to obtain the kingdom, as had been predicted of him in the same prophecy. Eumenes and Attalus at this time, having some suspicions

---

of the Romans, were desirous of having the king of Syria on their side, in case a war should break out between them, and Antiochus's promises to stick by them, whenever such a war should happen, were the inducements that prevailed with them to do him this kindness.

Unpopular character of Antiochus: introduces Roman manners and institutions.—On his being thus settled on the throne he took the name of Epiphanes, that is, the illustrious; but nothing could be more alien to his true character than this title. The prophet Daniel foretold of him that he should be "a vile person," so our English version hath it; but the word nibzeh in the original rather signifieth despicable than vile. He was truly both in all that both these words can express, which will fully appear from the character given of him by Polybius, Philarchus, Livy, and Diodorus Siculus, who were all heathen writers, and the two first of them his contemporaries. For they tell us, that he would get often out of the palace and ramble about the streets of Antioch, with two or three servants only accompanying him; that he would be often conversing with those that graved in silver and cast vessels of gold, and be frequently found with them in their shops, talking and nicely arguing with them about the mysteries of their trades; that he would very commonly debase himself to the meanest company, and on his going abroad would join in with such as he happened to find met together, although of the lowest of the people, and enter into discourse with any one of them whom he should first light on; that he would in his rambles frequently drink with strangers and foreigners, and even with the meanest and vilest of them; that when he heard of any young company met together to feast, drink, or any otherwise to make merry together, he would, without giving any notice of his coming, intrude himself among them, and revel away the time with them in their cups and songs, and other frolics, without any regard had to common decency, or his own royal character; so that several, being surprised with the strangeness of the thing, would on his coming get up and run away out of the company. And

he would sometimes, as the freak took him, lay aside his royal habit, and putting on a Roman gown, go round the city, as he had seen done in the election of magistrates at Rome, and ask the votes of the citizens, in the same manner as used to be there practised, now taking one man by the hand, and then embracing another, and would thus set himself up, sometimes for the office of ædile and sometimes for that of tribune; and having been thus voted into the office he sued for, he would take the curule chair, and sitting down in it, hear petty causes of contracts, bargains, and sales, made in the market, and give judgment in them with that serious attention and earnestness, as if they had been matters of the highest concern and importance. It is said also of him, that he was much given to drunkenness, and that he spent a great part of his revenues in revellings and drunken carousals; and would often go out into the streets while in these frolics, and there scatter his money by handfuls among the rabble, crying out, "Let him take to whom fortune gives it." Sometimes he would go abroad with a crown of roses

---

upon his head, and wearing a Roman gown would walk the streets alone, and carrying stones under his arms would throw them to those that should follow after him. And he would often wash himself in the public baths among the common people, and there expose himself by many absurd and ridiculous actions. Which odd and extravagant sort of conduct made many doubt how the matter stood with him; some thinking him a fool, and some a madman; the latter of these most thought to be his truest character; and therefore, instead of Epiphanes, or the illustrious, they called him Epimanes, that is, the madman. Jerome tells us also of him, that he was exceedingly given to lasciviousness, and often by the vilest acts of it debased the honour of his royal dignity; that he was frequently found in the company of mimics, pathics, and common prostitutes, and that with the latter he would commit acts of lasciviousness in the sight of the people. And it is further related of him, that having for his catamites two vile persons, called Timarchus and Heraclides, who were brothers, he made the first of them governor of Babylonia, and the other his treasurer in that province, and gave gave himself up to be governed and conducted by them in most

that he did. And having, on a very whimsical occasion, exhibited games and shows at Daphne, near Antioch, with vast expense, and called thither a great multitude of people from foreign parts, as well as from his own dominions, to be present at the solemnity, he there behaved himself to that degree of folly and absurdity, as to become the ridicule and scorn of all that were present. Which actions of his are sufficient abundantly to demonstrate him both despicable and vile, though he had not added to them that most unreasonable and wicked persecution of God's people in Judæa and Jerusalem, which will be hereafter related.

Jewish history: Jason purchases the high priesthood of Antiochus, and supplants his brother Onias III. —As soon as Antiochus was settled in the kingdom, Jason the brother of Onias, being ambitious of the high priesthood, by underhand means applied to him for it; and by an offer of three hundred and sixty talents, besides eighty more which he promised on another account, obtained of him that Onias was displaced from the office, and he advanced to it in his stead: and at the same time procured that Onias was called to Antioch, and confined to dwell there. For Onias, by reason of his signal piety and righteousness, being of great esteem among the people throughout all Judæa and Jerusalem, the intruder justly feared that he should have but little authority in his new-acquired office, as long as this good man, from whom he usurped it, should continue at Jerusalem: and therefore he procured from the king an order for his removal from thence to Antioch, and his confinement to that place; where he accordingly continued till he was there put to death, as will be hereafter shown in its

---

proper place. Antiochus coming poor to the crown, and finding the public treasury empty, by reason of the heavy tribute paid the Romans for the twelve years last foregoing, was greedy of the money which Jason offered; and therefore, for the obtaining of it, readily granted what he desired of him, and would have been glad to have granted more on the same terms.

Jason adopts the policy of Antiochus, and erects a Gymnasium and an Ephebeum at Jerusalem. —Jason, perceiving that Antiochus was greedy of money, proposed to advance a hundred and fifty talents over and

above what he had already offered, if he might have license to erect at Jerusalem a Gymnasium, or a place of exercise, and an Ephebéum, or a place for the training up of youth, according to the usage and fashion of the Greeks; and, moreover have authority of making as many of the inhabitants of Jerusalem freemen of Antioch as he should think fit: which proposal being as readily accepted of as the former, all this was also granted him; and by these means he doubted not he should be able to make a party among the Jews, to overbear all that might stand for Onias; and accordingly, on his return to Jerusalem with these grants and commissions, he had all the success herein which he proposed. For at this time there were many among the Jews fondly inclined to the ways of the Greeks, whom he gratified by erecting his Gymnasium for them to exercise in; and the freedom of the city of Antioch being a privilege of great value, while the Syro-Macedonian king flourished there, by his power of granting that freedom he drew over many more to his bent; so that putting down the governments that were according to law, he brought up new customs against the law, drawing the chief young men of the Jewish nation into his Ephebéum, and there training them up after the manner of the Greeks; and in all things else he made as many of them as he could apostatize from the religion and usages of their forefathers, and conform themselves to the manners, customs, and rites of the heathens; whereon the service of the altar became neglected, and the priests, despising the temple, omitted there the public worship of God, and hastened to partake of the games and divertisements of the Gymnasium, and all other the unlawful allowances of that place: whereby it came to pass that all those privileges which, at the solicitation of John the father of Eupolemus, were by special favour obtained of king Seleucus Philopator, for the securing of the observance of the Jewish law in Judah and Jerusalem, were all overborne and taken away. And from hence was propagated that iniquity among the Jews, which drew after it for its punishment one of the greatest calamities, next the two terrible destructions executed upon their temple and country by Nebuchadnezzar and Titus, that ever befell that nation. Of all which mischief the ambition of this wicked man was the original cause; for sacrificing to it his religion and his country, he betrayed both to procure his own advancement. And to render himself the more acceptable to those from whom he obtained it, he changed not only his religion, but also his name; for his name was at first Jesus; but,

when he went over to the ways of the Greeks, he took also a Greek name, and called himself Jason: and having thus given himself up to the heathen superstition, he laid hold of all opportunities

to distinguish himself in expressing his zeal for it. And therefore the next year [B. C. 174] being the time of the quinquennial games, that were celebrated at Tyre, in honour of Hercules, the patron god of that country, and Antiochus being present at them, he sent several Jews of his party, whom he had enfranchised, and made freemen of Antioch, to be spectators of those games, and to offer from him a donative of three thousand three hundred drachms, to be expended in sacrifices to that heathen deity. But the bearers, being afraid of involving themselves in the guilt of this idolatry, gave the money to the Tyrians to be employed in the repairing of their fleet; and so the apostate was defeated of what he intended by this impious gift.

Egyptian history: death of Cleopatra, guardian of Ptolemy VI. Philometor, and demand of Cæle-Syria and Palestine from Antiochus Epiphanes, 173.—In Egypt, from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his queen, sister to Antiochus Epiphanes, had taken on her the government of the kingdom, and the tuition of her infant son, who had succeeded him in it, and managed it with great care and prudence; but she dying this year, the management of affairs there fell into the hands of Lennæus a nobleman of that court, and Eulæus an eunuch, who had the breeding up of the young king. As soon as they had entered on the administration, they made demand of Cœle-Syria and Palestine from Antiochus Epiphanes, which gave origin to the war that afterwards ensued between Antiochus and Philometor. As long as Cleopatra lived, she, being mother to the one and sister to the other, kept this matter from making a breach between them; but after her death, those into whose hands the government next fell made no longer scruple to demand of Antiochus, in behalf of their master, what they

thought his due. And it must be owned that those provinces were always in the possession of the kings of Egypt, from the time of the first Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great wrested them out of the hands of Ptolemy Epiphanes; and by this title only Seleucus his son came to be in full possession of them, and on his death was succeeded in the same by Antiochus Epiphanes his brother. The Egyptians, in defence of their claim, argued that, in the last partition of the empire of Alexander, made after the battle of Ipsus, among those four of his successors who then survived, these provinces were assigned to Ptolemy Soter; that he and the succeeding kings of his race had held them ever after, till Antiochus the Great wrested them out of the hands of Ptolemy Epiphanes after the battle of Paneas; and that the same Antiochus had agreed on the marrying of his daughter to the same king Ptolemy, and made it the main article of that marriage, again to restore to him these provinces by way of dower with her. But Antiochus denied both these allegations, pleading in answer to them, that by virtue of the last partition of the empire of Alexander above mentioned, all Syria, including Cœle-Syria and Palestine, was assigned to Seleucus Nicator, and therefore it belonged to him as his rightful heir in the Syrian empire. And as to the article of marriage, whereby a restoration of those provinces to king Ptolemy was claimed, he utterly denied that there was any such thing. And having thus declared on both sides their pretensions, they joined issue hereon, and referred it to the sword to decide the matter.

Ptolemy VI. Philometor attains his majority, and is enthroned at Alexandria.—Ptolemy Philometor being now fourteen years old, he was declared to be out of his minority; and thereon great preparations were made at Alexandria for his enthronization, as was usual there on this occasion. Hereon Antiochus sent Apollonius, one of the prime nobles of his court, in an embassy thither, to be present at the solemnity, and to congratulate the young king thereon. This he did, in outward pretence to express his respects to his nephew, and show him honour on this occasion; but in reality it was only to spy out how that court stood affected to him, and what measures they were purposing to take in reference to him, and the contested provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine; and on the return of this ambassador to him, finding by his report that war was intended against him, he came by sea to Joppa, to take a view of the frontiers towards Egypt, and

to put them into a thorough posture of defence against any attempts which the Egyptians might make upon them and in this progress he came to Jerusalem, where he was received with great pomp and solemnity by Jason and all the city, and treated with great magnificence. But this operated nothing for the averting of that great mischief and calamity which he afterwards brought upon that place and the whole nation of the Jews. From Jerusalem he marched into Phoenicia, and having there settled all matters, he returned again to Antioch.

Jewish affairs: Menelaus, by bribing Antiochus, supplants his brother Jason in the high priesthood, 172. —The next year Jason sent Menelaus his brother to Antioch, there to pay the king his tribute-money, and also to treat with him about other matters which he thought necessary to be done. But on his admission to audience, instead of pursuing his commission in behalf of his brother, he treacherously supplanted him, and got into his place. For having first recommended himself to the favour of this vain prince by a flattering speech, wherein he greatly magnified the glorious appearance of his power, he took the opportunity of petitioning him for the high priesthood for himself, offering more than Jason gave for it by three hundred talents. Which offer being readily accepted, Jason was deposed, after he had been as high priest in the government of that nation three years, and Menelaus was advanced in his stead. This Menelaus, the author of the Second Book of Maccabees saith, was brother to Simon the Benjamite, who was of the house of Tobias: but this could not be; for none but such as were of the house of Aaron were capable of this office and therefore in this particular Josephus is rather to be credited, who positively tells us that he was the brother of Onias and Jason, and the son of Simon, the second of that name high priest of the Jews, and that he was the third of his sons that had been in that office. His name at first was Onias, the same with that of his eldest brother; but running as fast as Jason into the ways of the Greeks, in imitation of him he took a Greek name also, and called himself Menelaus. His father and his eldest brother were both of them holy and good men: but he chose rather to imitate the example of wicked Jason than theirs; for he followed him in all his ways of fraud, wickedness, and

apostasy, and outdid him in each of them. Jason's being supplanted by him in the same manner as he supplanted Onias, was a just retaliation of Providence; but Menelaus was a much more wicked instrument herein than the other, since he practised this fraud against Jason while he was under his confidence, and had on him the character of his ambassador, and by virtue of that character got that access to the king whereby he effected it. As soon as his mandate for the office was despatched at the Syrian court, Menelaus went with it to Jerusalem; and although on his coming the sons of Tobias, who then made a very potent faction in the Jewish state, joined with him, yet such a party stood for Jason, that Menelaus was forced, with his friends of the house of Tobias, to quit the place, and return again to Antioch; where they having declared that they would no longer observe their country laws and institutions, but would go over to the religion of the king and the worship of the Greeks; this so far gained them the favour of Antiochus, that he sent them back, assisted with such a power as Jason could not resist. And therefore, being forced to leave Jerusalem, he fled into the land of the Ammonites, and Menelaus took possession of his office without any further opposition; and thereon he proceeded to make good all that he and his party had declared at Antioch, by apostatizing from the law of Moses to the religion of the Greeks, and all other their rites and usages, and drawing as many others after him into the same impiety as he was able.

Temporal power of the high priest.—For Menelaus did not desire the office of the high priest at Jerusalem for the sake of the Jewish religion, or that he intended to practise any part of the Jewish worship in it. That which made this office so desirable to him and Jason, and induced them both to give so much money for it, was the temporal authority that went with the ecclesiastical. For at that time, and for some ages past, the high priest of the Jews had, first under the Persian, and afterwards under the Macedonian kings, the sole temporal government of that nation. This last most certainly was derived from the king, and this gave him the handle to dispose of both, though the priesthood itself were derived only from that divine authority under which it acted. And the case is the same in respect of the Christian priesthood. For to instance in episcopacy, the first order of it, besides the

ecclesiastical office which is derived from Christ alone, it hath in Christian states annexed to it (as with us) the temporal benefice (that is, the revenues of the bishopric), and some branches of the temporal authority, as the probate of wills, causes of tithes, causes of defamation, &c.; all which latter most certainly is held under the temporal state, but not the former. Were this distinction duly considered, it would put an end to those Erastian notions which now so much prevail among us. For the want of this is the true cause that many, observing some branches of the episcopal authority to be from the state, wrongfully from hence infer that all the rest is so too; whereas, would they duly examine the matter, they would find that, besides the temporal power and temporal revenues with which bishops are invested, there is also an ecclesiastical or spiritual power, which is derived from none other than Christ alone. And the same distinction may also serve to quash another controversy, which was much agitated among us in the reign of his late Majesty King William III., about the act which deprived the bishops who would not take the oaths to that king. For the contest then was, that an act of parliament could not deprive a bishop. This we acknowledged to be true in respect of the spiritual office, but not in respect of the benefice, and other temporal advantages and powers annexed thereto. For these every bishop receiveth from the state, and the state can again deprive any bishop of them upon a just cause: and this was all that was done by the said act. For the bishops that were then deprived by it had still their episcopal office left entire to them, they being as much bishops of the church universal after their deprivation as they were before.

Menelaus raises the money for Antiochus by the sale of the temple vessels: murder of Onias III., 171.—Menelaus, after he had got into the high priesthood by out-bidding his brother, took no care to pay the money; whereon the king calling upon Sostratus the captain of the castle at Jerusalem (who was also receiver of the king's revenues in Judæa), and he upon Menelaus for the money, they were both summoned to appear before the king at Antioch, to give an account hereof; but on their arrival there they found the king was gone from thence to quell an insurrection which had been made against him at Mallus and Tarsus, two cities of Cilicia. For the revenues of these cities having been assigned to Antiochis, one of the king's concubines, for her maintenance,

the inhabitants, either out of indignation for this thing, or because the concubine exacted upon them, rose up in an uproar, and Antiochus was then hastened thither to appease it, leaving Andronicus, one of the prime nobles of his court, to govern Antioch during his absence. Menelaus, taking the advantage of the time thus gained by the absence of the king, made the best use of it he could to raise the money he owed him before his return; in order whereto, having by the means of Lysimachus, whom he left his deputy at Jerusalem, gotten many of the gold vessels out of the temple, he sold them at Tyre and the cities round about; and thereby raised money enough, not only to pay the king, but also to bribe Andronicus and other courtiers to procure favour for him. Onias, who then lived at Antioch, as being confined to that place by the order of the king, having notice of this sacrilege, reproved Menelaus very severely for it; which the apostate not being able to bear, for the revenging of himself upon him for it, applied to Andronicus, and engaged him for a sum of money to cut Onias off; of which Onias having gained intelligence, fled to the asylum at Daphne, and there took sanctuary for the safety of his life. But Andronicus, having by fair words and false oaths persuaded him to come forth out of that place, immediately put him to death, that thereby he might earn the money which Menelaus had promised him. But Onias having by his laudable carriage while he lived at Antioch gained much upon the affection and esteem of the inhabitants of the place, as well Greeks as Jews, they took this murder so ill, that they both joined in a petition to the king, on his return, against Andronicus for it; whereon cognizance being taken of the crime, and the wicked murderer convicted of it, Antiochus caused him with infamy to be carried to the place where the murder was committed, and there put to death for it in such manner as he deserved. For Antiochus, as wicked a tyrant as he was, had sorrow and regret upon him for the death of so good a man; and therefore, in his thus revenging of it he executed his own resentments, as well as those of the persons who had petitioned for it.

True date of the pontificate of Onias III.—This Onias was high priest of the Jews twenty-four years. Eusebius mentioneth not at all the time of his being in the office, though he doth it of all the rest from the time of the

Babylonish captivity. But the Chronicon Alexandrinum doth assign him twenty-four years, which are to be reckoned to the time of his death. This Chronicon, in the assigning of the years of each pontificate from the time mentioned to the death of this Onias, much better agreeing both with the Scriptures and the history of Josephus than either Africanus or Eusebius, I have rather chosen to follow that author in this matter than either of the other two, excepting only in the pontificate of Simon the Just. For whereas the Chronicon Alexandrinum assigns to it fourteen years, and Eusebius only nine, I

---

choose rather to follow Eusebius in this particular, that I might not carry down the last year of the high priesthood of Manasseh too far from the death of his father. For allowing Simon the Just fourteen years to his pontificate, it will carry down the time of the death of Manasseh to seventy-six years after the death of Jaddua his father, and make him to be near a hundred, if not more, at the time of his decease; and every year deducted from so great an age makes the account the more probable; and nothing can be deducted elsewhere to lessen it by the authority of either of those two authors (and there is no other authority but theirs to be recurred to in this matter). For all the years of the other pontificates, from the death of Jaddua to that of Manasseh, do, in both these authors, either equal or exceed the years of the said Chronicon; and therefore there is no place else where they can be lessened by the authority of either of them. And unless they be thus lessened, another inconvenience would happen worse than the other. For otherwise, the last year of Onias would be carried down beyond what is inconsistent either with the history of Josephus, or that of the two books of the Maccabees. From the death of Onias, the pontificates following will be taken from the said books of the Maccabees, as far as they go, and from the history of Josephus, who hath them all to the end.

Tumult at Jerusalem against the sacrilege of Menelaus: murder of his brother Lysimachus by the mob.—In the interim there happened a great mutiny at Jerusalem, by reason of the vessels of gold that were carried out of the temple by the order of Menelaus. When he went to Antioch, he left Lysimachus, another of his brothers, as bad as himself, to execute his

office during his absence, and by his means those vessels of gold were carried out of the temple, which Menelaus sold at Tyre and other places, to raise the money above mentioned. When this came to be known, and the bruit hereof was spread abroad among the people, the multitude, taking great indignation hereat, gathered themselves together against Lysimachus; whereon he got together about three thousand men of his party, under the command of one Tyrannus, an old soldier, to resist their rage, and defend himself against them; but the multitude fell on them with that fury, that wounding some, and killing others, they forced the rest to flee; and then falling on Lysimachus, the sacrilegious robber, they slew him beside the treasury within the temple, and thereby for that time put an end to this sacrilege.

First expedition of Antiochus against Ptolemy VI. Philometor: Antiochus obtains a victory on the Egyptian frontier.—Antiochus having, ever since the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court, been preparing for the war which he found he must necessarily have with Ptolemy about the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, and being now ready for it, resolved to defer it no longer; but instead of expecting the war in his own territories, determined to carry it into those of his enemy. The youth of Ptolemy (he being then but sixteen years old), and the weak conduct of the ministers into whose hands he was fallen, made him despise both; and the Romans (under whose protection Egypt then

---

was) were not at leisure to afford them any help, by reason of the war which they were at that time engaged in with Perseus king of Macedon; and therefore thinking he could not have a more favourable juncture for the bringing of this controversy to a successful decision, he resolved forthwith to begin the contest. However, to keep as fair with the Romans as the case would admit, he sent ambassadors to lay before the senate the right he had to the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, then in his possession, and to justify the war which he was forced to enter on in the defence of them; and then forthwith marched his army towards the frontiers of Egypt, where being met by the forces of Ptolemy, between Mount Casius and Pelusium, it there came to a battle between them; in which Antiochus having gotten the

victory, he took care on the advantage of it well to fortify that border of his dominions, and to make the barrier in that quarter as strong as he could against any future attempt that Ptolemy might make upon these provinces; and then, without attempting anything further this year, returned to Tyre, and there and in the neighbouring cities put his army into winter quarters.

Delegates from the Jewish Sanhedrim complain to Antiochus of the sacrileges of Menelaus, and are murdered, 170.—While Antiochus lay at Tyre, there came thither to him three delegates from the Sanhedrim, or senate of the Jews, to complain of the sacrileges of Menelaus, and the violences and disorders which, by Lysimachus his deputy, he had lately caused at Jerusalem; and having on the hearing of the cause plainly convicted him before the king of all that they had laid to his charge, Menelaus, to avoid the sentence which he deserved, and which he saw was ready to be pronounced against him, bribed Ptolemy Macron, the son of Dorymenes, with a great sum of money, to befriend him with the king; whereon Ptolemy, taking the king aside, prevailed with him, contrary to what he intended, not only to absolve Menelaus, but also to put to death the three delegates of the Jews, as if they had unjustly accused him; which was so manifest a piece of oppression and injustice in the eyes of all in that place, that the Tyrians, pitying their case, caused them to be honourably buried.

Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœle-Syria and Palestine for Antiochus: his previous history.—This Ptolemy Macron, having been formerly governor of Cyprus for king Ptolemy Philometor, had, during his minority, reserved all the king's revenues of that island in his hands, refusing to pay it to the ministers, notwithstanding their earnest call for it. But as soon as the king was enthroned, he brought it all to Alexandria, and there paid the whole into the royal treasury; which being a supply which at that time came very conveniently to answer the exigencies of the government, he then obtained great applause for his good conduct in this matter; but afterwards being disgusted, either by some ill treatment from the ministry, or for that his service was not rewarded according to his expectation, he revolted from king Ptolemy and went over to Antiochus, and delivered the island of Cyprus into his hands. Whereon Antiochus

received him with great favour, admitted him into the number of his principal friends, and

---

made him governor of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, and sent Crates, who had been before deputy-governor of the castle at Jerusalem under Sostratus, to be chief commander of Cyprus in his stead. Thus much is proper to be said of him in this place, because there will be other occasions to make mention of him in the future series of this history.

Supernatural appearances at Jerusalem.—About this time, for forty days together, there were seen at Jerusalem, in the air, very strange sights of horsemen and footmen armed with shields, spears, and swords, and in great companies, fighting against and charging each other, as in battle-array; which foreboded those calamities of war and desolation which soon after happened to that city and nation. And the like were seen at the same place before the destruction of that city by the Romans. So Josephus tells us, who lived in that time, and attests it to have been vouched to him by such as had been eyewitnesses of the same.

Second expedition of Antiochus against Ptolemy VI. Philometor: conquest of all Egypt, except Alexandria.—Antiochus, having been making preparations during all the winter for a second expedition into Egypt, as soon as the season of the year would permit, again invaded that country both by sea and land; and having on the frontiers gained another victory over the forces of Ptolemy that were sent thither to oppose him, took Pelusium, and from thence made his way into the heart of the kingdom. In this last overthrow of the Egyptian army, it was in his power to have cut them all off to a man; but instead of pursuing this advantage, he took care to put a stop to the executing of it, riding about the field in person after the victory, to forbid the putting of any more to death; which clemency of his so far reconciled and endeared him to the Egyptians, that on his farther march into the country they all readily yielded to him, and he made himself with very little trouble master of Memphis and all the other parts of Egypt, excepting Alexandria, which alone held out against him.

Ptolemy VI. Philometor taken prisoner by Antiochus.—While Antiochus carried on his last invasion, Philometor came into his hands: whether he were taken prisoner by him, or else voluntarily came in unto him, is not said; the latter seems most likely. For Antiochus took not from him his liberty, but they did eat at the same table, and conversed together as friends; and for some time Antiochus pretended to take care of the interest of this young king his nephew, and to manage the affairs of the kingdom as tutor and guardian to him. But when he had, under this pretence, made himself master of the country, he seized all to himself; and having miserably pillaged all parts where he came, vastly enriched himself and his army with the spoils of them. During all this time Philometor conducted himself with a very mean spirit, keeping himself while in arms at as great a distance from all danger as he was able, and never showing himself in the army that was to fight for him; and afterwards in a slothful cowardice submitting to Antiochus, and suffering himself to be deprived by him of so large a kingdom, without

---

attempting anything for the preserving of it: which was not so much owing to his want of natural courage or capacity (for he afterwards gave many instances of both), as to the effeminate education in which he was bred up by his tutor Eulæus. For that wicked eunuch, being also his prime minister of state, took care, by corrupting him with all manner of luxury and effeminacy, to make him as unfit for government as he was able, that when he was grown up, he might still be as necessary to him, and have the same power in the kingdom as he before had in the time of his minority; which is a policy that hath often been practised by wicked ministers towards their princes in their minority, to the vast damage always of the country where it hath happened.

Jewish history: Jason recovers the high priesthood by force, and drives out Menelaus.—While Antiochus was in Egypt, a false rumour having been spread through all Palestine that he was dead, Jason, thinking this a fit opportunity for him again to recover his station at Jerusalem, which he formerly had there as high priest, marched thither with above a thousand men; and having, by the assistance of the party he had there, taken

the city, and driven Menelaus to flee for shelter into the castle, he acted all manner of cruelties upon his fellow-citizens, putting to death, without mercy, as many of those whom he thought his adversaries as he could light upon.

Terrible suppression of the rebellion by Antiochus, and reinstatement of Menelaus.—Antiochus, on his being informed of all this in Egypt, supposed that the whole Jewish nation had revolted from him, and therefore marched with all haste out of Egypt into Judea to quell this rebellion; and being told that the people of Jerusalem made great rejoicings on the news which came to them of his death, he was very much provoked thereat; and therefore in a great rage laying siege to Jerusalem, and taking the city by force, he slew of the inhabitants in three days' time forty thousand persons; and having taken as many more captives, sold them for slaves to the neighbouring nations.

Antiochus enters the Holy of Holies, and defiles the temple.—And not content with this, Antiochus impiously forced himself into their temple, and entered into the inner and most sacred recesses of it, polluting by his presence both the holy place and also the Holy of Holies, the wicked traitor Menelaus being his conductor, and showing him the way into both. And to offer the greater indignity to this sacred place, and to affront in the highest manner he was able the religion

---

whereby God was worshipped in it, he sacrificed a great sow upon the altar of burnt-offerings; and broth being by his command made with some part of the flesh thereof boiled in it, he caused it to be sprinkled all over the temple for the utmost defiling of it; and after this, having sacrilegiously plundered it by taking thence the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, the candlestick of seven branches that stood in the holy place, which were all of gold, and several other golden vessels, utensils, and donatives of former kings, to the value of one thousand eight hundred talents of gold, and made the like plunder in the city, he returned to Antioch, carrying thither with him the spoils of Judæa as well as of Egypt; which, both together, amounted to an immense treasure of riches. On his departure from Jerusalem, for the further

vexation of the Jews, he appointed Philip, a Phrygian, who was a man of a very cruel and barbarous temper, to be governor of Judæa, and Andronicus, another of the like disposition, to be governor of Samaria, and left Menelaus to be still over them in the office of high priest, who was worse to them than all the rest.

Exile and death of Jason.—As to Jason, on the return of Antiochus out of Egypt, he durst not tarry his coming to Jerusalem, but on his approach to that place, fled thence for fear of him back again into the land of the Ammonites; but being there accused before Aretas king of the Arabians, whose kingdom reached into that country, he fled from thence also; and after that being forced to shift from place to place, pursued of all men, and hated everywhere, for his wickedness towards God, his country, and his religion, and finding safety nowhere in those parts, he was cast out from thence, first into Egypt, and from thence again into Lacedæmonia, where he perished in exile and misery, without having any one to give him a burial.

Egyptian history: Alexandrians place Ptolemy Physcon on the throne during the captivity of Ptolemy Philometor, 169.—The Alexandrians finding Philometor to be fallen under the power of Antiochus, and by him in a manner wholly deprived of the crown, looked on him as altogether lost to them; and therefore having the younger brother with them, they put him on the throne, and made him their king instead of the other: from which time he took the name of Ptolemy Euergetes the Second, but afterwards they gave him the name of Physcon, i. e. the great-bellied, by reason of the great and prominent belly which, by his luxury and gluttony, he afterwards acquired: and by this name he is most commonly mentioned by those who have written of him. On his thus ascending the throne, Cineas and Cumanus were made his prime ministers, and to them was committed the care of again restoring the broken affairs of that kingdom.

Third expedition of Antiochus into Egypt: ambassadors from Ptolemy Physcon propose a peace.—Antiochus, on his hearing of this, laid hold of the occasion for his making of a third expedition into Egypt, under pretence of restoring the deposed king, but in reality to subject the whole kingdom to himself: and therefore having vanquished the Alexandrians in a sea-fight near Pelusium, he again entered the country

with a great army, and marched directly towards Alexandria, to lay siege to the place. Whereon the young king, consulting with his two ministers, agreed to call a council of the chief commanders of the army, and upon advice had with them, pursue such methods for the stemming of the present difficulties as they should direct him unto; who having accordingly been called and met together, and having thoroughly considered the state of the then present affairs, advised to endeavour an accommodation with Antiochus; and that the ambassadors, who were then at Alexandria on embassies from several of the Grecian states to the Egyptian court, should be desired to interpose their mediation for the effecting of it: who, having readily undertaken the matter, forthwith sailed up the river to meet Antiochus, with the proposals of peace which they were intrusted with, taking with them two ambassadors from Ptolemy himself for the same purpose. On their coming to his camp, he received them very kindly; and having the first day entertained them at a splendid treat, appointed the next day to hear what they had to propose. The Achæans having then first opened the cause on which they were sent, all the rest spoke to it in their turns, and they all agreed in laying the blame of making the war on Eulæus's ill conduct, and the nonage of king Ptolemy Philometor; and on these two heads they apologized as much as they could for the present king, in order to mollify Antiochus, and bring him to terms of peace with him; and much urged the relation which was between them for a motive to induce him to it. Antiochus, in answer to them, acknowledged all to be true that they had said concerning the cause of the war; and then took the opportunity of setting forth his title to the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, alleging all the arguments for it which have been above mentioned, and producing instruments for the proof of all that he alleged; which he did in such a manner as fully convinced all that were present of his right to those provinces. And then, as to the proposals of peace, he referred them to a future treaty, which he said he should be ready to enter into with them about this matter when two persons then absent, whom he named, should come to him, without whom, he told them, he could do nothing herein; and then went to Naucratis, and from thence to Alexandria, and there laid siege to the place. Ptolemy Euergetes II. and Cleopatra his

sister, who were then shut up in the town, being hereby much distressed, sent ambassadors to the Romans to represent their case, and pray relief. And a little after, there came ambassadors from the Rhodians, to endeavour to make peace between the two kings, who having landed at Alexandria, and received what instructions the ministers of that court would intrust them with, went thence to the camp in which Antiochus lay before the town, and used the best of their endeavours with him to bring him to an accommodation with the Egyptian king, insisting on the long friendship and alliance which they had hitherto enjoyed with both crowns, and the obligations which they thought themselves under on this account, to do the best offices they were able for the making of peace between them.

Antiochus restores Philometor to his kingdom, and endeavours to excite a war between Philometor and Physcon.—But while they were proceeding in long harangues on these topics, Antiochus interrupted them, and in few words told them that there was no need of long orations as to this matter; that the kingdom belonged to Philometor the elder brother, with whom he had some time since made peace, and was now in perfect friendship with him; that if they would recall him from banishment, and again restore him to his crown, the war would be at an end. This he said, not that he intended any such thing, but only out of craft further to embroil the kingdom, for the better obtaining of his own ends upon it; for finding he could make no work of it at Alexandria, but that he must be forced to raise the siege, the scheme which he had now laid for the compassing of his designs was to put the two brothers together by the ears, and engage them in a war against each other, that when they had by intestine broils wasted and spent their strength, he might come upon them, while thus weakened and spent, and swallow both. And with this view having withdrawn from Alexandria, he marched to Memphis, and there seemingly again restored the whole kingdom to Philometor, excepting only Pelusium, which he retained in his hands, that having this key of Egypt still in his keeping, he might thereby again enter Egypt when matters should there, according to the scheme which he had laid, be ripe for it, and to seize the whole kingdom: and having thus disposed matters, he returned again to Antioch.

Reconciliation between Philometor and Physcon.—Ptolemy Philometor, now roused from his luxurious sloth by the misfortunes which he had suffered in those revolutions, had penetration enough to see into what Antiochus intended. His keeping of Pelusium was a sufficient indication unto him, that he held this gate of Egypt still in his power, only to enter through it again when he and his brother should have wasted themselves so far by their domestic feuds, as not to be able to resist him, and so make a prey of both. And therefore, for the preventing of this, as soon as Antiochus was gone, he sent to his brother to invite him to an accommodation; and by the means of Cleopatra, who was sister to both, an agreement was made upon terms that the two brothers should jointly reign together. Whereon Philometor returning to Alexandria, peace was restored to Egypt, much to the satisfaction of the people, especially of the Alexandrians, who greatly suffered by the war; but the two brothers, being aware that Antiochus would return again upon them, sent ambassadors into Greece to get auxiliary forces from thence for their defence against him: and they had reason enough so to do.

Fourth expedition of Antiochus into Egypt, 168.—Meantime, Antiochus hearing of this agreement of the two brothers, and finding his fine-spun scheme of policy, whereby he thought to have made himself master of Egypt, wholly baffled by it, he fell into a great rage, and resolved to carry on the war against both the brothers with greater force and fury than he had against either of them before. And therefore,

---

very early the next spring [B. c. 168], he sent a fleet to Cyprus to secure that island to him; and at the same time in person marched by land with a numerous army to make another invasion upon Egypt; in which he purposed, without owning the interest of either of his nephews, to suppress them both, and make an absolute conquest of the whole kingdom. On his coming to Rhinocorura, he was there met by ambassadors from Philometer, by whom that prince having acknowledged his restoration to his kingdom to be owing to him, desired him that he would not destroy his own work, but permit him peaceably to enjoy the crown which he wore by his favour. But Antiochus, not at all regarding the compliment, but waving all those

pretences of favour and affection for either of his nephews which he had hitherto made show of, now plainly declared himself an enemy to both, telling the ambassadors that he demanded the island of Cyprus, and the city of Pelusium, with all the lands that lay on that branch of the Nile on which Pelusium stood, to be yielded to him in perpetuity, and that he would on no other terms give peace to either of the brothers; and having set them a day for their giving him an answer to this demand, as soon as that day was over, and no answer returned to his satisfaction, he again invaded Egypt with a numerous army; and having subdued all the country as far as Memphis, and there received the submission of most of the rest, he marched towards Alexandria for the besieging of that city, the reduction of which would have made him absolute master of the whole kingdom; and this most certainly he would have accomplished, but that he met a Roman embassy in his way, which put a stop to his further progress, and totally dashed all the designs which he had been so long carrying on for the making of himself master of that country.

Roman embassy to Antiochus, to prevent the annexation of Egypt to the Syrian empire. — I have mentioned before, how Ptolemy Euergetes, the younger of the two brothers, and Cleopatra his sister, being distressed by the former siege which Antiochus had laid to Alexandria, sent ambassadors to the Romans to pray their relief. These being introduced into the senate, did there in a lamentable habit, and with a more lamentable oration, set forth their case, and in the humblest manner prostrating themselves before that assembly, prayed their help; with which the senate being moved, and having considered also how much it was their own interest not to permit Antiochus to grow so great, as the annexing of Egypt to Syria would make him, decreed to send an embassy into Egypt to put an end to this war. The persons they appointed for it were Caius Popillius Lænas (who had been consul four years before), Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostilius. Their commission was first to go to Antiochus, and after that to Ptolemy, and to signify to them that it was the desire of the senate that they should desist from making any further war upon each other; and that if either of them should refuse so to do, him the Roman people would no longer hold to be either their friend or their ally. And that these ambassadors might come soon enough to execute their instructions before Antiochus

should make himself master of Egypt, they were despatched away in that haste, that within three days after they left Rome; and taking with them the Egyptian ambassadors, hastened to Brundusium, and

---

there passing over to the Grecian shore, from thence by the way of Chalcis, Delos, and Rhodes, they came to Alexandria, just as Antiochus was making that second march to besiege this city which I have mentioned. On his arrival at Leusine, a place within four miles of Alexandria, the ambassadors there met him. On the sight of Popillius (with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship and familiarity, while he was a hostage at Rome), he put forth his hand to embrace him as his old friend and acquaintance; but Popillius, refusing the compliment, told him that the public interest of his country must take place of private friendship; that he must first know whether he were a friend or an enemy to the Roman state, before he could own him as a friend to himself; and then delivered into his hands the tables, in which were written the decree of the senate which they came to communicate to him, and required him to read it, and forthwith give his answer thereto.

Antiochus yields to the Roman senate, and concludes the war. — Antiochus having read the decree, told Popillius he would consult with his friends about it, and speedily give him the answer they should advise; but Popillius, insisting on an immediate answer, forthwith drew a circle round him in the sand with the staff which he had in his hand, and required him to give his answer before he stirred out of that circle; at which strange and peremptory way of proceeding Antiochus being startled, after a little hesitation yielded to it, and told the ambassador that he would obey the command of the senate; whereon Popillius, accepting his embraces, acted thenceforth according to his former friendship with him. That which made him so bold as to act with him after this peremptory manner, and the other so tame as to yield thus patiently to it, was the news which they had before received of the great victory of the Romans which they had gotten over Perseus, king of Macedonia. For Paulus Æmilius having now vanquished that king, and thereby added Macedonia to the Roman empire, the name of the Romans after this carried that weight with it, as created a terror in all the

neighbouring nations; so that none of them after this cared to dispute their commands, but were glad on any terms to maintain peace and cultivate a friendship with them. After Popillius had thus sent Antiochus back again into Syria, he returned with his colleagues to Alexandria; and having there ratified and fully fixed the terms of agreement which had been before, but not so perfectly, made between the two brothers, he sailed to Cyprus: and having sent from thence Antiochus's fleet, as he had him and his army before from Egypt, and caused a thorough restoration of that island to be made to the Egyptian kings, to whom it of right belonged, he returned home to relate to the senate the full success of his embassy; and ambassadors followed him from the two Ptolemys to thank the senate for the great benefit they had received from it: for to this embassy they owed their kingdom, and that peaceable enjoyment whereby they were now settled in it.

Antiochus returns through Palestine, and vents his wrath upon the Jews, and sends Apollonius to destroy Jerusalem. — Antiochus returning out of Egypt in great wrath and indignation, because of the baffle which

---

he had there met with from the Romans of all his designs upon that country, he vented it all upon the Jews, who had no way offended him. For on his marching back through Palestine, he detached off from his army twenty-two thousand men, under the command of Apollonius, who was over the tribute, and sent them to Jerusalem to destroy the place.

Terrible massacre of the Jews on the Sabbath-day, and cessation of the temple worship. — It was just two years after Antiochus had taken Jerusalem that Apollonius came thither with his army. On his first arrival he carried himself peaceably, concealing his purpose, and forbearing all hostilities till the next sabbath; but then, when the people were all assembled together in their synagogues for the celebrating of the religious duties of the day, thinking this the properest time for the executing of his bloody commission, he let loose all his forces upon them, with command to slay all the men, and take captive the women and children, to sell them for

slaves: which they executed with the utmost rigour and cruelty, slaying all the men they could light on, without showing mercy to any, and filling the streets with their blood. After this, having spoiled the city of all its riches, they set it on fire in several places, demolished the houses, and pulled down the walls round about it; and then with the ruins of the demolished city built a strong fortress on the top of an eminence in the city of David, which was over against the temple, and overlooked and commanded the same, and there placed a strong garrison; and making it a place of arms against the whole nation of the Jews, stored it with all manner of provisions of war, and there also they laid up the spoils which they had taken in the sacking of the city. And this fortress, by the advantage of its situation being thus higher than the mountain of the temple, and commanding the same, from thence the garrison soldiers fell on all those that went up thither to worship, and shed their blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it with all manner of pollutions; so that from this time the temple became deserted, and the daily sacrifices omitted; and none of the true servants of God durst any more go up thither to worship, till Judas, after three years and a half, having recovered it out of the hands of the heathens, purged the place of its pollutions, and by a new dedication restored it again to its pristine use. For all that escaped this carnage, being fled from Jerusalem, left that place wholly in the hands of strangers; so that the sanctuary was laid waste, and the whole city desolated of its natural inhabitants.

Flight of Judas Maccabæus into the wilderness. — At this time Judas Maccabæus, with some others that accompanied him, fled into the wilderness, and there lived in great hardship, subsisting themselves upon herbs, and what else the mountains and the woods could afford them, till they gained an opportunity of taking up arms for themselves and their country, in manner as will be hereafter related.

Confusion in Josephus's account corrected by the books of the Maccabees. — Josephus makes Antiochus himself to be present at this execution, and confounds what was now done by Apollonius with what he

himself did in his own person two years before: but the books of the Maccabees rightly distinguished these two actions as done at two different times, the one by Antiochus himself after his second expedition into Egypt, and the other by Apollonius his lieutenant, sent by him for this purpose on his return from his fourth and last expedition into that country two years after, and hereby both are put in their true light.

Exact date of the desolation of Jerusalem. — This was done about the time of the year in which our Whitsuntide now falls. Livy tells us, that Antiochus made this his last expedition into Egypt primo vere, i. e. in the first beginning of the spring; and that the Roman ambassadors met him before he could in that march reach Alexandria, which could not be above a month or six weeks after his first entering into that country in this expedition; and immediately on his meeting those ambassadors, he was forced to march back again, and in that march might reach Palestine about the end of May; and then Apollonius being sent with his commission for the desolating of the city and temple of Jerusalem, there executed it, as above related, in the beginning of June following. For that desolation of the temple happened just three years and six months before it was again restored by Judas Maccabæus, as hath been already said; and therefore, that restoration having been made on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month of the Jews, called Cisleu, in the 148th year of the era of the Seleucidæ, it must follow that the time of this desolation must have been on or about the twenty-fifth day of their third month, called Sivan, in the era of the Seleucidæ 145, which answers to the era before Christ 168, under which I have placed it. And the Jewish month Sivan answering in part to the month of May, and in part to the month of June in the Julian calendar, the twenty-fifth day of that month must happen near or about the time of our Whitsuntide, as I have said; and then it was, that by the command of Antiochus, and the wicked agency of Apollonius, the daily sacrifices, whereby God was honoured every morning and evening at Jerusalem, were made to cease, and the temple turned into desolation.

Decree of Antiochus for the general establishment of the Greek worship directly aimed at the religion and nation of the Jews. — And this was not all the mischief that was done that people this year. For as soon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, he issued out a decree, that all

nations within his dominions, leaving their former rites and usages, should conform to the religion of the king, and worship the same gods, and in the same manner as he did: which, although couched in general terms, was levelled mainly against the Jews, that thereby a handle might be afforded for the further oppressing of that people; and it seems for no other end to have been extended to all the nations of the Syrian empire, but that thereby it might reach all of the Jewish worship, wherever they were dispersed among them, it being resolved by Antiochus, through the advice of Ptolemy Macron, to carry on

---

this persecution, not only against the Jews of Palestine, but against all others of that religion who were settled anywhere else within his dominions. And this indeed was most conformable to his intention, his design being to cut off all of them, wherever they were, within his reach, that would not conform to his decree, by apostatizing from their God and his law, that so he might, as far as in him lay, extinguish both the Jewish religion and the Jewish name and nation at the same time. And for the more effectual executing of this decree, he sent overseers into all the provinces of his empire, to see to the observance of it, and to instruct the people in all the rites which they were to conform to.

Samaritans readily obey the decree, and dedicate their temple on Gerizim to the Grecian Jupiter. — And all the heathen nations readily obeyed his commands herein, one sort of idolatry being to them as acceptable as another; and none did more readily run into this change than the Samaritans. As long as the Jews were in prosperity, it was their usage to challenge kindred with them, and profess themselves to be of the stock of Israel, and of the sons of Joseph. But when the Jews were under any calamity or persecution, then they would say that they had nothing to do with them, that they were of the race of the Medes and Persians (as in truth they were), and not of the Israelites, and would thus utterly disown all manner of relation to them; of which they gave a very signal instance at this time. For finding the Jews under so severe a persecution, and fearing lest they also might be involved in it, they addressed themselves to the king by a petition; wherein having set forth, that though their forefathers had

formerly, for the avoiding of frequent plagues that happened in their country, been induced to observe the sabbaths and other religious rites of the Jews, and had on Mount Gerizim a temple like theirs at Jerusalem, and therein sacrificed to a god without a name, as they did, and through the superstition of an ancient custom, they had ever since gone on in the same way, yet they were not of that nation, or were any way related to them, but were descended from the Sidonians, and were ready to conform to all the rites and usages of the Greeks, according as the king had commanded; they therefore prayed that, seeing the king had ordered the punishing of that wicked people, they might not be involved with them therein as guilty with them of the same crimes. And they further petitioned that their temple, which had hitherto been dedicated to no especial deity, might thenceforth be made the temple of the Grecian Jupiter, and be so called for the future. To which petition Antiochus having given a favourable answer, sent his order to Nicanor, the deputy-governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian Jupiter, according to their desire, and no more to give them any molestation.

Apostasy of many of the Jews. — And the Samaritans were not the only apostates that forsook their God and his law on this trial. Many

---

of the Jews, either to avoid the persecution, or to curry favour with the king and his officers by their compliance, or else out of their own wicked inclinations, did the same thing. And there were hereon great fallings away in Israel, and many of those who were guilty herein, joining with the king's forces then in the land, became much bitterer enemies to their brethren than any of the heathen themselves, who were sent of purpose to persecute them.

Mission of Athenæus to Jerusalem to change the Jewish religion. — The overseer, who was sent to see this decree of the king's executed in Judæa and Samaria, was one Athenæus, an old man, who, being well versed in all the rites of the Grecian idolatry, was thought a very proper person to initiate those people into the observance of them. On his coming to Jerusalem, and there executing his commission, all sacrifices to the God of Israel were made to cease, all the observances of the Jewish religion were

suppressed, the temple itself was polluted, and made unfit for God's worship, their sabbaths and festivals were profaned, their children forbidden to be circumcised, and their law, wherever it could be found, was taken away or destroyed, and the ordinances which God commanded them were wholly suppressed throughout the land, and every one was put to death that was discovered in any of these particulars to have acted against what the king had decreed. The Syrian soldiers under this overseer were the chief missionaries, and by them this conversion of the Jews to the king's religion was effected in the same manner as a late neighbouring prince converted his Protestant subjects to the idolatrous superstition of Rome, which falls very little short of being altogether as bad. Having thus expelled the Jewish worship out of the temple, they introduced thither the heathen in its stead, and consecrating it to the chief of their false gods, called it the temple of Jupiter Olympius; and having erected his image upon one part of the altar of holocaust, that stood in the inner court of the temple, upon another part of it, just before that image, they built another lesser altar, whereon they sacrificed to him. This was done on the fifteenth day of the Jewish month Cisleu, which answers in part to November and in part to December in our calendar; and on the twenty-fifth day of the same month they there began their sacrifices to him. And they did the same to the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, consecrating it to the same Grecian god Jupiter, by the name of Jupiter the Protector of Strangers. That it was the request of the Samaritans themselves to have their temple consecrated to the Grecian Jupiter hath been already shown; and it was also at their desire that it was consecrated to him under this additional title of Protector of Strangers, that thereby it might be expressed, that they were strangers in that land, and not of the race of Israel, who were the old inhabitants of it.

Cruel persecution of the Jews. — And whereas two women were found at Jerusalem to have circumcised their male children, of which

---

they had been lately delivered, they hanged those children about their necks, and having led them in this manner through the city, cast them headlong over the steepest part of the walls, and also slew all those who had been accessary with them in the performance of this forbidden rite. And

with the same severity they treated all others who were found in the practice of any one of their former religious usages, contrary to what the king had commanded. And the more to propagate among the people that heathen worship which was enjoined, and to bring all to conform thereto, they did set up altars, groves, and chapels of idols in every city; and officers were sent to them, who on the day of the king's birth, in every month, forced all to offer sacrifices to the Grecian gods, and eat of the flesh of swine, and other unclean beasts then sacrificed to them. And when the feast of Bacchus the god of drunkenness came, and processions were made as usual among the heathen Greeks, to the honour of that abominable deity, the Jews were forced to join therein, and carry ivy, as the rest of the heathens did, according to the idolatrous usage of the day.

Zealous opposition of Mattathias the priest to the Syrian commissioner: slays an apostate Jew. — When these officers were thus sent to make all Judæa conform to the king's religion and sacrifice to his gods, one of them, called Apelles, came to Modin, where dwelt Mattathias a priest of the course of Joarib, a very honourable person, and one truly zealous for the law of his God. He was the son of John, the son of Simon, the son of Asmonæus, from whom the family had the name of Asmonæans, and he had with him five sons, all very valiant men, and equally with himself zealous observers of the law of their God; Johanan called Kaddis, Simon called Thassi, Judas called Maccabæus, Eleazar called Avaran, and Jonathan, whose surname was Apphus. Apelles on his coming to this city having called the people together, and declared unto them for what intent he was come, addressed himself in the first place to Mattathias, to persuade him to comply with the king's commands, that, by the example of so honourable and great a man, all the rest of the people of the place might be induced to do the same; promising him, that thereon he should be taken into the number of the king's friends, and he and his sons should be promoted to honour and riches. To this Mattathias answered with a loud voice, in the hearing of all the people of the place, that no consideration whatsoever should induce him, or any of his family, ever to forsake the law of their God; but that they would still walk in the covenant which He had made with their forefathers, and observe all the ordinances of it, and that no commands of the king should make any of them to depart herefrom. And

when he had said thus much, seeing one of the Jews of the place presenting himself at the heathen altar which was there erected, to sacrifice on it, according to the king's commands, he was moved hereat with a religious zeal like that of Phinehas, and ran

---

upon the apostate and slew him; and then, in the heat of his wrath, fell also on the king's commissioner, and, by the assistance of his sons and others that joined with them, slew him and all that attended him.

Mattathias and his followers retreat to the mountains: resolve to defend themselves against the enemy on the sabbath day. — After this, getting together all of his family, and calling all others to follow who were zealous for the law, Mattathias retired with them to the mountains; and many others followed the same example, whereby the deserts of Judæa became filled with those who fled from this persecution. One company of them, to the number of one thousand persons, being gotten into a cave in the desert that lay nearest to Jerusalem, Philip the Phrygian, whom Antiochus had left governor of Judæa and Jerusalem on his last being there, went out against them with his forces. At first he endeavoured to persuade them to a submission to the king's commands, promising them on this condition a thorough impunity for what was past: but they all resolutely answering, that they would rather die than forsake the law of their God, he thereon laid siege to the cave which they had possessed themselves of, omitting all other hostilities till the next sabbath, expecting then to master them without resistance; and so it accordingly happened: for they then refusing, out of an over-scrupulous zeal for the observance of that day, to do anything for their own defence when fallen on by the enemy, were all cut off, men, women, and children, without one being spared of the whole company. Mattathias and his followers being much grieved at the hearing of this, and considering that, if they should follow the same example, they must all of them in the same manner be destroyed, on full debate had among them of the matter, they all came into this resolution, that the law of the sabbath in such a case of necessity did not bind; and therefore they unanimously decreed, that whenever they should be assaulted on the sabbath-day they would fight for their lives, and that it was lawful for them

so to do: and having ratified this decree by the consent of all the priests and elders among them, they sent it to all others who stood out in the observance of the law, wherever dispersed through the land; by whom it being received with the like consent and approbation, it was made their rule in all the wars which they afterwards waged against any of their enemies.

Antiochus visits Jerusalem to enforce the execution of his decree, 167. — Antiochus hearing that his commands did not meet with such a thorough conformity to them in Judæa as in other places, came thither in person further to enforce the observance of them; and for the accomplishing hereof, executed very great cruelties on all non-apostatizing Jews that fell into his hands, hoping thereby to terrify all the rest into a compliance; and on this occasion happened the martyrdom of Eleazar, and of the mother and her seven sons, which we have described to us by the author of the Second Book of the Maccabees, and by Josephus, by both of which a full account having been given of this matter, especially by the latter, who hath written a book particularly hereof, I

---

refer the reader to them. Rufinus, in his Latin paraphrase of this book of Josephus concerning the Maccabees, gives us the names of the seven brothers and their mother, and tells us that as well they as Eleazar were carried from Judæa to Antioch, and that it was there that they were judged by Antiochus, but without any authority that we know of for either, except his own invention. The reason of the thing, as well as the tenor of the history, which is given us of it by both the authors I have mentioned, make it much more likely that Jerusalem, and not Antioch, was made the scene of this cruelty; and that especially, since it being designed for an example of terror unto the Jews of Judæa, it would have lost its force if executed anywhere else than in that country.

Mattathias and the Jewish party increase in strength: character of the Asidæans. — In the interim Mattathias and his company lay close in the fastnesses of the mountains, where no easy access could be made to them; and as soon as Antiochus was again returned to Antioch, great numbers of such as were adherents to the law there resorted to him to fight

for the law of their God and the liberties of their country. Among these there were a company of Asidæans, men mighty in valour, and of great zeal for the law, as having voluntarily devoted themselves to a more rigid observation of it than other men, from whence they had the name of Chasidim, or Asidæans. For after the settling of the Jewish church again in Judæa, on their return from the Babylonish captivity, there were two sorts of men among the members of it: the one who contented themselves with that only which was written in the law of Moses, and these were called zadikim, i. e. the righteous; and the other, who, over and above the law, superadded the constitutions and traditions of the elders, and other rigorous observances, which, by way of supererogation, they voluntarily devoted themselves to; and these, being reckoned in a degree of holiness above the others, were called chasidim, i. e. the pious. From the former of them were derived the sects of the Samaritans, Sadducees, and Karaïtes, and from the latter the Pharisees and the Essenes; of all which a fuller account will be given in the place proper for it. Of these Chasidim were those Asidæans (or Chasidæans, for so it ought to be written) who joined Mattathias on this occasion, and he was much strengthened by them for to fight zealously for their religion, and the defence of the temple and its worship, was one of those main points of piety which they had devoted themselves to.

Mattathias takes the field: restoration of the synagogue service, and introduction of a second lesson from the prophets. — Mattathias, having thus gotten such a company together as made the appearance of a small army, came out of his fastnesses, and took the field with them; and going round the cities of Judah, he pulled down the heathen altars, caused all male children whom he found anywhere without circumcision to be circumcised,

---

cut off all apostates that fell into his hands, and destroyed all the persecutors wherever he came. And thus going on, he prospered in the work of purging the land of the idolatry which the persecutors had imposed upon it, and again reëstablished the true worship of God in its former state in all places where he prevailed. For having recovered several copies of the law out of the hands of the heathen, he restored the service of the synagogue, and

caused it again to be read therein, as before used to be done. When Antiochus issued out his decree for the suppressing of the Jewish religion, one main instruction given his agents for this purpose was, everywhere to take away and suppress the law of Moses: for that being the rule of their religion, were that taken away, he thought the religion itself must necessarily cease with it. And therefore orders were issued out, commanding all that had any copies of the law to deliver them up; and the punishment of death was severely inflicted upon all who were afterwards found retaining any of them. And by these means the persecutors got into their hands all the copies of the law which were in the land, excepting only such as those who fled into the deserts carried with them thither. For all others were forced to deliver them up unto them; and when they had gotten them, some they destroyed, and the other which they thought fit to preserve they polluted by painting on them the pictures of their gods, that so they might no more be of use to any true Israelite: for their pictures were forbidden by the law of God as much as their images, and to have either of them was equally esteemed an abomination among that people. But this order of persecution extending only to the five books of Moses, and not to the writings of the prophets, those who persisted still in the Jewish worship, instead of the lessons which had hitherto from the time of Ezra been read out of the law on every sabbath, did read like portions out of the prophets; and upon this occasion the public reading of the prophets was first introduced into their synagogues; and it being thus introduced, it continued there ever after. And therefore when the persecution was over, and the reading of the law was again restored in their synagogues, the prophets were also there read with it; and instead of the one lesson which was there read before, they thenceforth had two, the first out of the law, and the second out of the prophets, as hath been already observed in the first part of this History. All those copies of the law which the heathens had gotten into their hands on this occasion, and had not destroyed, Mattathias, wherever he came, made diligent search for, and thereby recovered several of them. Those which the heathen had not polluted were restored to their pristine use; the others might serve for the writing out of other copies by them, but were judged unfit for all other uses, by reason of the idol pictures painted on them; the Jews being as scrupulous of avoiding all appearances of

idolatry after the Babylonish captivity, as they were prone to run into it before.

---

161 [B. C. 166.] ASMONEAN PRINCES—JUDAS MACCABEUS.

Death of Mattathias, 166.—But Mattathias, being very aged, was soon worn out with the fatigues of this warfare, and therefore died the next year after he had first entered on it. The author of the First Book of the Maccabees placeth his death in the 146th year of the kingdom of the Greeks, that is, of the era of the Seleucidæ, the latter end of which was the beginning of the 166th Julian year before Christ. For the Julian year beginning from the first of January, and the years of the era of the Seleucidæ, according to the First Book of the Maccabees, from the first of Nisan, which fell in our March, the months intervening were in the latter end of the one, and in the beginning of the other. Before his death, he called his five sons together; and having exhorted them to stand up valiantly for the law of God, and with a steady constancy and courage to fight the battles of Israel against their present persecutors, he appointed Judas to be their captain in his stead, and Simon to be their counsellor; and then giving up the ghost, was buried at Modin, in the sepulchres of his forefathers, and great lamentation was made for him by all the faithful in Israel.

II. JEWISH WAR UNDER JUDAS MACCABÆUS TILL THE DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, B. C. 166—164.

Kings of Syria—Antiochus Epiphanes, 175.

Kings of Egypt—Ptolemy VI. Philometor, 180.

High priests of the Jews—Menelaus, 172.

Judas Maccabæus succeeds to the command of the Jewish forces, 166. —But the loss of Mattathias was sufficiently compensated by the succession of Judas Maccabæus his son in the same station. For as soon as his father's funeral was over, he stood up in his stead; and, according as

appointed by him, took on him the chief command of those forces which he had with him at his death; and his brothers, and all others that were zealous for the law, resorted to him till they had made up the number of an army: whereon he erected his standard, and led them forth under it to fight the battles of Israel against their common enemies, the heathens that oppressed them.

Origin of the name of Maccabees.—The motto on the standard of Judas being this Hebrew sentence, taken out of Exodus xv. 11: Mi Camo-ka Baelim Jehovah, i. e. "Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah?" and it not being wrote thereon in words at length, but by an abbreviation formed by the initial letters of these words put together, which made the artificial word Maccabi, hence all that fought under that standard were called Maccabees, or Maccabeans; and he, in an especial manner, had that name above the rest by way of eminence, who was the captain of them; and thus to abbreviate sentences and names of many words, by putting together the initial letters of those words, and making out of them an artificial word to express the whole, hath been a common practice among the Jews.

Thus among them Rambam is the name of Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon, and Ralbag is the name of Rabbi Levi Ben Gerson, because the initial letters of the four words of which these names do consist, when put together, make these artificial words; and it is common to call these persons by them. And abbreviations made this way, both of whole sentences as well as of names, do so frequently occur in all their books, that there is no understanding of them without a key to explain these abbreviations by; and therefore Buxtorf, for the help of students in the Hebrew learning, hath written a book of purpose to explain these abbreviations, which is entitled De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis, wherein hundreds of instances may be seen of this kind. Rufinus, having given names to the seven brothers that suffered martyrdom together under Antiochus, as hath been above mentioned, calls the eldest of them Maccabæus; and therefore from him some would derive this name of the Maccabees to all that are called by it; but with how little authority Rufinus gives to those brothers the names which he mentions hath been already observed. It is most probable this name had no other original

than that which I have mentioned. But in its use it did not rest only on those to whom it was first given. For not only Judas and his brethren were called Maccabees, but the name was extended in after-times to all those who joined with them in the same cause; and not only to them, but also to all others who suffered in the like cause under any of the Grecian kings, whether of Syria or Egypt, although some of them lived long before them. For those who suffered under Ptolemy Philopator at Alexandria, fifty years before, were afterwards called Maccabees; and so were Eleazar, and the mother and her seven sons, though they suffered before Judas erected his standard with the motto above mentioned. And therefore, as those books which give us the history of Judas and his brothers, and their wars against the Syrian kings, in defence of their religion and their liberties, are called the First and Second Book of the Maccabees; so that book which gives us the history of those who, in the like cause, under Ptolemy Philopator, were exposed to his elephants at Alexandria, is called the Third Book of the Maccabees; and that which is written by Josephus of the martyrdom of Eleazar, and the seven brothers and their mother, is called the Fourth Book of the Maccabees. Of the two latter I have already given an account. The two others are those which we have in our Bibles among the Apocrypha.

First Book of the Maccabees: its history and character.—The first of them, which is a very accurate and excellent history, and comes the nearest to the style and manner of the sacred historical writings of any extant, was written originally in the Chaldee language of the Jerusalem dialect, which was the language spoken in Judæa from the return of the Jews thither from the Babylonish captivity. And it was extant in this language in the time of Jerome, for he tells us that he had seen it. The title which it then bore was Sharbit Sar Bene El, i.e. The

---

sceptre of the prince of the sons of God; a title which well suited Judas, who was so valiant a commander of God's people then under persecution. The author of it, some conjecture, was John Hyrcanus the son of Simon, who was prince and high priest of the Jews near thirty years, and began his government at the time where this history ends. It is most likely it was composed in his time, when those wars of the Maccabees were over, either

by him, or else by some others employed by him. For it reacheth no further than where his government begins; and therefore, in the time immediately following it seems most likely to have been composed; and public records being made use of and referred to in this history, this makes it very probable that it was composed under the direction of some public authority. From the Chaldee it was translated into Greek, and after that a translation was made of it from the Greek into Latin; and we have our English version from the same Greek fountain. Theodotion is conjectured to have first translated it into Greek; but it seems most probable that this version was ancienter, because of the use made of it by authors as ancient, as by Tertullian, Origen, and others.

Second Book of the Maccabees: its history and character.—The Second Book of the Maccabees consists of several pieces compiled together; by what author is utterly uncertain. It begins with two epistles sent from the Jews of Jerusalem to the Jews of Alexandria and Egypt, to exhort them to the observing of the feast of the dedication of the new altar erected by Judas, on his purifying of the temple, which was celebrated on the twenty-fifth day of their month Cisleu. The first of them was written in the 169th year of the era of the Seleucidæ (i. e. in the year before Christ 144), and beginning at the first verse of the first chapter, endeth at the ninth verse of the same chapter inclusively. And the second was written in the 188th year of the same era (i. e. in the year before Christ 125), and beginning at the tenth verse of the same chapter, endeth with the eighteenth verse of the second chapter. Both these epistles seem to be spurious, wherever the compiler of this book picked them up. The first of them calls the feast of the dedication, Σκηνοπηγία ἐν Κασελεύ, that is, "the feast of making tabernacles, or booths, in Cisleu," which is very improper. For although they might, during that solemnity, carry some winter-greens in their hands to express their rejoicing, yet they could not then make such booths as in the feast of tabernacles; because the month Cisleu falling in the middle of winter, they could not then lie abroad in such booths, nor find green boughs enough to make them. And as to the second epistle, it is not only written in the name of Judas Maccabæus, who was slain thirty-six years before, but also contains such fabulous and absurd stuff, as could never have been written by the great council of the Jews assembled at Jerusalem for the

whole nation, as this pretends to be. What followeth after this last epistle to the end of the chapter is the preface of the author to his abridgment of his history of Jason, which, beginning from the first verse of the third chapter, is carried on to the end of the thirty-seventh verse of the last chapter; and the two next verses that follow to the end are the author's conclusion of the whole work. This

---

Jason, the abridgment of whose history makes the main of this book, was an Hellenist Jew of Cyrene, of the race of those Jews whom Ptolemy Soter sent thither, as hath been afore related. He wrote in Greek the history of Judas Maccabæus and his brethren, and of the purification of the temple at Jerusalem, and the dedication of the altar, and the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes and Eupator his son, in five books. These five books the author abridged, and of this abridgment and the other particulars above mentioned compiled the whole book in the same Greek language; and this proves that author to have been an Hellenist also, and most likely he was of Alexandria; which one expression in the book, and there more than once occurring, seems very strongly to prove. For there, in speaking of the temple of Jerusalem, he calls it the great temple, which cannot there be understood to be said otherwise than by way of contradistinction from another temple which was lesser; and that could be none other but the temple built in Egypt by Onias, which will be hereafter spoken of. This the Jews of Egypt did acknowledge as a daughter temple to that of Jerusalem, still retaining the prime honour to that as the mother temple; and therefore very properly the temple at Jerusalem might be called the great temple by them, in that they had a lesser, but not by any other Jews. For none others of them acknowledged this temple in Egypt at all, or any other but that at Jerusalem only, but looked on all those as schismatics that sacrificed anywhere else. And therefore none but an Egyptian Jew, who acknowledged the lesser temple in Egypt, as well as the greater temple at Jerusalem, could thus express himself as is above mentioned; and consequently none but an Egyptian Jew could be the author of this book. And of all the Egyptian Jews, the Alexandrian being the most polite and learned, this makes it most likely that there this book was composed. But this Second Book of the

Maccabees doth by no means equal the accurateness and excellency of the First. There are, in the Polyglot Bibles both of Paris and London, Syriac versions of both these books, but they are both of them of a later date, and made from the Greek, though they are observed in some places to differ from it. And from the same Greek are also made the English versions of both these books, which we have among the apocryphal writers in our Bibles.

Antiochus Epiphanes celebrates games at Daphne.—Antiochus, hearing that Paulus Æmilius the Roman general, after having conquered Perseus king of Macedon, and subdued that whole realm, had celebrated games at Amphipolis, on the river Strymon in that country, in imitation hereof proposed to do the same at Daphne near Antioch; and therefore, having set a day for it, sent out emissaries into all parts to invite spectators to the place, whereby he drew great numbers thither to see the shows, which he there celebrated with great pomp and prodigious expense for several days together: through all which, to verify the character prophetically given of him by the holy prophet Daniel, he acted the part of a most vile and despicable person, agreeable to

---

what hath been afore mentioned of him, exposing himself before that numerous assembly by the meanest and most indecent actions of behaviour, to the contempt, scorn, and ridicule of all that were present; and to that degree, that several, not being able to bear the sight of so absurd and profligate a conduct, fled from his feasts to avoid it. Polybius wrote a full description of all this, and Athenæus hath copied it from him at large; and the same may be seen in epitome out of Diodorus Siculus among the Excerpta published by Valesius.

Zealous prosecution of the war against Syria by Judas Maccabæus: defeat of Apollonius.—But while Antiochus was thus playing the fool at Daphne, Judas was acting another kind of part in Judæa. For having gotten together such an army as is mentioned, he went round the cities of Judæa in the same manner as his father had begun to do, destroying everywhere all utensils and implements of idolatry, and cutting off in all

places the heathen idolaters, and all others who had apostatized to them; and hereby having delivered the true lovers of the law, wherever he came, from all those that oppressed them, for the better securing of them from all such for the future, he fortified their towns, rebuilt their fortresses, and placed strong garrisons in them for their protection and defence; and hereby made himself strong and powerful in the land. Whereon Apollonius, who was governor for Antiochus in Samaria, thinking to put a stop to his future progress, got an army together and marched against him. But Judas, having vanquished and slain him in battle, made a great slaughter of his forces, and took their spoils; among which finding the sword of Apollonius, he took it to his own use, and fought with it all his life after.

Defeat of Seron.—Seron, who was a deputy-governor of some part of Cœle-Syria under Ptolemy Macron (for this Ptolemy was then chief governor of that province), hearing of the defeat of Apollonius, got all the forces together that were under his command, and marched with them into Judæa, with hopes of revenging this blow, and gaining thereby great honour to himself, on Judas and those that followed him; but, instead hereof, he met with the same fate that Apollonius did, being vanquished by Judas, and slain in battle in the same manner as the other had been.

Antiochus Epiphanes prepares to crush the Jewish nation.—When Antiochus heard of these two defeats, he was moved with great fury and indignation; and therefore, in his rage, forthwith sent and gathered together all his forces, even a very great army, resolving in his wrath to march immediately with them into Judæa, and there utterly destroy the whole nation of the Jews, and give their land to others to be divided among them: but when he came to pay his army, he found his treasury so exhausted, that there was not money therein sufficient for it; which forced him to suspend his revenge upon the Jews for the present, and put a stop to all those violent designs which he had formed in his mind for the speedy executing of it. He had expended vast sums in his late shows, and besides he was on all occasions very magnificent and profuse

in his gifts and donatives, frequently dealing out to his followers and others vast sums with both hands, sometimes to good purpose, but oftener to none at all: which made good what the prophet Daniel foretold of him, that "he should scatter among his followers the prey, and the spoil, and riches;" and from hence he had the character of the Magnanimous, and the Munificent. For in the liberal giving of gifts, we are told in the Maccabees, that he abounded above all the kings that were before him. And besides at the same time he was further perplexed, according to the predictions of the same holy prophet, "by tidings that came to him out of the east, and out of the north, that troubled him." For in the north Artaxias king of Armenia, his tributary, had revolted from him; and in Persia, which was in the east, his taxes were not more duly paid; for there, as well as in other parts of his empire, a failure herein was caused by reason of the dissension and plague which he had brought upon them, by taking away the laws which had been of old time among them, out of a fond desire of bringing all to a uniformity with the Greeks. For had it not been for these disturbances, such payments, from so large and rich an empire, would regularly have come into his treasury, as would constantly have made amends for all his goings out of it; but when the goings out of it continued, and the flowings in failed, had his treasure been as the ocean it must have grown empty at last; and this now was his case.

Antiochus leaves an army under Lysias for the reduction of the Jews, and proceeds with a second army into Armenia and Persia.—And therefore for the remedying of this, as well as other inconveniences which then perplexed his affairs, Antiochus resolved to divide his army into two parts, and to leave one of them with Lysias, a nobleman of the royal family, to subdue the Jews, and with the other to march himself, first into Armenia, and afterwards into Persia, for the restoring of his affairs in those countries. And accordingly, having left the same Lysias governor of all that part of his empire which lay on this side of the Euphrates, and committed to his care the breeding up of his son, who was then a minor but of seven years old; he passed over Mount Taurus into Armenia, and having vanquished Artaxias, and taken him prisoner, marched thence into Persia, hoping that by taking the tribute of that rich country and the other provinces of the East, for which they were in arrear to him, he should gather money sufficient wherewith to

repair all the deficiencies of his treasury, and thereby restore all his other affairs to their former order and prosperity.

Syrian invasion of Judæa under Nicanor and Gorgias.—While Antiochus was on these projects abroad, Lysias was intent on the executing

---

of his orders at home, especially in reference to the Jews; concerning whom the king's command left with him was, utterly to extirpate that people out of their country, and to place strangers in all its quarters, and divide the land by lot among them. And the progress which Judas made with his forces, in bringing all places under him wherever he came, hastened Lysias to a speedy execution of what the king had commanded in reference to them. For Philip, whom Antiochus had left at Jerusalem in the government of Judæa, seeing how Judas grew and increased, wrote hereof to Ptolemy Macron, then governor of the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, to which the government of Judæa was an appendant, pressing him to a speedy care of the king's interest in this matter, and Ptolemy communicated it to Lysias: whereon it being resolved forthwith to send an army into Judæa, Ptolemy Macron was appointed to have the chief conduct of the war; who choosing Nicanor, one of his especial friends, for his lieutenant, sent him before with twenty thousand men, joining with him Gorgias, an old soldier greatly experienced in matters of war, for his assistant. These, having entered the country, were speedily followed thither by Ptolemy, with the rest of the forces designed for this expedition; which, when all joined together, encamped at Emmaus, near Jerusalem, and there made up an army of forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse; and thither resorted to them another army of merchants, for the buying of the captives which they reckoned would be taken in this war. For Nicanor, proposing to raise great sums of money this way, even as much as would be sufficient to pay the debt of two thousand talents which the king then owed the Romans for arrear of tribute due to them by the treaty of peace made with them by his father after the battle of Mount Sipylus, he caused the sale to be proclaimed in all the neighbouring countries, promising to sell no fewer than ninety Jews for every talent. For it was resolved to slay all the full-grown men, and sell all the rest for slaves; and one hundred and eighty thousand of the latter,

at the price promised, would raise the sum proposed. Hereon the merchants, promising themselves great gains from so cheap a market, flocked thither with their silver and gold in great numbers, they being no fewer than one thousand principal merchants that came to the Syrian camp on this occasion, besides a much greater number of servants and assistants, whom they brought thither with them, to help them in carrying off the slaves they should purchase.

Glorious victory of Judas Maccabæus.—Judas and his brethren, seeing the great danger which they were threatened with from this numerous army (for they knew that they came with orders to destroy and utterly abolish the whole Jewish nation), resolved to stand to their defence, and fight for their lives, their law, and their liberties, and either conquer or die in the attempt. And six thousand men being gathered together after them for this intent, Judas divided them into four bands,

---

each consisting of one thousand five hundred men; one of these Judas himself took the command of, and committed that of the other three to three of his brothers, and then led them all to Mizpa, there to offer up their prayers to God for his merciful assistance to them in the time of this great danger. For Jerusalem being at that time in the hands of the heathens, and the sanctuary trodden under foot, they could not assemble there for this purpose; and therefore Mizpa being the place where men prayed aforetime in Israel, there they met together, and addressed themselves to God in solemn fasting and prayer, for the imploring of his mercy upon them in this their great distress, and then marched forth to fight the enemy. But when proclamation was made according to the law, that all such as had that year built houses, betrothed wives, or planted vineyards, or were fearful, should depart, the six thousand men, which Judas had at first, were reduced to three thousand. However, that valiant captain of God's people, resolving even with these to fight this numerous army, and commit the event to God, led forth this small company into the field, and pitched his camp very near that of the enemy; and there having encouraged them with what was proper to be spoken to them on such an occasion, did let them know that he purposed the next morning to join battle with the Syrians, and ordered them

to provide for it accordingly. But having gotten intelligence that evening that Gorgias was marched out of the Syrian camp, with five thousand chosen foot and one thousand of their best horse, and was leading them through by-ways, under the guidance of some apostate Jews, upon a design of falling on him in the night for the cutting of him off, and all there with him, by a sudden surprise, he contermined his plot by another of the same kind, and executed it with much better success. For immediately quitting his camp, and leaving it quite empty, he marched towards that of the enemy, and fell upon them, while Gorgias was absent on his night project with their best men, by which they being surprised and put into great confusion, soon fled, and left Judas master of their camp, and three thousand of their men dead upon the spot. But Gorgias and his detachment being still entire, Judas withheld his men from the spoil and the pursuit till these were also vanquished, and this was done without any further fighting. For Gorgias, after having in vain sought for Judas in his camp, and also in the mountains where he thought him fled, returning back, and finding on his return the camp on fire, and the main army broken and fled, he could no longer keep his men together, but they all flung down their arms and fled also; whereon Judas with all his men put himself on the pursuit, and therein slew great numbers more of the Syrian host, so that the slain in the whole amounted to nine thousand men; and most of the rest were sore wounded and maimed that escaped from the battle. After this Judas led back his men to take the spoils of the camp, where they found great riches, and got all that money for a prey which the merchants brought thither to buy them with, and several of them they sold for slaves who came thither, as to a market, to have bought them for such. And the next

---

day after being their sabbath, they solemnized it with great devotion, rejoicing and giving praise to God, for this great and merciful deliverance which he had now given unto them.

Second Syrian invasion of Judæa under Timotheus and Bacchides: defeated by Judas.—Judas and his followers, being flushed with this victory, and being also by the reputation of it much increased in their strength, through the numbers of those that resorted to them hereon,

resolved to pursue the advantage they had gotten for the suppressing of all other their enemies; and therefore, understanding that Timotheus, governor of the country beyond Jordan, and Bacchides, another of Antiochus's lieutenants in those parts, were drawing forces together to annoy them, they marched forthwith against them, and having overthrown them in a great battle, slew above twenty thousand of their men; and having taken their spoils, they thereby not only enriched themselves, but also got provisions of arms and many other necessaries for the future carrying on of the war. And in this victory they had the satisfaction of executing their just revenge on two very signal enemies of theirs; the one called Philarches, who with Timotheus had done them much mischief, and the other Callisthenes, who was the person that put fire to the gates of the temple, whereby they were burnt down. The first they slew in battle, and the other being driven in the pursuit into a little house, they set it on fire over his head, and there made him die in it such a death as well suited the crime whereby he deserved it. And as to Nicanor, though he escaped with life, yet it was in a very ignominious manner. For, finding the army broken, and the expedition thereby defeated, he changed his glorious apparel for that of a servant, and in this disguise made his escape through the midland to Antioch, where he was in great dishonour and disgrace by reason of his miscarriage in this enterprise, and losing thereby so great an army. For the excusing of himself in this case, he was forced to acknowledge the great power of the God of Israel; alleging, that he fought for his people, because they kept his law; and that as long as they did so, they would always have him for their protector, and no hurt could be done unto them. It is most likely Ptolemy Macron was not present in any of these battles, there being no mention made of him in any of them. Perchance the affairs of Syria, of which he was governor, then kept him otherwise employed; and therefore though he came at first to the camp at Emmaus, yet he was not present when the battle was there fought with Judas, but left it wholly to be conducted by Nicanor his deputy. And therefore the whole of it is in the history attributed to Nicanor, without naming Ptolemy at all, unless only in the first appointment of that expedition.

Third Syrian invasion under Lysias: defeated by Judas, 165.—Lysias, on the hearing of the ill success of the king's army in Judea, and the great

losses sustained thereby, was much confounded at it. But knowing how earnest the king's commands were for the executing of his wrath upon that people, he made great preparations for another expedition against them; and having gotten together an army of sixty thousand foot and five thousand horse, all choice men, he put himself at

---

the head of them, and marched with them in person into Judea, purposing no less than the utter destruction of that country and all the inhabitants of it. With this design being entered into it, he pitched his camp at Bethsura, a town lying to the south of Jerusalem, near the confines of Idumea. There Judas met him with ten thousand men; and having, through his great confidence in God's assistance, with this much inferior force engaged the numerous army of Lysias, and having slain five thousand of them, he put all the rest to flight; whereby Lysias being much dismayed, and also equally astonished at the valour of Judas's soldiers, who fought as men ready prepared either to live or die valiantly, returned with his baffled army to Antioch, purposing to come again with greater force against them another year.

Solemn purification of the temple at Jerusalem.—Upon this retreat of Lysias, Judas, being left master of the country, proposed to his followers their going up to Jerusalem for the recovery of the sanctuary out of the hands of the heathen, and to cleanse and dedicate it anew for the service of the Lord their God, that his worship might be there again restored, and daily carried on as in former times: to which all consenting, he led them up thither, where they found all things in a very lamentable state; for the city was in rubbish, the sanctuary desolated, the altar profaned, the gates of the temple burnt up, shrubs were in its courts as in a forest, and the priests' chambers pulled down. At the sight hereof the whole assembly fell into great lamentation, and pressed earnestly to have all these desolations and profanations removed out of the house of God, that so his worship might be again performed in it as in former times. And accordingly in order hereto Judas having chosen priests of unblamable conversation, appointed them to the work; who, having cleansed the sanctuary, pulled down the altar which the heathen had there erected, borne out all the defiled stones of them into

an unclean place, taken down the old altar which the heathens had profaned, built a new one in its stead of unhewn stones, according to the law, and hallowed the courts, made thereby the whole temple in all things again fit for its former service. But whereas Antiochus had, in his sacrilegious pillage of it, taken away the golden altar of incense, the shew-bread table, which was all overlaid with gold, and the golden candlestick (which all three stood in the holy place), and had also robbed it of all its other vessels and utensils, and the service of the temple could not be perfectly performed without them, Judas took care that all these defects should be supplied. For out of the spoils which he had taken from the enemy, he caused to be made a new altar of incense, and a new candlestick all of gold, and a new shew-bread table all overlaid with gold, all three formed in the same manner as they were before. And by his care, all other vessels and utensils, both of gold and silver, that were necessary for the divine service, were again provided, and a new veil was also made to separate between the holy place and the Holy of Holies, and there hung in its proper place. And when all these things were made ready, and all placed according to their former order, each in the particular place, and each for the particular use which they were ordained for, a new dedication of

---

the altar was resolved on. The day appointed for it was the twenty-fifth day of their ninth month, called Cisleu, which fell about the time of the winter solstice. This was the very same day of the year on which, three years before, it had been profaned in the manner as above related, just three years and a half after the city and temple had been desolated by Apollonius, and two years after Judas had taken on him the chief command of the Jews, on his father's death. They began the day early by offering sacrifices, according to the law, upon the new altar which they had made, having first struck fire for it by dashing two flints against each other, and from the same fire having lighted the seven lamps on the golden candlestick that stood in the holy place, beside the altar of incense, they went on in all the other service, restoring it according to their former rule, in all the particulars of the divine worship which were there used to be performed; and so it continued to be there ever after celebrated, without any other interruption, till the Romans

finally destroyed the temple, and thereby put an end to all the ritual worship of that place.

Feast of Dedication instituted.—The solemnity of this dedication was continued for eight days together, which they celebrated with great joy and thanksgiving for the deliverance which God had given unto them. And for the more solemn acknowledgment hereof, they decreed the like festival to be ever after annually kept in commemoration of it. This was called the feast of dedication. It began every year on the said twenty-fifth day of Cisleu, and was continued to the eighth day after, in the same manner as were the passover and the feast of tabernacles; during all which time they all illuminated their houses by setting up of candles at every man's door; from whence it was called the feast of lights.

Institution of festival days, though without a divine command, sanctioned by Christ.—This festival Christ honoured with his presence at Jerusalem, coming thither on purpose to bear a part in the solemnizing of it, which implies his approbation of it; and therefore from hence Grotius very justly infers, that festival days in memorial of public blessings may piously be instituted by persons in authority without a divine command, or (it may be added) the example of a person divinely directed observing the same. For the institution of this festival was without either, there being neither any divine precept, nor the example of any prophet, for the observance of it. Neither can it be said that it was the feast of any other dedication that Christ was present at, save this only, which was instituted by Judas Maccabæus. As to the two former dedications of the temple which were had before, first, that of

---

Solomon, and afterwards that of Zerubbabel, though they were very solemnly celebrated at the time on which they were performed, yet there was no anniversary feast in commemoration of either of them celebrated afterwards, as there was of this of Judas Maccabæus. And if there had, yet the text in the Gospel clearly pins down the dedication mentioned in it to the dedication of Judas only: for it tells us, that the time of its celebration was in the winter; which could be said only of this, and not of either of the

other two: for that of Solomon was in the seventh month, then called Ethanim, afterwards Tizri, which fell about the time of the autumnal equinox; and that of Zerubbabel was in their twelfth month, called Adar, which fell in the beginning of the spring; but that of Judas Maccabæus being on the twenty-fifth day of the month Cisleu, which fell in the middle of winter, this plainly demonstrates that the feast of dedication, which Christ was present at in Jerusalem, could be no other feast than that which was celebrated in commemoration of the dedication performed by Judas Maccabæus, and instituted by him for this purpose.

Preservation of the stones of the polluted altar.—While the old altar, which the heathen had polluted, was pulled down, a dispute arose how the stones of it were to be disposed of. The heathens having sacrificed on this altar to their idol gods, and some of those sacrifices having been of unclean beasts, the worshippers of the true God then looked on it, and all the stones of which it was built, as doubly polluted hereby, and therefore no more to be made use of in his service; and on the other side, they having been for many ages sanctified by the sacrifices which had been offered thereon to the true God, they were afraid, after this, of applying them to any profane or common use. And therefore, being in this doubt, they resolved to lay up these stones in some convenient place within the mountain of the house, till there should a prophet arise who should show them what was to be done with them; so scrupulous were they in this case. The place in which, according to the Mishnah, those stones were laid up, was one of the four closets of the bethmoked, or the common fire-room of the priests attending the service, that is, that closet which lay on the north-west corner of that room. But that closet, according to the description of it in the same Mishnah, could not be large enough to hold the tenth part of those stones: I cannot take upon me to solve this difficulty.

Syrian fortress on Mount Acra still held by Syrian troops.—But though the Jews had recovered their temple, and restored it again to its former sacred use, yet still there remained one great thorn in their sides; for the fortress was still in the hands of the enemy, and strongly garrisoned by them, partly with heathen soldiers, and partly with apostate Jews, which were the worst of the two; from whence they much annoyed those that went

up to the temple to worship, often sallying from thence upon them, and slaying several of them. This fortress was

---

built by Apollonius when he sacked and destroyed Jerusalem, as hath been above related, and stood upon an eminence over against the mountain of the temple; for which reason the place was called Mount Acra, from the Greek word ἄκρα, which signifieth an eminence or fortress on the top of a hill; which eminence overtopping the mountain of the temple, as being then the higher of the two, had thereby the command of it, which gave the soldiers there in garrison the advantage which I have mentioned, of annoying all those who went up thither to worship. For the preventing of this, Judas at first appointed part of his army to shut them up within their fortress, and to fight against all such as should sally out of it upon any of the people. But finding he could not spare so many of his men as were necessary for this blockade, he caused the mountain of the house to be fortified with strong walls and high towers built round about it, and placed there a strong garrison to defend it, and secure those that went up thither to worship from all future insults that might be made upon them, either from the fortress or any other place.

Bethsura fortified by the Jews against the Idumeans: distinction between the elder and the later Idumea.—And whereas the Idumeans were at that time great enemies to the Jews, to secure Jerusalem from all insults from that quarter, Judas fortified Bethsura to be a barrier against them. I have formerly shown that the Idumea or land of Edom in which those people now dwelt, was not the Idumea or land of Edom which is mentioned in the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Wherever this name occurs in any of those ancient holy writings, it is to be understood of that Idumæa or land of Edom only which lay between the lake of Sodom and the Red Sea, and was afterwards called Arabia Petræa; nor are any other Edomites spoken of in them than those which inhabited in that country, excepting only in one passage in the prophet Malachi. But these Edomites being driven thence by the Nabathæans, while the Jews were in the Babylonish captivity and their land lay desolate, they then took possession of as much of the southern part of it as contained what had formerly been

the whole inheritance of the tribe of Simeon, and also half of that which had been the inheritance of the tribe of Judah, and there dwelt ever after, till at length going over into the religion of the Jews, they became incorporated with them into the same nation. And this only is the Idumæa, and the inhabitants of it the only Edomites, or Idumæans, which are anywhere spoken of after the Babylonish captivity. After their coming into this country, Hebron, which had formerly been the metropolis of the tribe of Judah, thenceforth became the metropolis of Idumæa; and in the road between that and Jerusalem lay Bethsura, at the distance of five furlongs from the latter, saith the author of the

---

Second Book of Maccabees; but others put it at a much greater distance, and these seem to be nearest to the truth of the matter.

Confederacy of the surrounding nations against the Jews, 164.— When the neighbouring nations round about heard that the Jews had again recovered the city and temple of Jerusalem, new dedicated the sanctuary, erected a new altar in it, and again restored the Jewish worship in that place, they were much moved with envy and hatred against them hereon. And therefore, taking counsel together against them, resolved to act in concert for their utter extirpation, and began to execute this resolution by putting all of them to death who were found sojourning anywhere among them, purposing to join with Antiochus for the effecting of all the rest in the utter destruction of the whole race of Israel.

Horrible death of Antiochus Epiphanes.—But Antiochus dying in the interim, this broke all the measures which they had concerted together for this mischief. For on his passing into Persia to gather up the arrears of tribute which were there due to him, being told that the city of Elymais in that country was greatly renowned for its riches both of gold and silver, and that there was in it a temple of Diana, in which were vast treasures, he marched thither with intent to take the city, and spoil that and the temple in it, in the same manner as he had done at Jerusalem. But on fore-notice had of this design, the people of the country round about, as well as the inhabitants of the city, joining together in defence of their temple, beat him

off with shame and confusion; whereon he retired to Ecbatana in Media, greatly grieved for this baffle and disappointment. On his arrival thither, news came to him of what had happened to Nicanor and Timotheus in Judæa; at which being exceedingly enraged, he hastened back with all the speed he was able, to execute the utmost of his wrath upon the people of the Jews, breathing nothing else but threats of utter destruction and utter extirpation against them all the way as he went. As he was thus hastening towards the country of Babylonia, through which he was to pass in his return, he met on the road with other messengers, which brought him an account how the Jews had defeated Lysias, recovered the temple of Jerusalem, pulled down the images and altars which he had there erected, and restored that place to its former worship: at which being enraged to the utmost fury, he commanded his charioteer to double his speed, that he might be the sooner on the place to execute his revenge upon this people, threatening as he went that he would make Jerusalem a place of sepulture for the Jews, wherein he would bury the whole nation, destroying them all to a man.

But while these proud words were in his mouth, the judgments of God overtook him: for he had no sooner spoken them but he was smitten with an incurable plague, a great pain seizing his bowels, and a grievous torment following thereupon in his inward parts, which no remedy could abate. However, he would not slacken his speed; but still continuing in the same wrath, he drove on in the same haste to execute

---

it, till at length, his chariot overthrowing, he was cast to the ground with such violence that he was sorely bruised and hurt in all the members of his body; whereon he was put into a litter; but not being able long to bear that, he was forced to put in at a town called Tabæ, lying in the mountains of Parætacene, in the confines of Persia and Babylonia, and there betake himself to his bed, where he suffered horrid torments both in body and mind. For in his body a filthy ulcer broke out in his secret parts, wherein were bred an innumerable quantity of vermin continually flowing from it; and such a stench proceeded from the same, as neither those that attended him nor himself could well bear; and in this condition he lay languishing

and rotting till he died. And all this while the torments of his mind were as great as the torments of his body, caused by the reflections which he made on his former actions. Polybius tells us of this, as well as Josephus, and the authors of the First and Second Books of Maccabees; and adds hereto, that it grew so far upon him as to come to a constant delirium or state of madness, by reason of several spectres and apparitions of evil spirits, which he imagined were continually about him, reproaching and stinging his conscience with accusations of his past evil deeds which he had been guilty of. Polybius saith, this was for the sacrilegious attempt which he made upon the temple of Diana in Elymais, overlooking that which he had actually executed upon the temple at Jerusalem. Josephus reproves him for this, and with much more reason and justice lays the whole cause of his suffering in this sickness, as did also Antiochus himself, to what he did at Jerusalem and the temple of God in that place, and the horrid persecution which he thereon raised against all that worshipped him there. For the sacrilege at Elymais was only attempted; that at Jerusalem was fully committed with horrid impiety against God, and with as horrid cruelty against all those that served him there: and the former sacrilege, if it had been committed, had been only against a false deity; but the latter was against the true God, the great and almighty Creator of heaven and earth. However, it is a great confirmation of what is above related out of Josephus and the two books of the Maccabees, of the signal judgment of God which was executed upon this wicked tyrant, that Polybius, an heathen author, doth agree herein as to the matter of fact, though he differs from them in assigning a wrong cause for it. It seems Antiochus, being at length awakened by his afflictions, became himself fully sensible that all his sufferings in them were from the hand of God upon him for what he had done against the temple at Jerusalem, and his servants that worshipped him there. For he acknowledged all this before his death, with many vows of what he would do for the repairing of all the evil which he had there done, in case he should again recover. But his repentance came too late; God would not then hear him; and therefore, after having languished out a while in this miserable condition, and under these horrid torments

of body and mind, he at length, being half consumed with the rottenness of his ulcer, gave up the ghost and died, after he had reigned full eleven years. And I cannot forbear here remarking that most of the great persecutors have died the like death, by being smitten of God in the like manner in the secret parts. Thus died Herod, the great persecutor of Christ and the infants at Bethlehem; and thus died Galerius Maximianus, the author and the great prosecutor of the tenth and greatest persecution against the primitive Christians; and thus also died Philip II. king of Spain, as infamous for the cruelty of his persecution, and the numbers destroyed by it, as any of the other three. As to the manner of Herod's death, I shall have occasion to speak of it hereafter in its proper place; and as to the death of the other two, that of Galerius is described by Eusebius and Lactantius, and that of Philip II. by Mezeray, and to these authors I remit the reader for an account of them.

Sacrilege of Antiochus the Great in the temple of Belus distinct from the sacrilege of Antiochus Epiphanes in the temple of the Persian Diana.—Antiochus the Great having attempted the like sacrilege in the country of Elymais as Antiochus his son did in the city of Elymais, and perished in it, as hath been above related, this hath made some think that the parity of names hath been the cause of this parity of facts being attributed to both, and that only one of them was guilty of this sacrilegious attempt which is related of both. And on this supposition Scaliger chargeth Jerome with a blunder, for saying in his Comment on the eleventh chapter of Daniel, that Antiochus the Great, fighting against the Elymæans, was cut off by them with all his army. For he will have it that this was not true of Antiochus the Great, but only of Antiochus Epiphanes: and yet many other authors attest the same thing with Jerome, that Antiochus the Great was thus cut off in the sacrilegious attempt, and none say it of Antiochus Epiphanes; for he escaped from the battle, though he lost many of his men in it, and died afterwards: so saith Appian; and so saith Polybius, as well as Josephus, and both the authors of the First and Second Books of the Maccabees. And although both the sacrileges were attempted in the country of the Elymæans, yet it was not upon the same temple that the attempt was made. That of Antiochus the Great was upon the temple of Belus, the great god of the East, and that of Epiphanes was upon the temple of Diana; and that

there was a Persian Diana, Tacitus tells us; and that this goddess had a temple among the Elymeans is attested by Strabo, who tells us also of it, that it was very rich; for he saith, that it being afterwards plundered by one of the Parthian kings, he took from it ten thousand talents. This temple, Strabo tells us, was

---

called Azara, or rather, as Casaubon corrects it, Zara. Hence Diana was called Zaretis among the Persians.

Prophecies of Daniel concerning Antiochus Epiphanes: their division into two parts.—Antiochus Epiphanes having been a great oppressor of the church of God under the Jewish economy, and the type of antichrist, which was to oppress it in after-ages under the Christian, more is prophetically said of him in the prophecies of Daniel than of any other prince which these prophecies relate to; the better half of the eleventh chapter, that is, from the twentieth verse to the forty-fifth, which is the last of that chapter, is wholly concerning him; and there are several passages also in the eighth and twelfth chapters which relate to him. The whole may be divided into two parts, whereof the first is concerning his wars with Egypt, and the second is concerning the persecutions and oppressions brought by him upon the Jewish church and nation, and these were all fulfilled in the actions of his reign.

1st. **Prophecies referring to the wars of Antiochus in Egypt.—**And first, as to the wars of Antiochus with Egypt, what is said, chap. xi. verse 25, 40, 42, 43, was accomplished in his second expedition into that country, and the actions done by him therein which are above related. What is in the twenty-sixth verse was fulfilled by the revolt of Ptolemy Macron from king Philometor, and the treachery and maladministration of Lenæus, Eulæus, and other ministers and officers employed under him. What is in the twenty-seventh verse had its completion in the meeting of Antiochus and Philometor at Memphis, where the two kings, both in the time of the second and of the third expedition of Antiochus into Egypt, did frequently eat at the same table, and conferred together seemingly as friends; Antiochus pretending to take upon him the care of the kingdom, for the interest of

Philometor his nephew, and Philometor pretending to confide in Antiochus, as his uncle, in all that he was thus doing. But both herein spoke lies to each other; for, in reality, they both intended quite the contrary; Antiochus's design being, under the pretence above mentioned, to seize all Egypt to himself, and Philometor's to take the first opportunity to disappoint him of it, as accordingly at length he did by his agreement with his brother and the Alexandrians, as is above related. Whereon followed what is foretold in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth verses of the same chapter. For Antiochus, on his hearing of this agreement, pulled off his vizard, and openly owned his design for the usurping of Egypt to himself, and for the full executing of it "returned and came again towards the south," that is, into Egypt, in his last expedition into that country. "But he did not then prevail, as in the former and the latter" (i. e. in his two preceding attempts upon that country), because of the ships that came from Chittim (i. e. the country of the Grecians) against him, which brought Popillius Lænas and the other Roman ambassadors to Alexandria, who made him, "to his great grief, return out of Egypt," and quit all his designs upon that country. However, what is foretold in the forty-second and forty-third verses, "of his stretching forth his hand upon the land of Egypt,

---

and his having power over the treasures of gold and silver, and all other the precious things of that country," had its thorough completion; for he miserably harassed and wasted the whole land of Egypt in all his expeditions into it, carrying thence vast treasures of gold and silver, and other riches, in the prey and spoils taken in it by him and his followers. And here ended all the prophecies of Daniel which relate to the wars that were between the kings of Syria and the kings of Egypt; for in those prophecies the kings of the north were the kings of Syria, and the kings of the south the kings of Egypt, as hath been above related.

2nd. **Prophecies concerning Antiochus and the Jews.—**As to the other part of Daniel's prophecies of this king, which relate to the persecutions and oppressions that he brought upon the Jewish church and nation; what is said chap. xi. ver. 22, of the "prince of the covenant being broken before him," foreshowed what he did to Onias the high priest, who was deposed and

banished by him, and at length murdered by one of his lieutenants: for the high priest of the Jews was the prince of the Mosaic covenant. What is said in the twenty-eighth verse of "his heart being set against the holy covenant on his returning from Egypt," and "of the exploits which he did thereon," foreshowed what he did to Judah and Jerusalem on his return from his second expedition into the said country of Egypt, when, without a cause, he murdered and enslaved so many of the Jewish nation, and robbed the city and temple of Jerusalem of all their riches and treasure. What is said in the thirtieth verse foretold the "grief with which he returned" from his fourth and last expedition into Egypt, by reason of the baffle which he then met with from the Romans of all his designs upon that country, and the "indignation" and wrath which then, in his irrational fury, he vented upon the Jewish church and nation, in sending Apollonius to destroy Jerusalem, and make to cease the Jewish worship in that place. What is contained in the thirty-first verse, and those that follow to the fortieth, agreeable to what was before prophesied, chap. viii. ver. 9-12, and 23-25, foretold "his taking away the daily sacrifice," and all else that he did for the suppressing of the Jewish worship, and the destroying of the whole Jewish nation, which is above related. The forty-fourth verse and the forty-fifth of the same eleventh chapter foretold his last expedition which he made, first into Armenia, and from thence into the East, and "his there coming to an end," and perishing in that miserable manner as hath been related, having first "planted the tabernacles of his palace," that is, his absolute regal authority, "in the glorious holy mountain between the seas," that is, in Jerusalem, which stood in a mountainous situation between the Mediterranean Sea and the Sea of Sodom; for it was built in the midway betwixt both, on the mountains of Judæa.

Arguments of Porphyry against the authenticity of Daniel.—Never were any prophecies delivered more clearly, or fulfilled more exactly, than all these prophecies of Daniel were. Porphyry, who was a great enemy to the Holy Scriptures, as well of the Old Testament as of the New, acknowledged this. And therefore he contends that they were

---

historical narratives written after the facts were done, and not prophetical predictions foretelling them to come. This Porphyry was a learned heathen, born at Tyre, in the year of Christ 233, and there called Malchus; which name, on his going among the Greeks, he changed into that of Porphyry, that signifying the same in the Greek language which Malchus did in the Phœnician, the language then spoken at Tyre. He, being a bitter enemy to the Christian religion, wrote a large volume against it, containing fifteen books, whereof the twelfth was wholly against the prophecies of Daniel. These concerning the Persian kings and the Macedonian that reigned as well in Egypt as in Asia having been all, according to the best historians, exactly fulfilled, he could not disprove them by denying their completion; and therefore for the overthrowing of their authority he took the quite contrary course, and laboured to prove their truth; and from hence alleged, that being so exactly true in all particulars, they could not therefore be written by Daniel so many years before the facts were done, but by some one else under his name, who lived after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. For the making out of which his main argument was, that all contained in the prophecies of Daniel relating to the times preceding the death of Antiochus Epiphanes was true, and that all that related to the times which followed after was false. The latter proposition he belaboured, thereby to overthrow all that the Christians alleged from these prophecies for the Messiah, which he would have thought to be all false; and the other proposition he endeavoured to clear, thereby to make out that the whole book was spurious, not written by Daniel, but by some one else, after the facts therein spoken of were done, as if that could not be prophetically foretold which was so exactly fulfilled. And for this reason was it that he took upon him to prove those facts to be so exactly true, as in those prophecies contained: for which purpose he made use of the best Greek historians then extant. Such were Callinicus Sutorius, Diodorus Siculus, Hieronymus, Polybius, Posidonius, Claudius Theon, and Andronicus Alypius; and from them made evident proof that all that is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel was truly in every particular acted and done in the order as there related; and from this exactness of completion endeavoured to infer the assertion mentioned, that these prophecies were written after the facts were done, and therefore are rather historical

narratives relating things past, than prophetical predictions foreshowing things afterwards to come.

Jerome's reply to Porphyry.—But Jerome turns the argument upon him, and with more strength of reason infers, that this way of opposing these prophecies gives the greatest evidence of their truth, in that what the prophet foretold is hereby allowed to be so exactly fulfilled, that he seemed to unbelievers not to foretell things to come, but to relate things past. Jerome, in his Comments on Daniel, makes use of the

---

same authors that Porphyry did; and what is in these Comments are all the remains which we now have of this work of that learned heathen, or of most of those authors which he made use of in it. For this whole work of Porphyry is now lost, as are also most of the histories above mentioned which he quotes in it; and the histories of Callinicus Sutorius, Hieronymus, Posidonius, Claudius Theon, and Andronicus Alypius, are wholly perished; as is also the greatest part of Polybius and Diodorus Siculus. Had we all these extant, we might from them be enabled to make a much clearer and fuller explication of these prophecies, especially from Callinicus Sutorius, who lived in the time of Antoninus Pius, the Roman emperor; and having, in ten books, written a history of the affairs of Alexandria, included therein much of the Jewish transactions. And it is to be lamented that not only these authors and this work of Porphyry, in which he made so much use of them, are now lost, but that also the books of Eusebius, Apollinarius, and Methodius, which they wrote in answer to this heathen adversary, have all undergone the same fate, and are in like manner, to the great damage both of divine and human knowledge, wholly lost, excepting only some few scraps of Methodius, preserved in quotations out of him by John Damascen and Nicetas. For were these still extant, especially that of Apollinarius, who wrote with the greatest exactness of the three, no doubt much more of those authors would have been preserved in citations from them than we now have of them, there being at present no other remains of those ancient historians (excepting Polybius and Diodorus Siculus) but what we have in Jerome's Comments on Daniel, and his Proem to them.

Differences between Jerome and Porphyry in their explanations of Daniel.—Jerome and Porphyry exactly agree in their explication of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, till they come to the twenty-first verse. For what follows from thence to the end of the chapter was all explained by Porphyry to belong to Antiochus Epiphanes, and to have been all transacted in the time of his reign. But Jerome here differs from him, and saith, that most of this, as well as some parts of the eighth and twelfth chapters of the same book, relate principally to antichrist; that although some particulars in these prophecies had a typical completion in Antiochus Epiphanes, yet they were all of them wholly and ultimately to be fulfilled only in antichrist; and this, he saith, was the general sense of the Fathers of the Christian church in his time. And he explains it by a parallel taken from the seventy-first Psalm (i. e. the seventy-second, according to the Septuagint), which in some parts of it was typically true of Solomon, and therefore it is called a Psalm for Solomon, but was wholly and ultimately only so of Christ. And therefore he would have these prophecies, which are in Dan. viii. 9-12, 23-26; xi. 21-45; xii. 6-13, to be fulfilled

---

in the same manner, that is, in part and typically in Antiochus, but wholly and ultimately only in antichrist. The truth of the matter seems to be this, that as much of these prophecies as relate to the wars of the king of the north and the king of the south, that is, the king of Syria and the king of Egypt, was wholly and ultimately fulfilled in those wars: but as much of these prophecies as related to the profanation and persecution which Antiochus Epiphanes brought upon the Jewish church was all typically fulfilled in them; but they were to have their ultimate and thorough completion only in those profanations and persecutions which antichrist was to bring upon the church of Christ in after-times.

Profanation of the temple at Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes typical of antichrist. — One particular mentioned in these prophecies of Daniel, and fulfilled under Antiochus, is especially taken notice of as typifying in him what was to happen under antichrist in after-times, that is, the profanation of the temple at Jerusalem, and the ceasing of the daily sacrifices in it. This, Daniel said, was to continue "for a time, and times, and

an half of time," that is, three years and a half; a time in that place signifying a year, and times two years, and a half of a time a half year, as all agree: and so long, Josephus tells us, the profanation of the temple and the interrupting of the daily sacrifices in it lasted, that is, from the coming of Apollonius, and his profanation of the said temple, to the purifying of it, and the new dedication of that and the new altar in it, by Judas Maccabæus. This prophecy therefore was primarily and typically fulfilled in that profanation and new dedication of the temple and altar at Jerusalem: but its chief and ultimate completion was to be in that profanation of the church of Christ, which it was to suffer under the reign of antichrist, for the space of those one thousand two hundred and sixty days mentioned in the Revelations. For those days there signify so many years, and three years and a half, reckoning them by months of thirty days' length, made just one thousand two hundred and sixty days. These days therefore, literally understood, make the three years and a half, during which the profanation and persecution of Antiochus remained in the church of the Jews; and the same, mystically understood, make the one thousand two hundred and sixty years, during which the profanation and persecution of antichrist was to remain in the church of Christ, at the end whereof the church of Christ is to be cleansed and purified of all the profanations and pollulations of antichrist, in the same manner as at the end of three years and a half the temple at Jerusalem was cleansed and purified from all the profanations and pollutions of Antiochus. One objection against this is, that Daniel (chap. xii. 11) reckons the duration of this profanation by the number of one thousand two hundred and ninety days, which can neither be applied to the days of the profanation of Antiochus, nor to the years of the profanation of antichrist, for it exceeds both by the number of thirty. Many things may be said for the probable solving of this difficulty, but

---

I shall offer at none of them. Those that shall live to see the extirpation of antichrist, which will be at the end of those years, will best be able to unfold this matter, it being of the nature of such prophecies not thoroughly to be understood till they are thoroughly fulfilled.

But in the death of Antiochus Epiphanes all the prophecies of Daniel that were concerning him, or any other of the Macedonian kings that reigned, either in Egypt or Asia, having, as far as they related only to them, a full ending, I shall here also end this book.

BOOK IV.

JEWISH WAR AGAINST SYRIA, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF THE MACCABEES, FROM THE DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES TO THE ACCESSION OF JOHN HYRCANUS I., B. C. 164—135.

I. JEWISH WAR UNDER JUDAS MACCABEUS, FROM THE DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE JEWISH CYCLE OF EIGHTY-FOUR YEARS, B. C. 164—162.

Kings of Syria—Antiochus Eupator, 164.

Kings of Egypt—Ptolemy VI. Philometor, 180.

Syrian history: accession of Antiochus Eupator under the guardianship of Lysias, 164. — ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, being dead, was succeeded in the kingdom by Antiochus his son, a minor of nine years old. Before his death he called to him Philip, a favourite of his, and one of those who had been brought up with him, and constituting him regent of the Syrian empire during the minority of his son, delivered to him his crown, his signet, and all other his ensigns of royalty, giving him in especial charge carefully to bring up his son in such manner as should best qualify him to reign. But when Philip came to Antioch, he found this office there usurped by another. For Lysias, as soon as he heard of the death of Epiphanes, took Antiochus his son, who was then under his care, and placed him on the throne, giving him the name of Antiochus Eupator, and assumed to himself the tuition of his person and the government of his kingdom, without any regard had to the appointment of the dead king. And Philip, finding himself too weak to contend with him about it, fled into Egypt, hoping there to have

such assistance as should enable him to make good his claim to that which Lysias had usurped from him.

Death of Ptolemy Macron. — At this time Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœle-Syria and Phoenicia, from being a great enemy to the Jews, becoming their friend, remitted of the rigour of his persecutions against them, and, as far as in him lay, endeavoured to have peace made with them; which handle being laid hold of by some of the courtiers to accuse him before the king, they sat very hard upon him, calling

---

him traitor at every word, because having been trusted by Ptolemy Philometor with the government of Cyprus, he had gone over to Antiochus Epiphanes, and treacherously delivered up that island unto him: for it seems, how beneficial soever the treason was, the traitor was still odious unto them for it. Whereon he was deprived of his government, and Lysias was placed in it in his stead: and no other station being assigned him where he might be supported with honour or sufficiency of maintenance suitable to his degree, he could not bear this fall, and therefore poisoned himself and died. And this was an end which his treachery to his former master, and the great hand he had in the cruel and unjust persecutions of the Jews, sufficiently deserved.

Judas Maccabæus makes a successful campaign against the surrounding nations: defeat of the Edomites and Ammonites. —In the interim Judas Maccabæus was not idle; for hearing how the neighbouring nations of the heathens had confederated to destroy the whole race of Israel, and had already begun it by cutting off as many of them as were within their power (as hath been already mentioned), he marched out with his forces to be revenged on them: and whereas the Edomites had been the forwardest in this conspiracy, and having joined with Gorgias, who was governor for the king of Syria in the parts thereabout, had done them much mischief, he began first with them, and having fallen into that part of the country which was called Acrabattene, he there slew of them no fewer than twenty thousand men. From thence he led them against the children of Bean, another tribe of the Edomites, that had been very troublesome to

them; and having beaten them out of the field, shut them up in two of their strongest fortresses; and after having besieged them there for some time, at length took them both, and put all he found in them to the sword, who were above twenty thousand more. Some few were saved from this carnage by bribing some of the soldiers to let them escape; but Judas, having gotten knowledge of it, convicted them of the treachery before the rest of the people of the Jews that were with him, and caused them to be put to death for it. After this Judas passed over Jordan into the land of the Ammonites, where he had many conflicts with the enemies of the Jews; and having slain great numbers of them, took Jazar, with the villages belonging thereto, and then returned again into Judæa.

Defeat of Timotheus the Syrian governor. —Timotheus, who was governor for the king of Syria in those parts, the same whom Judas had overcome two years before, being much exasperated by this inroad made upon his province, gathered together all the forces he was able, even a very great army, both of horse and foot, and with them invaded Judæa, purposing no less than utterly to destroy the whole nation of the Jews. Whereon Judas went forth with his army to meet him; and they having all with humble supplication and earnest prayer recommended their cause to God, in confidence of his merciful assistance, engaged these numerous forces with such courage and vigour, that they overthrew them with a great slaughter, there being then slain of them

---

twenty thousand five hundred foot and six hundred horsemen. Whereon Timotheus fled to Gazara, a city of the tribe of Ephraim, near the field of battle, where Chæreas his brother was governor. Judas, pursuing him thither, beset the place; and having taken it on the fifth day, there slew Timotheus, Chæreas his brother, and Apollophanes, another prime leader of the army.

Formidable confederacy of the surrounding nations against the Jews. — The heathen nations that lived about the land of Gilead hearing of this overthrow, and the death of so many of their friends that were slain in it, for the revenge hereof gathered together, with purpose to cut off and

destroy all the Jews in those parts; and falling first on those that dwelt in the land of Tob, which lay to the east of Gilead, slew one thousand men of them, took their goods for a spoil, and carried their wives and children into captivity. Whereon most of the other Jews that dwelt in those parts, for the avoiding of the like ruin, fled to a strong fortress in Gilead called Dathema, and there resolved to defend themselves; which the heathen hearing of, forthwith drew thither in a great body under the command of another Timotheus, the successor, and most likely the son of the former Timotheus that was slain at Gazara, to besiege them. At the same time the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, and the other heathens thereabout, were drawing together to cut off and destroy all the Jews of Galilee in the same manner as had been attempted in Gilead.

Judas forms the Jewish army into three divisions. —Judas being hereon sent to for help, both from Gilead and Galilee, on this exigency, by the advice of the Sanhedrim or general council of the Jews, whom he consulted on this occasion, divided his army into three parts. With the first part, consisting of eight thousand men, he and Jonathan his brother marched for the relief of the Gileadites; with the second, consisting of three thousand, Simon, another of his brothers, was sent into Galilee; and the rest were left at Jerusalem, under the command of Joseph and Azarias, two prime leaders, for the defence of that place and the country adjacent; to whom Judas gave strict charge not to engage with any of the enemy, but to stand wholly upon the defensive till he and Simon should be again returned.

First division under Judas and Jonathan crosses the Jordan and defeats the Gileadites. —Judas and Jonathan, passing over Jordan, in their way from thence to Gilead, marched through some part of the country of the Nabathæans; with whom having peace, they learned from them the great distress which their friends were then in; for not only those in Dathema were hardly pressed by a strict siege, but all the rest of the Jewish nation that were in Bossora, Bosor, Casphon, Maked, and the other cities of Gilead, were there closely shut up and imprisoned, with intention, on the taking of the fortress of Dathema, to have them all put to death in one day. Whereon Judas and Jonathan, immediately falling on Bossora, surprised the city, and having slain all the males, taken their spoils, and freed their brethren who were there imprisoned for slaughter, set the city on fire; and

then marching all night from thence towards Dathema, came thither the next morning,

---

just as Timotheus and all his forces were storming the place; whereon falling on them behind, they put them all to the rout; for being surprised with this sudden and unexpected assault, and terrified with the name of Judas, they were seized with a panic fright, and therefore immediately flung down their arms and fled; and Judas slew of them in the pursuit about eight thousand men. After this Judas took Maspha, Casphon, Maked, Bosor, and all the other cities of Gilead where the Jews were oppressed; and having thereby delivered them from the destruction designed for them, he treated all those places in the same manner as he had Bossora, that is, slew all the males, took their spoils, and set the cities on fire, and then returned to Jerusalem.

Second division under Simon relieves Galilee from the Phœnicians: Galilean Jews transplanted to Judæa. — And Simon's success in Galilee was not much inferior; for on his coming into that country, he had there many conflicts and encounters with the enemy, in all which carrying the victory, he at length drove all those oppressors out of the country, and having pursued them to the very gates of Ptolemais, slew of them in that pursuit about three thousand men, and took their spoils. But finding that the Jews of those parts could not well be any longer there protected, by reason of the great number of their enemies in the regions round about them, and the difficulty of succouring them at so great a distance from Jerusalem, he gathered them all together, men, women, and children, with their stuff, and all other their substance, to carry them with him into the land of Judah, where being nearer to the protection of their brethren, they might live under it in better security. And he having accordingly, on his return, brought them thither with him, they were disposed of for the repeopling those places which had been desolated by the enemy during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Third division under Joseph and Azarias defend Jerusalem: their ill-advised expedition against Jamnia defeated by Gorgias. —Thus the

two parties that were sent forth on the two expeditions mentioned had both full success in them, and returned with honour and triumph. But it did not so happen to the third party that was left at home. For Joseph and Azarias, who were intrusted with the command of them, hearing of the noble exploits which Judas and Jonathan did in Gilead, and Simon in Galilee, thought to get them also a name by doing the like; and therefore, contrary to the orders that had been strictly given them by Judas on his departure, not to fight with any till he and Simon should be again returned, led forth their forces in an ill-projected expedition against Jamnia, a sea-port on the Mediterranean, thinking to take the place. But Gorgias, who commanded in those parts for the king of Syria, falling upon them, put their whole army to flight, and slew of them in the pursuit about two thousand men. Thus this rash attempt, made contrary to orders given, ended in the confusion of those that undertook it. But Judas and his brothers, for their noble deeds and many valiant exploits, grew greatly renowned in the sight of all Israel, and also among the heathens wherever their names were heard of.

---

186 JEWISH WAR AGAINST SYRIA. [B. C. 163.

Syrian history: Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, applies in vain to the Roman senate for the kingdom of Syria. —Demetrius the son of Seleucus Philopator, who had, from the year in which his father died, been a hostage at Rome, and was now grown up to the twenty-third year of his age, hearing of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the succession of Eupator his son in the kingdom of Syria, which of right belonged to him, as son of the elder brother of Epiphanes, moved the senate for the restoring of him to his father's kingdom; and for the inducing them hereto alleged, that having been bred up in that city from his childhood, he should always look on Rome as his country, the senators as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. But the senate, having more regard to their own interest than to the right of Demetrius, judged it would be more for the advantage of the Romans to have a boy reign in Syria than a thorough-grown man and one of mature understanding, as Demetrius was then known to be; and therefore decreed for the confirming of Eupator in the kingdom, and sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, ambassadors into Syria, there to

settle his affairs, and regulate them according to the articles of the peace which they had made with Antiochus the Great, his grandfather.

Judas Maccabæus obtains a second decisive victory over Lysias, and concludes an advantageous peace through the friendly intervention of Rome, 163. —Lysias, having received an account of the exploits of the Jews in Gilead and Galilee, was thereby much exasperated against them; and therefore for the revenging hereof, having gotten together an army of eighty thousand men, with all the horse of the kingdom, and eighty elephants, marched with all this power to invade Judæa, purposing to make Jerusalem a habitation for the Gentiles, and to make a gain of the temple as of the other temples of the heathens, and to set the high priesthood to sale; and being entered the country, he began the war with the siege of Bethsura, a strong fortress lying between Jerusalem and Idumæa, which hath been before spoken of. But there Judas, falling upon him, slew of his army eleven thousand foot and one thousand six hundred horsemen, and put all the rest to flight. Whereon Lysias, growing weary of so unprosperous a war, came to terms of peace with Judas and his people, and Antiochus ratified the same; in which matter the Jews found Q. Memmius and T. Manlius, who were then ambassadors from the Romans in Syria, to be very friendly and helpful unto them. By the terms of this peace, the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes for the obliging of the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks was wholly rescinded, and liberty was granted them everywhere to live according to their own laws. This treaty was managed, on the part of Judas, by two Jews named John and Absalom, whom he sent to Lysias with his demands.

Identification of the month Dioscorinthius, and true date of the peace. — The letter which Lysias wrote back in answer hereto bore date in the month Dioscorinthius (or, as in the Vulgar Latin, Dioscorus), in the year 148. But there is no such name of a month to be found

---

either in the Syro-Macedonian or in any other calendar of those times. Scaliger and Archbishop Usher conjecture, that it was an intercalary month cast in between the months Dystrus and Xanthicus in the Chaldean

calendar, in the same manner as the month Veadar was cast in between the months Adar and Nisan in the Jewish calendar. And they are the more confirmed in this opinion, because the month Xanthicus, which seems to have followed immediately after the said month called Dioscorinthius or Dioscorus (for all the other letters and instruments that after followed relating to this peace are dated in the month Xanthicus in the same year), answered to the Jewish month Nisan, and, beginning about the same time with it, was the first month of the spring among the Syrians, as Nisan was among the Jews. But neither the Syrians, Macedonians, nor Chaldeans having any such intercalary month in their year, it seems more likely that Dioscorinthius or Dioscorus was a corrupt writing for Dystrus (the month immediately preceding Xanthicus in the Syro-Macedonian calendar), made by the error of the scribes. If any one will say that the month Dius among the Corinthians did answer to the month Dystrus of the Syro-Macedonians, because Dius among the Bithynians did so, and that for this reason it is in the place above cited called Διος Κορίνθιος, I have nothing to say against it, because it is not anywhere said, that I know of, what form the Corinthians framed their year by. And it is further to be taken notice of, that whereas the dates of all the instruments concerning this peace, as registered in the places cited, are in the 148th year of the Seleucidæ, this is to be understood according to the style of Chaldea, and not according to the style of Syria. For the style of Chaldea began one year after the style of Syria, as hath been before observed; and therefore what is here said to have been done in the 148th year of the Chaldean reckoning, was in the 149th year of the Syrian. And whereas in the chronological table at the end of this book, the 150th year, and not the 149th year, of the era of the Seleucidæ, is put over against the 163rd year before Christ, under which I place this treaty, it is not to be understood that these two years run parallel with each other from beginning to end, so as exactly to answer each other in every part, but only that the said 150th year had its beginning in the said 163rd year before Christ, though not at the same time with it; for the Julian year, by which I reckon the years before Christ, begins from the first of January; but the years of the era of the Seleucidæ, according to the reckoning of the First Book of Maccabees, did not begin till about the time of the vernal equinox, three months after, and according to the reckoning of the Second Book of Maccabees, not until about the time of the autumnal equinox, nine months

after. And therefore the said three months of the 163rd year before Christ, which precede the beginning of the 150th year, according to the reckoning of the First Book of Maccabees, and the said nine months of the same 163rd year before Christ, which precede the beginning of the same 150th year, according to the reckoning of the Second Book of Maccabees, are not to be accounted to the said 150th year, but to the year preceding,

---

that is, to the 149th year, according to the style of Syria, which was the 148th year according to the style of Chaldea. And what is said in this place of this 163rd year before Christ, and of the said 150th year of the era of the Seleucidæ, is to be understood of all the rest of the years of the said two eras as placed against each other in the said tables; for they no otherwise answer each other than is here expressed.

Renewal of the war by the surrounding nations. —But this peace granted the Jews was not long-lived. Those who governed in the neighbouring places round about them, not being pleased with it, broke it as soon as Lysias was gone again to Antioch, and took all opportunities to renew their former vexations against them, among whom Timotheus, Nicanor, and Apollonius the son of Gennæus were the most forward and active in troubling them.

Judas retaliates upon the ports of Joppa and Jamnia. —The war was first begun by the men of Joppa; for they having there drowned in the sea two hundred of the Jews that dwelt among them in that city, Judas, for the revenging of this cruelty, fell upon them by night, and burnt their shipping, slaying all those whom he found therein; and then turning upon the Jamnites, who intended to do the like, he set fire to their haven, and burnt all their navy that was there laid up in it.

Judas makes a successful campaign against the Gileadites: Gileadite Jews transplanted to Judæa. — After this Judas was called again to help the Jews at Gilead against Timotheus. In his march thither he was encountered by some of the Nomad or wandering Arabs; but he having vanquished them, they were forced to sue for peace; which Judas having granted to them, marched on against Timotheus; but meeting with

obstructions in his march from the men of Caspis, a city that lay in his way, he fell upon them, and having taken their city, slew the inhabitants, took their spoils, and destroyed the place. After this he came to Caraca in the land of Tob; but finding that Timotheus was gone from thence, leaving strong garrisons in the fenced places of that country, he sent Dositheus and Sosipater, two of his captains, with a detachment against these garrisons, and he himself marched with the main army to find out Timotheus. Dositheus and Sosipater soon made themselves masters of those fenced places which they were sent against, and slew those that were garrisoned in them, to the number of ten thousand men. In the mean while Timotheus, having drawn all his forces together, to the number of a hundred and twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, sent the women and children that followed the army with the baggage into Carnion, a strong city in Gilead, and then pitched his camp not far from it, at a place called Raphon, lying on the river Jabboc. There Judas having found him with his numerous army, passed over the river, and fell upon him, and having gained the victory, slew of his army thirty thousand men; and Timotheus himself, as he fled, falling into the hands of Dositheus and Sosipater, then returning from their conquests in the land of Tob to the rest of the army, was taken prisoner by them. But having promised, for the saving of

---

his life, the release of many Jews, then captives in the places under his command, who were several of them parents or brothers to some then present in the Jewish army, upon this condition they gave him both his life and his liberty, and permitted him to go freely off. A great part of the rest of the vanquished army fled to Carnion, where Judas pursuing them, took the place: and whereas many of them thereon fled to the temple of Atargatis, which was in that city, thinking there to find safety, he set fire to it, and burnt it with all that were therein, and then with fire and sword desolating the rest of the city, there slew in the whole twenty-five thousand more of Timotheus's forces that had taken refuge in it. And then gathering together all of the race of Israel that were in the land of Gilead, or any of the parts adjoining, he carried them with him, in his return to Judæa, in the same manner, and for the same reason, that Simon had the Israelites of Galilee the

year before; and, for the same end as he did, planted them in the desolated places of the land of Judah. But being in his way thither to pass through Ephron, which lay directly in the road, so as not to afford any other passage either to the right hand or the left, through which he might else march his army, he was necessitated to take his way through the city itself: but it being a great and strong city, and well garrisoned by Lysias, they refused him passage, though he prayed it of them in a peaceable manner: whereon he assaulted the place, and having taken it by storm, put all the males to the sword, to the number of twenty-five thousand persons, took their spoils, and razed the city to the ground, and then, marching over the bellies of the slain, repassed Jordan into the plains of Bethsan, then called Scythopolis; and from thence returning to Jerusalem, he and all his company went up to the temple in great joy to give thanks unto God for the great success with which he had been pleased to prosper this expedition, and especially for that they were all of them returned in safety, without losing any one man of all their whole number, notwithstanding the hazardous march and the many dangerous enterprises they had been engaged in, which was a very extraordinary instance of God's merciful protection over them. This their return happened about the time of Pentecost.

Judas makes a successful campaign against the Idumæans and Philistines. —After that festival was over, Judas led forth his forces again to make war upon Gorgias and the Idumæans, who had been very vexatious to the Jews. In the battle which he fought with them several of the Jews were slain: but in the result Judas got the victory, and Gorgias, difficultly escaping, fled to Marisa. The next day after being the sabbath, Judas withdrew with his forces to Odollam,

---

a city near the field of battle, there to keep the day in all the duties of it. The next day following, going forth to bury such of their brethren as were slain in the battle, they found about every one of them some of the things that had been dedicated to the idols of the heathens; which, though taken by them among the spoils of that war, were forbidden by the law to be kept by them: whereby perceiving for what cause God had given them up to be slain, Judas and all his company gave praise unto him, and humbly offered

up their prayers for the pardon of the sin. And then making a collection through the whole camp, which amounted to two thousand drachms, sent it to Jerusalem to provide sin-offerings there to be offered up for the expiating of this offence, that wrath for it might not fall upon the whole congregation of Israel, as formerly it had in the case of Achan. After this, Judas, carrying the war into the southern parts of Idumæa, smote Hebron and all the towns thereof; and after having dismantled this city, then the metropolis of Idumæa, he passed from thence into the land of the Philistines; and having taken Azotus, formerly called Ashdod, he pulled down their heathen altars, burnt their carved images, and took the spoils of the place; and having done the same to the rest of the cities of that country over which he had prevailed, he led back his men loaded with the spoils of their enemies again into Judæa.

Judas attempts to storm the Syrian fortress in Mount Acra. —But the garrison of the Syrians still holding the fortress of Acra in Jerusalem, they were a great thorn in the sides of the Jews, often sallying out upon them as they passed up to the temple to worship, and cutting several of them off as often as they had the advantage so to do. Wherefore Judas, for the removal of this mischief, called all the people together, and laid siege to the place, purposing to destroy it; and in order hereto, having provided all manner of engines of war fit for the purpose, he pressed on hard all the methods of assault whereby he might take it.

Antiochus Eupator and Lysias invade Judæa with an overwhelming army, and capture Bethsura. — Hereon some of the apostate Jews, who had listed themselves in the garrison, knowing they were to have no mercy should the place be taken, found means to get forth, and fleeing to Antioch, there made known to the king and his council the distress which this garrison at Jerusalem was in, and moved so effectually for their relief, that forthwith an army was drawn together of a hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, with thirty-two elephants and three hundred armed chariots of war; and the king in person, with his tutor Lysias, having put himself at the head of them, marched with them into Judæa, and passing on to the borders of Idumæa, there began the war with the siege of Bethsura. Judas having gotten his forces together, though far inferior to those of the enemy, there fell on them in the night, and having

slain four thousand of them before they had light enough to see where to oppose him, and thereby put the whole camp into confusion, he retreated on break of day, without suffering any loss in the attempt. But as soon as the morning was up, both sides prepared for an open battle, and Judas and his men, with great

---

fierceness, began the onset; but after having slain about six hundred of the king's men, finding they must be overpowered at length by so great a number, they withdrew from the fight, and made a safe retreat to Jerusalem. In this fight Eleazar, surnamed Averan, one of Judas's brothers, was lost by a very rash and desperate attempt which he made upon one of the king's elephants. For seeing it to be higher than all the rest, and armed with royal harness, he supposed that the king himself was upon it; and therefore thinking that by slaying this elephant he might with the fall of it cause the death of the king also, and thereby deliver his people, and gain to himself a perpetual name, he ran furiously to the beast, slaying on each hand all that stood in his way, till being gotten under its belly, he thrust up his spear and slew him; whereon the beast falling dead upon him, crushed him to death with the weight thereof. After this Antiochus returned to the siege of Bethsura; and although the besieged defended themselves with great valour, and in several sallies beat back the enemy, and burnt their engines of battery, yet at length, their provisions failing them, they were forced to yield, and surrendered the place upon articles of safety to their persons and effects.

Siege of Jerusalem: Antiochus and Lysias obliged by the usurpation of Philip to return to Syria. — From thence Antiochus marched to Jerusalem, and there besieged the sanctuary: and when they within were almost reduced to the same necessity of surrendering that those of Bethsura had been, by reason of the like failure of provisions, they were relieved by an unexpected accident. For Lysias having received an account that Philip, whom Antiochus Epiphanes had at his death appointed guardian of his son, had in his absence seized Antioch, and there taken upon him the government of the Syrian empire, he found it necessary to make peace with the Jews, that he might thereby be at liberty to return into Syria for

expelling of this intruder; and accordingly peace being granted to them upon honourable and advantageous conditions, and sworn to by Antiochus, he was admitted within the fortifications of the sanctuary; but when he saw how strong they were, he caused them, contrary to the articles he had sworn to, to be all pulled down and demolished, and then returned towards Syria.

Miserable death of Menelaus the high priest, and accession of Alcimus. — Menelaus the high priest, in expectation not only of recovering his station at Jerusalem, but also of being made governor there, accompanied the king in this expedition, and was very forward and busy in offering him his service in it against his own people. But Lysias, when he found what great inconveniences attended this war, and was by the ill consequences of it forced to make the peace I have mentioned, being much exasperated against this wretch, as the true and original author of all this mischief, accused him to the king for it; whereon he was condemned to death, and being carried to Berhœa, a city of Syria, was there cast headlong into a tower of ashes which was in that place, and there miserably perished. This was a punishment then used for sacrilege, treason, and such other great crimes which this wretch was

---

very signally guilty of: in what manner it was executed hath been before described. On his death the office of high priest was granted to Alcimus, who was called also Jacimus, a man altogether as wicked. Whereon Onias, the son of that Onias who by the procurement of Menelaus was slain at Antioch, whose right it was to have succeeded in this office, not being able to bear the injustice whereby he was disappointed of it, fled from Antioch, where he had hitherto resided since his father's death, and went into Egypt; where having insinuated himself into the favour of Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his queen, he lived there all the rest of his life, and will hereafter more than once be again spoken of in the future series of this history.

True date of the expedition of Antiochus and Lysias. — This expedition into Judæa is said in the Second Book of Maccabees to have been begun in the 149th year, i. e. of the era of the Seleucide, and in the First Book of Maccabees its beginning is placed in the 150th of the same

era. But what hath been before observed, that the First Book of Maccabees reckons the beginning of these years from the time of the vernal equinox, and the Second Book of Maccabees from the time of the autumnal equinox, easily reconciles this difference: for the six months of this very same year which were between these two equinoxes will be in the 150th year, according to the reckoning of the First Book of Maccabees, and in the 149th according to the reckoning of the Second. And therefore all that can be inferred from hence is, that this expedition was first made within the time of these six months, and I reckon it was so towards the latter end of them.

Philip expelled from Antioch. — On the king's return to Antioch Philip was driven thence, and suppressed. I have before mentioned the flight of this Philip into Egypt, in expectation there to be assisted against Lysias; but the two brothers, who there jointly reigned at this time, being then fallen out, and at great variance with each other, he found nothing could be there done for him; and therefore returning again into the East, and having there gathered together an army out of Media and Persia, took the advantage of the king's absence on this expedition into Judæa to seize the imperial city; but being on the king's return again expelled thence, he failed of success in this attempt, and perished in it.

Egyptian history: contest between Philometor and Physcon terminates in favour of Physcon. — The variance between the two Ptolemys in Egypt, which I have last above mentioned, running to a great height, the senate of Rome wrote to their ambassadors, Cneius Octavius, Spurius Lucretius, and Lucius Aurelius, whom they had a little before sent into Syria, to pass from thence to Alexandria for the composing of it. But before they could go thither, Physcon the younger brother, prevailing over Philometor the elder, had driven him out of the kingdom.

Roman intervention: Physcon appointed king of Libya and Cyrene, and Philometor king of Egypt and Cyprus. — Whereon taking shipping for Italy, Ptolemy Philometor landed at Brundusium, and from thence

---

travelled to Rome on foot in a sordid habit and with a mean attendance, there to pray the help of the senate for his restoration. Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopator, late king of Syria, who was then a hostage at Rome, as hath been above mentioned, having gotten notice hereof, provided a royal equipage and royal robes for him, that he might appear at Rome as a king, and rode forth to carry all this to him: but on his meeting him on the road, at twenty-six miles' distance from Rome, and presenting him with it, Ptolemy, though he very much thanked him for the kindness and respects hereby offered unto him, yet was so far from accepting anything of it, that he would not permit him so much as to accompany him in the remainder of the journey, but entered Rome on foot, with no other than the same mean attendance and the same sordid habit with which he first put himself on this journey, and took up his lodging in the private house of an Alexandrian painter then living at Rome. Thus he chose to do, that by his coming in so low and mean a manner he might the better express the calamity of his case, and the more effectively move the compassion of the Romans towards him.

As soon as the senate heard of his arrival, they sent for him to the senate-house, and there excused themselves to him, that they had not provided him with lodgings, nor received him with those ceremonies which were usual in this case, telling him that this was not from any neglect of theirs, but merely that his coming was so sudden and private that they knew not of it till his arrival. And then, having exhorted him to lay aside his sordid habit, and ask a day to be publicly heard concerning the matter he came thither about, they by some of their body conducted him to lodgings suiting his royal dignity, and appointed one of their treasurers there to attend him, and provide him with all things fitting at the public charge, as long as he should stay at Rome. And when he had a day of audience, and made known his case, they immediately decreed his restoration, and sent Quintus and Canuleius, two of their body, ambassadors with him to Alexandria, there to see it executed; who, on their arrival thither, compounded the matter between the two brothers, by assigning to Physcon the country of Libya and Cyrene, and to Philometor Egypt and Cyprus, there to reign apart, without interfering with each other in the government.

Syrian history: murder of a Roman ambassador, 162. — Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, the Roman ambassadors above

mentioned, being come into Syria, and finding that the king had more ships in his navy, and more elephants in his army, than the treaty made with Antiochus the Great, after the battle of Mount Sypilus, allowed him to have, they caused those ships to be burnt, and those elephants to be slain, that exceeded the number allowed, and settled all other things there according as they thought would best be for the Roman interest; which many not being able to bear, and great heartburning and discontents being thereby caused among the people, one of them, called Leptines, out of a more than ordinary indignation which he had conceived hereat, fell upon Octavius, while he was anointing himself in the gymnasium

---

at Laodicea, and there slew him. This Octavius had been a little before consul of Rome, and was the first that brought that dignity into his family. From him was descended Octavius Cæsar, who under the name of Augustus was afterwards made emperor of Rome. Lysias was thought underhand to have excited this act. However, as soon as it was done, he took care that ambassadors were sent to Rome, to purge the king with the senate from having had any hand in it. But the senate, after having heard those ambassadors, sent them away without giving them any answer, seeming thereby to express their resentments for the murder of their ambassador by an angry silence, and to reserve their judgment as to the authors of it to a future inquiry.

Demetrius Soter escapes from Rome and returns to Syria. — Demetrius, thinking this murder of Octavius might so far have alienated the senate from Eupator, as that they would no longer for his sake retard his dismission, addressed himself the second time to them for it. Apollonius, a young nobleman of Syria, who was bred up with him, and was son of that Apollonius who was governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia in the reign of Seleucus Philopator, advised him to this address, contrary to the advice of his other friends, whose opinion it was, that he had nothing else to do for his getting away but to make his escape as privately as he could. And the second repulse which he had from the senate (for they still having the same reason from their interest to detain him, persisted still in the same resolution so to do) soon convinced him that this last was the only course he had to

take for his return into his country, and the recovering of the crown which was there due unto him. And Polybius the historian, who was then at Rome, and with whom Demetrius consulted in all this matter, earnestly pressed him to the attempt.

Whereon having by the help of Menithyllus of Alabanda hired passage in a Carthaginian ship, then lying at Ostia, and bound for Tyre, he sent most of his retinue with his hunting equipage to Anagnia, making show of following them the next day thither, to divert himself in that country for some time in hunting. But as soon as he was risen from supper, getting privately that night to Ostia, he there went on board the Carthaginian ship, and causing it forthwith to set sail, made his escape therein: for it being thought that he had been at the place where he had appointed his hunting, it was the fourth day after he had sailed from Ostia before his escape was known at Rome; and when on the fifth day the senate was met about it they computed that by that time he had passed the straits of Messina, and got on from thence in his voyage too far to be overtaken, and therefore took no further notice of it. Only some few days after, they appointed Tiberius Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucias, their ambassadors, to pass into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius into that country would there produce.

Resettlement of Egyptian affairs by the Roman senate: Cyprus transferred to Physcon. — The occasion which brought Menithyllus of Alabanda to Rome at this time was an embassy on which he was thither sent by Ptolemy Philometor to defend his cause before the senate against Physcon his brother: for Physcon, not being content

---

with the share allotted him in the partition of the Egyptian empire between him and his brother, desired that, besides Libya and Cyrene, he might have Cyprus also assigned to him. And when he could not obtain this of the ambassadors, he went himself to Rome, there to solicit the senate for it. When he appeared before the senate with his petition, Menithyllus made it out that Physcon owed not only Libya and Cyrene, but his life also, to the favour and kindness of his brother. For he had made himself so odious to the people by his many flagitious mal-administrations in the government,

that they would have permitted him neither to reign nor live, had not Philometor interposed to save him from their rage. And Quintus and Canuleius, who were the ambassadors that made the agreement between the two brothers, being then present in the senate, did there attest all this to be true; yet notwithstanding the senate, having more regard to their own interest than the justice of the cause, decreed Cyprus to be given to Physcon, because they thought Philometor would be too potent with that and Egypt together: and therefore they appointed Titus Torquatus and Cneius Merula to go with him as their ambassadors for the putting him in possession of it, according as they had decreed.

Cornelia refuses the hand of Physcon. — While Physcon was at Rome on this occasion, he courted Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, desiring to have her for his queen; but she being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul and once censor of Rome, she despised the offer, thinking it to be a greater honour to be one of the prime matrons of Rome, than to reign with Physcon in Libya and Cyrene.

Demetrius obtains the kingdom of Syria, and receives the title of Soter. — In the interim, Demetrius, landing at Tripolis in Syria, made it believed that he was sent by the Roman senate to take possession of the kingdom, and that he would be supported by them in it. Whereon Eupator's cause being in the general opinion given for lost, all deserted from him to Demetrius; and Eupator and Lysias his tutor being seized by their own soldiers, in order to be delivered up to the new comer, were by his order both put to death. And so without any further opposition he became thoroughly settled in the whole kingdom. As soon as Demetrius was fixed on the throne, one of the first things he did was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides. These being the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, he had made the first of them governor, and the other treasurer of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius caused him to be put to death, and the other he drove into banishment. This was so acceptable a deliverance to the Babylonians, whom these two brothers had most grievously oppressed, that they from hence called him Soter, i. e. the Saviour; which name he ever afterwards bore.

Jewish history: Syrian invasion under Bacchides for the reestablishment of Alcimus in the high priesthood. — Alcimus, who on the death of Menelaus was by Antiochus Eupator appointed high priest of the Jews,

---

not being received by them, because he had polluted himself by conforming to the ways of the Greeks in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, got together all the other apostate Jews then living at Antioch, who had for their apostasy been expelled Judæa, and went at the head of them to the new king to pray his relief against Judas and his brethren, accusing them of slaying many of the king's friends, and driving others out of the country, as particularly they had them his petitioners, for no other reason but that they had obeyed the royal edicts of Antiochus Epiphanes his uncle, who had reigned before him. And hereby he so exasperated Demetrius against Judas and the people with him, that he forthwith ordered Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, with an army into Judea, and having confirmed Alcimus in the office of high priest, joined him in the same commission with Bacchides for the carrying on of this war.

On their first coming into Judæa they thought to have circumvented Judas and his brethren, and by fair words, under the show of making peace with them, to have drawn them into their power and so have taken them. But they, being aware of the fraud, kept out of their reach: which others not being so cautious of, fell into their snare, and being taken in it, were all destroyed by them; among whom were sixty of the Asidæans, and several of the scribes or doctors of their law. For being fond of having a high priest again settled among them, and thinking they could suffer no wrong from one that was of the sons of Aaron, they took his oath of peace, and trusted themselves with him. But he had no sooner gotten them within his power, but he put them all to death; with which the rest being terrified, durst no more confide in him.

Judas Maccabæus takes the field: Nicanor sent by Demetrius to continue the war. — After this Bacchides returned to the king, leaving with Alcimus part of his forces to secure him in the possession of the country;

with which prevailing for a while, and drawing many deserters to him, he much disturbed the state of Israel. For the remedy whereof, Judas, after Bacchides was fully gone, coming out with his forces again into the field, went round the country, and took vengeance of those that had revolted from him, so that Alcimus and his party were no more able to stand against him. Whereon that wicked disturber of his people went again to the king, and having presented him with a crown of gold and other gifts, renewed his complaints against Judas and his brethren, telling him, that as long as Judas lived his authority could never be quietly settled in that country, or matters be there ever brought to a lasting state of peace; and all that were about the king, out of hatred to the Jews, saying the same thing, Demetrius was hereby so incensed, that he sent another army against the Jews, under the command of Nicanor, their old enemy, commanding him that he should cut off Judas, disperse his followers, and thoroughly establish Alcimus in his office of high priest. But Nicanor, knowing the prowess of Judas, as having been vanquished by him in a former expedition, was loth to make another trial of it for fear of another defeat; and therefore endeavoured to compose matters by a treaty: and accordingly articles of peace were agreed on between them. And after this Judas

---

and Nicanor conversed in a friendly manner together: but Alcimus, not liking this peace, as thinking his interest not sufficiently provided for in it, went the third time to the king, and so possessed him against it, that he refused to ratify what was agreed, and sent his positive orders to Nicanor to go on with the war, and not to cease prosecuting it till he should have slain Judas, or taken him prisoner and sent him bound to Antioch. Whereon Nicanor was forced, much against his will, again to renew his former hostilities against Judas and his brethren.

Egyptian history: Philometor refuses to give up Cyprus to Physcon, and the Romans to withdraw their alliance. — Ptolemy Physcon, having had the island of Cyprus assigned to him by the determination of the senate of Rome, returned thitherward with the two Roman ambassadors, Cneius Merula and Titus Torquatus, who were sent to see him put in possession of it. On his coming into Greece, in his way to it,

he hired a great number of mercenaries, thinking by them forthwith to possess himself of the island. But the ambassadors, having acquainted him that they were sent to introduce him into it, only by way of treaty with his brother, and not by arms, persuaded him again to dismiss all his forces. Whereon, taking Merula with him, he returned into Libya, and Torquatus went to Alexandria.

The purpose of these two ambassadors was to bring the two brothers to meet on the borders of their dominions, and there agree the matter between them according to the sentiments of the Roman senate. But when Torquatus came to Alexandria, he found Philometor not easily to be brought to comply with what the senate had decreed concerning this matter. He insisted upon the former agreement made between him and his brother by Quintus and Canuleius the former ambassadors, which assigned Cyprus to him; and therefore thought it very hard that it should, contrary to the tenor of that agreement, be now taken from him and given his brother.

However, he did not at first peremptorily refuse to yield to the decree of the senate, but wiredrew the treaty to a great length; and between promising as to some things, and excusing himself as to others, he did artfully beat the bush at a distance, and so wasted away the time, without coming to any determination about the matter in hand. In the interim Physcon, with the other ambassador, lay at the port of Apis in Libya, there expecting the result of Torquatus's agency: after long waiting, receiving no intelligence from him to his content, he sent Merula also to Alexandria, thinking that both the ambassadors together might act the more effectually with Philometor to bring him to their bent.

But Philometor still observed the same conduct, treating them both with all manner of kindness and complaisance, flattering them with courtly words, and endeavouring in all things to please them with as courtly actions; and by this means drilled on the matter with them for forty days together, without coming to the point which was the end of their embassy to him, detaining them all this while at his court, rather by force than with their good liking, till at length finding they could be put off no longer, he plainly declared that he would stand by the first agreement, and would not yield to

the making of any other. And with this answer Merula returned again to Physcon, and Torquatus to Rome. In the interim, the Cyrenians,

---

understanding how ill Physcon had behaved himself while he reigned at Alexandria, entertained from hence such an aversion against having him for their king, that they rose in arms to keep him out of their country. Whereon Physcon fearing lest while he tarried at Apis, in expectation of the investiture of Cyprus, he should lose Cyrene, he hastened thither with all his forces which he had then with him; but he had the misfortune at first to be overthrown by his rebel subjects; and it is not to be doubted, but that Philometor had a hand in the raising of this combustion, and that it was with a view hereto that he had delayed so long to give an answer to the Roman ambassadors, that thereby he might give scope for these designs to ripen to execution. Physcon being hereby involved in great difficulties, Merula found him under the pressures of them on his return to him; and they were not a little aggravated by the account which he brought him of his brother's final refusal to yield any more to him than what was given him by the first agreement. He durst not himself go again to Rome to renew his complaint against his brother about this matter, till the troubles raised against him in Cyrene were again appeased. All therefore that he could at present do was to send two ambassadors with Merula in his stead, to solicit his cause with the senate. These and Merula meeting with Torquatus on his return from Alexandria, they went all four together to Rome, and there all made their report of the case, much to the disadvantage of Philometor; so that when the cause came to be heard in the senate, though Menithyllus, Philometor's ambassador, spoke much in his behalf, he was not heard with any regard, the senators being generally prepossessed against him, because of his refusal to submit to their decree about Cyprus. And therefore, to express the anger they had conceived against him on this account, they renounced all friendship and alliance with him, and ordered his ambassador to depart Rome within five days, and sent two ambassadors from them to Cyrene to acquaint Physcon with what they had done.

II. ANCIENT CYCLES FOR CALCULATING THE TIME OF JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN FESTIVALS.

Commencement of the Jewish cycle of eighty-four years. — In this year Bucherius placeth the beginning of the cycle of eighty-four years, by which the Jews settled the times of their new moons, full moons, and festivals.

Ancient mode of settling the festivals by the appearance of the new moons at Jerusalem rendered impracticable by the spread of Jewish colonies. — I have before shown, in the preface to the first part of this History, how they anciently went by the phasis or appearance of the new moon for all this matter; and according hereto the new moons and festivals were then constantly settled by the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem. Towards the end of every month they sent out persons into places of the greatest height and eminence about Jerusalem, to observe the appearance of the new moon; and as soon as they saw it appear, they

---

returned and made report thereof to that assembly; and according thereto they appointed their new moons or first days of every month; and immediately, by signs from mountain to mountain, gave notice thereof through the whole land of Judæa: and according to their new moons and full moons were all their other festivals fixed. And all this might well enough be done as long as the Jews lived within the narrow bounds of Judæa. But when, after the time of Alexander the Great, they became dispersed through all the Grecian colonies in the East, and had in great numbers settled at Alexandria, Antioch, and other cities of Egypt, Libya, Cyrene, Syria, and Lesser Asia, under the Syro-Macedonian and Egypto-Macedonian kings, this method grew impracticable as to them. And therefore from that time they were necessitated to come to astronomical calculations, and the use of cycles, for the settling of this matter, that so they might know at all distant places when to begin their months, when to make their intercalations, and when to solemnize their festivals, all in a uniform manner at the same time.

How the eastern Jews, who had ever since the Assyrian and Babylonish captivities been settled in Babylonia, Persia, Media, and other eastern provinces beyond the Euphrates, ordered this matter is uncertain. But since they had in Babylonia a prince of the captivity for the governing of them in all things according to their law, and a Sanhedrim there to assist him herein, no doubt they had fixed methods for the settling of this matter according to the truest rules of astronomy, especially since that science was in those parts cultivated beyond what it was in any other country. Most likely it is, that they had an astronomical cycle by which they fixed the new moons, and according to them regulated all the rest. But as to the other Jews, that they all made use of the cycle of eighty-four years for this purpose is certain. For several of the ancient Fathers of the Christian church make mention of it as that which had been of ancient use among the Jews, and was afterwards borrowed from them by the primitive Christians for the fixing of the time of their Easter, and was the first cycle which was made use of by them for this purpose.

Jewish cycle composed of the Calippic cycle and Octoeteris. — It seems to have been made up of the Calippic cycle and the Octoeteris joined together: for it contains just so many days as both these cycles do when added to each other, reckoning the eight years of the Octoeteris and the seventy-six years of the Calippic cycle by Julian years. For eight Julian years contained two thousand nine hundred and twenty-two days, and seventy-six Julian years twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine days, and these being added together make thirty thousand six hundred and eighty-one; which is exactly the number of days that are contained in eighty-four Julian years, which was

---

the number of this cycle. And therefore it is most likely that the Jews first began with the use of the Calippic cycle, or, more properly speaking, of the Calippic period (for, in the language of chronologers, a cycle is a round of several years, and a period a round of several cycles); and afterwards added the Octoeteris to it, both to render it the more proper for their purpose, and also to make it look as wholly their own. And it is possible so much might have been this year done; but that the Jews at this time, when after having

newly recovered their temple, and restored the true worship of God in it, they were most zealously employed in extirpating all heathen rites from among them, should first introduce this cycle borrowed from the heathens, and employ it to a religious use, that is, for the fixing of the times of their new moons and festivals, seems utterly improbable.

Necessity for the adoption of a cycle for the adjustment of monthly or lunar festivals with yearly or solar festivals. — That which seems most probably to be conjectured concerning this matter (for nothing but conjecture can be had in it) is, that when the Jews, in the dispersions, after the time of Alexander the Great, through the countries I have mentioned, saw a necessity of coming to astronomical calculations, and settled rules for the fixing of their new moons and festivals, that so they might observe them all on the same day in all places, they borrowed from the Greeks the cycle or period of Calippus, which they found used among them for the same purpose. For the Greeks reckoning their months by the course of the moon, and their years by that of the sun, and thinking themselves also obliged, for the reason which I have already mentioned, annually to keep all their festivals on the same day of the month, and on the same season of the year, in like manner as the Jews were, had long been endeavouring to find out such a cycle of years, in which, by the help of intercalations, the motions of the sun and the moon might be so adjusted to each other, that both luminaries, setting forth together at the same point of time, might come round again exactly to the same, and all the new moons and full moons come over again in every cycle in the same manner as they had in the former. For could such a cycle be once fixed; the observing how the new moons and full moons happened in any one of them would be sufficient to direct where to find them for ever in all cycles after, and there would need no more to be done than to know what year of the cycle it is, in order to know and discover the very moment of time when every new moon and full moon should happen therein through each month of it; because in every year of the said cycle the new moons and full moons would all come over again at the same points of time as they had in the same year of the former cycle, and so on in all following cycles for ever.

Of the attempts which had been made to come at such a cycle by the Dieteris, Tetraeteris, Octoeteris, and Enneadecaeteris, and how they all

failed hereof, mention hath been already made. The last came nearest to it of any; the author whereof was Meto, an Athenian, who published it at Athens in the year B. C. 432, which was in the year immediately preceding the Peloponnesian war, where I have at large treated of it. But Meto having reckoned that the nineteen years of his cycle contained just six thousand nine hundred and forty days, it was found after one hundred years' usage of it, that in this computation he had overshot what he aimed at by a quarter of a day. For nineteen

---

Julian years contain no more than six thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine days and eighteen hours; and therefore, to mend this fault, Calippus invented his cycle or period of seventy-six years, which consisting of four Metonic cycles joined together, he thought to bring all to rights, by leaving out one day at the end of this cycle, making it to consist of no more than twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine days, whereas four Metonic cycles joined together make twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and sixty days. This Calippus was a famous astronomer of Cyzicus in Mysia, and published his cycle in the year B. C. 330, beginning it from the summer solstice of that year, which was the same year in which Alexander overthrew Darius at the battle of Arbela. And this being the cycle which was most in reputation among the Greeks, for the bringing of the reckonings of the sun and moon's motions to an agreement at that time, when the Jews wanted such a cycle for the settling the time of their new moons and full moons and festivals by certain rules of astronomical calculations, it is most likely they then borrowed it from them for this use; and that they might not seem to have anything among them relating to their religion which was of heathen usage, they added the Octoeteris to this period of seventy-six years; and thereby making it a cycle of eighty-four years, by this disguise rendered it wholly their own. For no other nation but the Jews alone used this cycle, till it was borrowed from them by the primitive Christians for the same use, that is, to settle the time of their Easter. But the Jews by this addition rather marred than any way mended the matter. For although the period of Calippus fell short of what it intended, that is, of bringing the motions of the two greater luminaries to an

exact agreement, yet it brought them within the reach of five hours and fifty minutes of it. But the addition of the Octoeteris did set them at the distance of one day, six hours, and fifty-one minutes. However, this they used till Rabbi Hillel's reformation of their calendar, which was about A. D. 360, during all which time they must necessarily have made some interpolations for the correcting of those excesses whereby one of those luminaries did overrun the other according to that cycle: for otherwise the phases or appearances of the new moons and full moons would have contradicted the calculations of it to every man's view. But what these interpolations were, or how or when used, we have no account anywhere given us.

Probable date of the commencement of the Jewish cycle, and its adoption by the Christians for the settlement of Easter. — Prosper placeth the beginning of those cycles which was used by the Christians A. D. 46; and if we reckon backward from thence, we shall find one of them to have its beginning in the year B. C. 291, which was the first year of the pontificate of Eleazar at Jerusalem, and the seventh before the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt. And then it seems most probable that the Jews began the use of this cycle. For about this time their dispersions, especially in Egypt, made it necessary for them to settle the times of their new moons, full moons, and festivals, by astronomical calculations; because at such distances they could not have the order of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem for the directing of them in this matter. But had they then taken the period of Callippus, without disguising it by the adding of the eight years of the Octoeteris, to make it look as their own, it would much better have served their purpose.

Though I have above said, it is possible that the eight years might have been added where Bucherius placeth the first use of this cycle, yet I mean no more thereby than a bare possibility, and not but that I think it most probable that it was otherwise. For it seemeth to me most likely, that as the Jews first began the use of this cycle at the time I have mentioned, that is, B. C. 291, so also doth it, that from that very beginning they fixed it to be a cycle of eighty-four years, and no otherwise used the Calippic, but with the addition of eight years after it to make up that number. If we place the

beginning of the first cycle of these eighty-four years at the year B. C. 291, the second cycle will begin B. C. 207; the third cycle B. C. 123; the fourth cycle B. C. 39; and the fifth cycle at the year A. D. 46; and there it will meet with the beginning of the first cycle of Prosper; that is, the first of these eighty-four years' cycles, which was used by the primitive Christians for the finding out and settling the time of their Easter. The second of these cycles, according to the same Prosper, began A. D. 130; the third, A. D. 214; the fourth, A. D. 298; the fifth, A. D. 382 (which was the last of these cycles mentioned by Prosper); the sixth, A. D. 466; the seventh, A. D. 550; the eighth, A. D. 634; the ninth, A. D. 718; and the tenth, A. D. 802; and about that time the use of it wholly ceased.

Difference between the early Christians respecting the time for celebrating Easter settled by the Council of Nice. — In the first age of the church, Christians generally followed the Jews in the settling the time of their Easter, some beginning their observance of it at the same time the Jews did their Passover, that is, on the fourteenth day of their first vernal moon, or month called Nisan, on what day of the week soever it happened to fall, but others not till the Sunday after. Those who were for the first way alleged that they followed therein St. John and St. Philip the apostles; and those who followed the other way urged for it the practice of St. Peter and St. Paul; who, they said, always began this festival, not on the fourteenth day of the first vernal moon, as the Jews did their Passover, but on the Sunday after. And as long as those who came out of the circumcision into the church of Christ, and observed the law of Moses with that of the gospel, held communion with the church, this made no difference in it. But when they separated from it, then the church began to think it time to separate from them in this usage; and after several meetings and councils held about it, they came to this resolution, that Easter should always be kept, not on the fourteenth day of the moon, as the Jews did their Passover, but everywhere on the Sunday after: and all conformed hereto except the Asian churches, who, pretending for the other usage the example of St. John and St. Philip the apostles, and the holy martyr St. Polycarp, would not recede from it. Whereon Victor, bishop of Rome, sent out a libel of excommunication against them for it. So early did the tyranny of that see begin: for this happened A. D. 197. But Irenæus and most other Christians of that time

condemned this as a very rash and unjustifiable act in Victor. However the controversy still went on, and the Christians of the Asian way, being thenceforth called Quarto-decimani, for their observing of the festival at the same time with the Jews' quarta decima luna, i. e. on the fourteenth day of the moon, persisted

---

in their former practice, till at length, in the Nicene Council, A. D. 325, they all gave up into the other way, and an end was put to this controversy. And from that time the first day of the week, in commemoration of the resurrection of Christ thereon, hath been among all Christians everywhere the first day of their Easter solemnity. But in the interim both parties still made use of the eighty-four years' cycle, till that also was put under another regulation by the same Council of Nice. In A. D. 222, this eighty-four years' cycle being found faulty, Hippolytus, bishop of Portus in Arabia, invented a new one, by joining two Octoeterises together; but this soon appearing more faulty than the other, Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, did in A. D. 276 propose another way. All that was commendable in it was, that he first introduced the use of the nineteen years' cycle for this purpose; but he applied it so wrong that it was in his method by no means useful to the end intended. In A. D. 325 sat the Nicene Council, wherein as to Easter these following particulars were agreed: 1st, That Easter should everywhere be begun to be observed on the first day of the week, that is, Sunday. 2ndly, That it should be on the Sunday that should follow next immediately after the fourteenth of the moon that should follow next after the vernal equinox (which was then on the twenty-first of March). And 3rdly, That it should be referred to the bishop of Alexandria to calculate every year, on what day, according to these rules, the festival should begin.

Bishop of Alexandria appointed by the Nicene Council to calculate Easter-day: applied the nineteen years' cycle. — The Alexandrians being then of all others most skilful in astronomy, for this reason the making of this calculation was referred to the bishop of that place. And they, having applied the nineteen years' cycle in a much better method to this purpose than Anatolius had before done, found it the best rule that could be made use of for the settling of this matter; and accordingly went by it for the

discharge of what was referred to them by the Council. And therefore they having every year hereby fixed the day, the custom was for the bishop of that church to write of it to the bishop of Rome; who, having the day thus signified unto him, first caused it by his deacons to be published in his patriarchal church on the day of Epiphany preceding the festival, and then by paschal epistles notified it to all metropolitans through the whole Christian world; and they by like epistles to their suffragans: and by this means the day was everywhere known, and everywhere observed in an exact uniformity of time, by Christians all the world over.

Roman see return to the eighty-four years' cycle. — But the pride of the see of Rome not bearing long their being directed in anything from abroad, after some years' observance of this order, they returned again to their old cycle of eighty-four years; and the use of it was thereon again resumed all over the Western church. But this again made the same fault as formerly, by reason of the one day, six hours, and fifty-one minutes, by which the eighty-four lunar years in this cycle, with its intercalated months, did overrun the solar years in it.

Victorian period introduced by Victorius. — Accordingly Victorius, a presbyter of Limoges in Aquitaine, was employed by Hilarius (who was first archdeacon and afterwards bishop of Rome) to make a new cycle, who, following the Alexandrians, first introduced into the Western church the rule of fixing the time of Easter by the nineteen years' cycle, called the cycle of the moon; and having multiplied it by the twenty-eight years' cycle of the dominical letters, called the cycle of the sun, hereby made the period of 532 years, called from him the Victorian period; after the expiration of which he reckoned that the same new moons, the same full moons, and the same dominical letters, and the same times of Easter, would all come over again in the same order of time as in the former cycle, and so on in all following cycles for ever. And accordingly they would have done so, had the same new moons and full moons come over again at the same point of time in every cycle of the moon with the same exactness as every dominical letter did again in every cycle of the sun. But the nineteen lunar years, and seven intercalated lunar months, of which this cycle consisted, falling short of

nineteen Julian years by one hour, twenty-seven minutes, and forty seconds; hence it hath followed, that in every one of the years of these nineteen years' cycles the new moons and full moons have happened just so much sooner each month than in the same years of the cycle immediately preceding. And hereby it hath come to pass, that after the elapsing of so many rounds of that cycle as have revolved from the time of the Nicene Council to the present year, 1716, the new moons and full moons in the heavens have anticipated the new moons and full moons in the calendar of our Common Prayer Book four days, ten hours and a half; because the new moons and full moons are there stated, not according to the present times, but according to the times of that Council. However, a better cycle for this purpose than the nineteen years' cycle not being to be found, because none other can bring the course of the sun and moon to a nearer agreement, the Alexandrians for this reason pitched on it for the fixing of their Easter, as the best rule they could follow for it. And Theophilus and Cyrillus, who were both patriarchs of Alexandria, and made each of them periods for the determining the times of this festival, the first of a hundred years, and the other of ninety-five years, founded all their calculations hereon. And Victorius, when he undertook to form a like period for this end, for the use of the Western Christians, as the other had done for the use of the Eastern, built it all upon the same foundation. For fixing all the first vernal fourteen moons (which were the paschal terms) according to the cycle of the moon, and the next Sunday after, in every year

---

(which was the day when the festival began), according to the cycle of the sun, he compounded out of both these cycles, by multiplying them into each other, his period of 532 years, beginning it from the 28th year of our Lord according to the vulgar era; and herein according to both these cycles he fixed the times of Easter in every year throughout that whole period, and so in all succeeding periods, on the same days over again in each of them for ever. This, after several years' labour in it, he finished and published in A. D. 457.

Subsequent corrections of the Victorian cycle by Dionysius Exiguus and Gregory XIII. — Subsequently, in A. D. 527, Dionysius Exiguus, a

Roman abbot, corrected the Victorian period in some particulars, and fixed the equinox and new moons at the same points of time in which they were at the holding of the Council of Nice, and the whole Western church went hereby for many ages, till Gregory XIII. bishop of Rome, in the year 1582, reduced it by his corrections to that form in which it is now used under the name of the New Style in foreign countries. And it is to be wished that this church would reform all things else that are amiss among them, as well as they have done this. However, we in England, and all the dominions belonging thereto, still retain the old form.

Ancient contentions in the British and Irish churches respecting Easter. — And as we are the last to recede from this form, so were we anciently the last to receive it. For although Dionysius published his form A. D. 527, it was not till A. D. 800 that it was universally received by all the churches of Britain and Ireland; and great controversies were in the interim raised among them about it, the occasion of which was as followeth.

British and Irish adhere to the old eighty-four years' cycle. — Till the Saxons came into this island (which was A. D. 449), the British churches having always communicated with the Roman, and received all its usages, as having been till about that time a province of the Roman empire, they agreed with it in the use of the same rule, for the fixing of the time of their Easter. And the Irish, who had not long before been converted by St. Patrick, who was sent to them from Rome, followed the same usage. But afterwards when the Saxons, having made themselves masters of all the eastern and southern coasts of this island, had thereby cut off all communication with Rome, all that correspondence which till then the British and Irish churches had held with the Roman thenceforth ceased, and was wholly interrupted, till the coming hither of Austin the monk, to convert the English Saxons, which was about one hundred and fifty years after. And therefore neither the British nor the Irish knowing anything of the reformation that had in the interim been made in this rule concerning Easter, either by Victorius or Dionysius, went on with the observing of the said festival according to the old form of the eighty-four years' cycle which they had received from the Romans, before the Saxons came into this land.

Refuse, on the arrival of Austin, to adopt the Victorian period, and scruple not to keep Easter during the Jewish Passover. — And in this usage Austin found them on his arrival hither. And they, having been long accustomed to it, could not easily be induced to alter it for the new usage of the Romanists, which Austin then proposed to them. And hence arose that controversy about Easter, which from that time was between the old Christians of Britain and Ireland and the new Christians which were here converted by the Romanists, and lasted full two hundred years before it was fully suppressed. The difference between them about this matter was in two particulars; for, 1st, Whereas the Romanists, according to the rule of Dionysius, fixed the time of Easter by the nineteen years' cycle of the moon, and the twenty-eight years' cycle of the sun, the first showing them the paschal term, and the other what day was the next Sunday after, the Britons and Irish adhered to the use of the old cycle, that of eighty-four years, for this matter. And 2ndly, Whereas the Romanists observed the beginning of the festival, from the fifteenth day of the first vernal moon to the twenty-first inclusive, according as the Sunday happened within the compass of those days, the Britons and the Irish observed it from the fourteenth to the twentieth, that is, the Romanists, laying it down for a principle in this case never to begin the paschal festival at the same time with the Jews, for the avoiding of it would never begin the solemnity on the fourteenth day of that moon, though it happened to be on a Sunday, but deferred it to the next Sunday after, though in this case that Sunday did not happen till the twenty-first day of the said moon. But the Britons and Irish, if that fourteenth day happened to be on a Sunday, did then begin the festival without making any such scruple as the Romanists did in this case, and so proceeded to observe it in the following years, on the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th, according as the next Sunday after fell on any of those days of that moon. But the Romanists, not beginning the festival on any Sunday till the 15th of the said moon, observed it in the following years, on the 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st of the moon, according as the next Sunday fell on any of them in any of the said years. So that, as the former never carried the beginning of this festival beyond the 20th day of the first vernal moon, so the latter never commenced it till the 15th day of the same. And they were so zealously set this way, that they would not hold communion with those of the British and Irish churches that did otherwise, but looking on them as

heretics, called them by way of reproach quarto-decimans; whereas the ancient quarto-decimans were only those who began the festivals on the 14th day of the moon at the same time with the Jews, on what day of the week soever it happened. But the Britons and the Irish never began it on that day, but when it happened to be a Sunday.

Spread of the controversy into the Saxon churches. — On the receding of Paulinus from the archbishopric of York, after the death of Edwin king of the English Saxons beyond the Humber (which happened in A. D. 633), the churches of those parts having had their bishops from the monastery of St. Columbus in the island of Hy (which was then the chief university of the Irish for the educating and bringing up of their

---

divines), and Aidan, Finan, and Colman, who had been all three monks of that monastery, having in succession to each other governed those churches thirty years, they during that time had introduced into them the Irish usage for the observing of Easter; whereby the controversy was brought among the English Christians, and a schism made among them about it.

Settlement of the question at the council of Whitby in favour of the new cycle. — For the putting of an end to this schism a council was called, to meet at the monastery of the abbess Hilda, at Whitby in Yorkshire, then called Streonshale. And there a long disputation being had before Oswy king of the Northumbrians (who presided in that council) and Alfred his son, and the main stress of the arguments on both sides turning upon this, that the Irish and Britons urged the authority of St. John for their usage, and the Romanists that of St. Peter for theirs, which they said was preferable to the other, because he was the prince of the apostles, and had the keys of heaven committed to his keeping; Oswy asked those who disputed on the side of the Irish and Britons, whether they agreed that the usage of the Romanists had been the usage of St. Peter? and on their agreeing hereto, he asked them again, whether they held that St. Peter had the keeping of the keys of heaven? and they having answered to this also in the affirmative, he hereon declared that he would then be for St. Peter's way, lest, when he should come to heaven's gates, St. Peter should shut them against him, and

keep him out. Whereon this ridiculous controversy receiving as ridiculous a decision, all the Christians of those parts came over to the Roman way; and Colman, being much displeased with this deciding, or rather ridiculing of the controversy, returned with as many of his Irish clergy as were of his mind again to the monastery of Hy, from whence they came, and the Northumbrians had another bishop appointed over them in his stead. This happened in A. D. 664.

Gradual adoption of the new cycle by the British, Irish, and Welsh. — After this the old way began to wear off both in Britain and Ireland, though but by slow degrees. Adamnanus, abbot of Hy, being sent on an embassy from the British Scots (that is, the Irish who had settled in North Britain) to Alfred king of the Northumbrians; and having,

---

while he continued on that occasion in those parts, made a visit to the united monasteries of Jarrow and Wearmouth near Durham, was there by Ceolfrid, then abbot of them, so thoroughly convinced of the reasonableness of the Roman way before the other, that on his return to Hy he endeavoured to bring all there to conform to it; but not being able to prevail with them herein, he went into Ireland, and there brought over almost all the northern parts of that island to this way. This happened about A. D. 703. And he had the easier success herein, for that the southern parts of that island had some years before conformed hereto, being induced to it by an epistle from Honorius, bishop of Rome, written to them about it in A. D. 629. In A. D. 710, the same Ceolfrid above mentioned, having written to Naitan, king of the Picts, an epistle for this way, thereby brought him and all of his nation with him into a conformity to it. This epistle is very learnedly and judiciously written, and no doubt was penned by Bede, who was then a monk under him in these two united monasteries. It is still extant in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and gives us the best view of this controversy of anything now remaining that hath been written about it. In A. D. 716, Ecgbert, a pious and learned presbyter of the English nation, after having spent many years in his studies in Ireland (which was in that age the prime seat of learning in all Christendom), coming from thence to the monastery of Hy, proposed to them anew the Roman way; and having better success

herein then Adamnanus their late abbot had, in that attempt which he had before made upon them for this purpose, brought them all over to it. And after this none but the Welsh persisted in the old form; who, out of the inveterate hatred they had against all of the English nation, were hard to be brought to conform to them in anything. However at length, about A. D. 800, the errors of the old way by that time growing very conspicuous, by reason of the many days which according to the eighty-four years' cycle the lunar account must then have overrun the solar, the Welsh of North Wales were, by the persuasion of Elbodius their bishop, prevailed with to give an ear to those reasons which were alleged for the Roman form; and being convinced by them that it was the better of the two, came into it. And not long after, the Welsh of South Wales followed their example, and did the same; and thenceforth the cycle of eighty-four years, which had lasted for so many ages, became wholly abolished all Christendom over, and was never more brought into use.

Similar contest between the old and new converts respecting the clerical tonsure. — There was indeed another controversy between the old Christians of Britain and Ireland and the new ones of the Roman conversion, which was all along at the same time brought upon the stage with that about Easter during the whole contest; that is, that of the clerical tonsure, which was always debated with it, and was everywhere ended at the same time when the other was. But my purpose being to treat only of what related to the Jewish affairs, I have only meddled with this contest, thereby to give the history of the Jewish

---

cycle of eighty-four years; and thus far it is within my theme; but it being out of it to treat of the other, for this reason I do not here trouble the reader with it.

Particulars of the paschal rule of Dionysius Exiguus. — On the abolition of the eighty-four years' cycle, the paschal rule of Dionysius became the rule of the whole Western church for several ages after; and it being still the rule of Great Britain and Ireland, and all the dominions belonging to them, it will be useful for the English reader to know the

particulars of it. They are as followeth: 1. That Easter is a festival annually observed in commemoration of Christ's resurrection. 2. That Sunday being the day on which it is weekly commemorated, that day of the week is the fittest always to be the day on which the annual commemoration of it is to be solemnized. 3. That therefore this festival be always on a Sunday. 4. That it be on the Sunday next after the Jewish Passover. 5. That the Jewish Passover being always slain on the fourteenth day of the first vernal moon, by them called Nisan, the Christian Easter is always to be on the next Sunday after the said fourteenth day of that moon. 6. That to avoid all conformity with the Jews in this matter, though the fourteenth day of the said moon be on a Sunday, this festival is not to be kept on that Sunday, but on the next Sunday after. 7. That the first vernal moon is that whose fourteenth day (commonly called the fourteenth moon) is either upon the day of the vernal equinox, or else is the next fourteenth moon after it. 8. That the vernal equinox, according to the Council of Nice (to the times of which this rule is calculated), is fixed to the 21st day of March. 9. That therefore the first vernal moon, according to this rule, is that whose fourteenth day falls upon the 21st of March, or else is the first fourteenth moon after. 10. That the fourteenth day of the first vernal moon being the limit or boundary which bars and keeps Easter always beyond it, so that it can never happen before or upon that day, but always after it, for this reason it is called the paschal term. 11. That the next Sunday after the paschal term is always Easter-day. 12. That therefore the earliest paschal term being the 21st of March, the 22nd of March is the earliest Easter possible; and the 18th of April being the latest paschal term that can happen, the seventh day after, that is, the 25th of April, is the latest Easter possible; all other Easters are sooner or later, as the paschal terms and the next Sunday after them fall sooner or later within the said limits. 13. That the earliest paschal term, or fourteenth day of the said first vernal moon, being according to this rule on the 21st of March, the fourteenth day before, that is, the 8th of March, must be the earliest first day of this moon that can happen; and the latest paschal term being the 18th of April, the fourteenth day before that, that is, the 5th of April, is the latest first day of this moon that can happen. All other first days of this moon fall sooner or later between the said 8th day of March and the 5th of April following. 14. That the cycle of the moon, which points to us the golden number, always shows us which is the first day of the paschal

moon, and consequently which is the fourteenth day of the same; and the cycle of the sun, which points to us the dominical letter, always shows us which is the next Sunday after. And therefore when you know what is the golden number and what is the dominical letter of the year, the following scheme will fully

serve to tell you when Easter will fall, according to this rule, in any year for ever.

[Table not reproduced.]

Description and explanation of the table for finding out Easter-day. — In this scheme, the first column contains the numbers that in the calendar of our Common Prayer Book are called the primes, which are the golden numbers that point out to us the new moons. The second column gives the days of the month. The third contains the golden numbers, which point out to us the paschal terms or the fourteenth day of the first vernal moon (i. e. the day on which the Jews slew their passover). The fourth column gives the dominical letters. And the last, the old Roman calendar. Every number of the prime shows that, in the year when that is the golden number, the new moon is, according to the calculation of this form, on the day of the month over against which it is placed. And every number in the third column shows that, in the year when that is the golden number, the paschal term is on the day of the month over against which it is placed. The dominical letters tell us when is the first Sunday after the paschal term on which Easter begins; and the Roman calendar shows us on what day thereof each particular above mentioned happens. And therefore observing these particulars, when you would find out in any year on what day Easter falls in it, run down your eye in the first column from the 8th of March (which is the earliest first day that can happen of the first vernal moon), till you come to that number in it which is the golden number of the

year, and that number tells you that the day of the month over against which it is placed is the first of that moon. And then running down your eye in the third column till you come to the same golden number in that column, that number tells you, that the day of the month over against which it is placed is the paschal term, that is, the fourteenth day of that moon (as by numbering from that which is the same golden number in the first column you will find). And then running down your eye from thence in the fourth column (which is the column of the dominical letters), till you come to the dominical letter of the year, that letter tells you that the day of the month over against which it is placed is the next Sunday after the said paschal term, and that Sunday is the Easter Sunday of the year. As for example, if you would know on what day Easter falls in this present year 1716, run down your eye in the first column till you come to the number seven (which is the golden number of that year), which being placed over against the 17th of March it tells you thereby that this 17th of March is the first day of the first vernal moon of this year. And from thence run down your eye in the third column till you come to the same number of seven in in that column, which being placed over against the 30th of March, it tells you thereby that this is the fourteenth day of that moon (as you will find by numbering from the said seventeenth day, which was the first of this moon), or the paschal term of the year. And then run down your eye from thence in the fourth column (which is the column of the dominical letters) till you come to the letter G, (which is the dominical letter of the year), which being placed over against the 1st of April, it tells you thereby that this day is the first Sunday after the said paschal term, and therefore is the Sunday on which Easter is to be solemnized this year. And so, in like manner, if you would know when Easter will fall in the year 1717, eight being the golden number of the year, and placed in the column of the primes over against the 5th of April, it shows that to be the first day of the first vernal moon of that year. And the same number in the third column being placed over against the 18th of April, it shows that to be the paschal term of the year. And the letter F being the dominical letter of the year, and the next F after in the fourth column being placed over against the 21st of April, this shows that the 21st of April is the first Sunday after the said paschal term, and therefore is the Sunday on which Easter is to be observed in that year. And so, by the like method, may be found out when Easter, according to this form, will fall in any year

for ever: and hereby not only the rule, but also the reason of the thing, may be seen both together at the same time. And the same may be done by the calendar in the Common Prayer Book, though the third column of this scheme be there wanting. For you having there found, by the method mentioned, the first day of the first vernal moon, number down from thence to the 14th day after, and there you have the paschal term; and the next Sunday after (which you will know by the dominical letter of the year) is Easter Sunday.

Difference between the true equinox and the Nicene equinox. — But it is to be observed, that the 21st of March is not the true equinox, but only that which was the true equinox at the time of the Nicene council (which was held A. D. 325); since that time the true equinox

---

hath anticipated the Nicene equinox eleven days. For the Julian solar year, which we reckon by, exceeding the true tropical solar year eleven minutes, this excess in one hundred and thirty years makes a day, and almost eleven times one hundred and thirty years having happened since the time of that Council to this present year 1716, the true equinox now falls eleven days before the Nicene equinox. And so in like manner it hath happened to the primes, that is, the golden numbers, or the numbers of the nineteen years' cycle of the moon in the first column of the calendar in our Common Prayer Book. For they are placed there to show, that the days of the months over against which they stand in that calendar, are the new moons in those years in which they are the golden numbers, and they truly did so at the time of the Council of Nice. But in every one of the nineteen years' cycles of the golden numbers, called the cycles of the moon, the Julian solar reckoning exceeding the true lunar reckoning an hour and almost a half, this hour and a half in three hundred and four years making a day, and four times three hundred and four years and above half three hundred and four years more having now passed since that Council, this hath caused that the true new moons now happen four days and a half before the new moons marked by the primes in the said calendar of our Common Prayer Book. And therefore, if you would have the true equinox by that calendar, you must deduct as many days from the 21st of March as there hath been the number of one

hundred and thirty years since the Council of Nice, and that will bring you back to the true time of the equinox in this or any other year wherein it shall be sought for. And so, in like manner, if you would have the true time of the new moon by the same calendar in every month, you must deduct as many days from the days of the month which the primes mark out for the new moons, as there are the number of three hundred and four years in the number of years which are now from the time of the said Council elapsed, that is, four days and a half; and this will lead you back to the true time of the new moon in any month of the year wherein you shall seek to know it. As for example, in this year 1716, the number seven (which is the golden number of the year), as placed in the column of the primes in the month of June, points out the 18th day of the month for the new moon: deduct from it four days and a half, and that will carry you back to the 8th of June, which is the true new moon; and so likewise, in this method, you may know by the same calendar on what day the new moon shall happen in any month or year for ever.

And thus far the explication of the Jewish cycle of eighty-four years: and the account of that controversy about it, which was raised in this land among our English ancestors, hath led me, I fear, into too long a digression. To return therefore to our history.

III. DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABÆUS, AND CONTINUATION OF THE JEWISH WAR UNDER JONATHAN, B. C. 161-144.

Kings of Syria-Antiochus Eupator, 164;

Demetrius Soter, 151;

Alexander Balas, 150;

Demetrius Nicator, 145.

Kings of Egypt-Ptolemy VI. Philometor, 180;

Ptolemy VII. Physcon, 145.

Renewal of the war between Syria and Judæa: defeat of Nicanor and death of Razis, 161. —Nicanor, having received orders from Demetrius again to renew the war against the Jews, as hath been above mentioned, came with his forces to Jerusalem, and there thought by craft and treachery to have gotten Judas into his power. For having invited him to a conference, Judas, relying on the late peace, complied with him herein, and came to the place appointed; but finding that an ambush was there laid treacherously to take him, he fled from his presence: and after this all confidence was broken, and the war was again begun between them. The first action hereof was at Capharsalama, in which Nicanor, having lost five thousand of his men, retreated with the rest to Jerusalem; where, being much enraged by reason of the defeat, he first vented his wrath on Razis, an eminent and honourable senator of the Jewish senate called the Sanhedrim. For finding that he was much honoured and beloved by the Jews, not only by reason of his steady and constant perseverance in his religion through the worst of times, but also because of the good and kind offices which he was ready on all occasions to do his people, Nicanor thought it would be an act of great displeasure and despite to the Jews to have him cut off; and therefore sent out a party of five hundred men to take him, with intent to put him to death. But Razis being at a castle of his which he had in the country, there defended himself against them for some time with great valour: but at length, finding he could hold out no longer, he fell upon his own sword; but the wound not killing him, he cast himself headlong over the battlements of the turret whereon he fought; and finding himself alive after that also, he thrust his hand into his wound, and pulling out his bowels cast them upon the assailants, and so died. The Jews for this reckoned him a martyr; but St. Austin, in his epistle to Dulcitius, condemns the fact as self-murder, and there gives reasons for it that cannot be answered.

Utter defeat and death of Nicanor. —After this Nicanor went up into the mountain of the temple, and there demanded that Judas and his host should be delivered to him, threatening that unless this were done, he

would, on his return, pull down the altar and burn the temple, and instead of it build a temple to Bacchus in the same place; and at the same time spoke many other blasphemous words, both against the temple and the God of Israel that was worshipped in it; which sent all that wished well to Sion to their prayers against him, and they were heard with thorough effect. For immediately after, Nicanor marching out with his forces against Judas, and coming to a battle with him, was

---

slain on the first onset; whereon the whole army cast away their arms and fled; and all the country, rising upon them as they endeavoured to escape, cut them all off to a man, there not being of his whole army, which consisted of thirty-five thousand men, so much as one left to carry the news of this defeat to Antioch. Judas and his forces, returning from the pursuit again to the field of battle, took the spoils of the slain, and having found the body of Nicanor, they cut off his head, and also his right hand, which he had stretched out so proudly in his threatenings against the temple, and hanged them up upon one of the towers of Jerusalem. This victory was obtained on the thirteenth of the Jewish month Adar; and it being a day of great deliverance to Israel, they rejoiced greatly in it, and ordained that it should ever after be observed as an anniversary day of thanksgiving, in commemoration of this mercy; and they so keep it even to this present time, by the name of the day of Nicanor. And here endeth the history of the Second Book of the Maccabees.

Judas sends an embassy to Rome. —Judas, having some respite after this victory, sent an embassy to the Romans; for having heard of their power, prowess, and policy, he was desirous of making a league with them, hoping thereby to receive some protection and relief against the oppression of the Syrians: and therefore for this end he made choice of Jason the son of Eleazar, and Eupolemus the son of that John who, in a like embassy to Seleucus Philopator, obtained from him a grant of all those privileges for the Jews which Antiochus Epiphanes would have afterwards abolished; and sent them to Rome, where they were kindly received by the senate, and a decree was made, that the Jews should be acknowledged as friends and allies of the Romans, and a league of mutual defence be thenceforth

established between them. And a letter was written from them to Demetrius, requiring him to desist from any more vexing the Jews, and threatening him with war if he should not comply herewith. But before this letter was delivered, or the ambassadors returned with the decree of the senate to Jerusalem, Judas was dead.

Bacchides and Alcimus invade Judæa with an overwhelming army: death and burial of Judas Maccabæus. —For Demetrius, having received an account of the defeat and death of Nicanor, sent Bacchides, with Alcimus, the second time into Judea, at the head of a very potent army, made up of the prime forces and flower of his militia. Judas, on the coming of this army into Judæa, had no more than three thousand men with him to oppose them; who, being terrified with the strength and number of the enemy, deserted their general, all to eight hundred men: yet with these few Judas, out of an over-excess of valour and confidence, dared engage the numerous army of the adversary; but being overborne by their numbers, was slain in the conflict; for which all Judah and Jerusalem made great lamentation;

---

and Jonathan and Simon his brothers, taking up his dead body, buried him honourably at Modin, in the sepulchre of his forefathers.

Syrian party establish Alcimus in the high priesthood: Jonathan succeeds Judas in the leadership of the Jewish patriots, 161. The apostates, and others who were ill affected to the true interest and peace of their country, took the advantage of this loss to lift up their heads again, and act according to their evil inclinations in all parts of the land, and hereby created great disturbances in it. And moreover a very grievous famine happened at the same time; and the prevailing faction having gotten most of the provisions of the land into their power, this caused great revoltings among the people, that so thereby they might come at bread. And by this means Alcimus and his party, greatly increasing in strength, got the whole land into their power; and thereon the government being in all places put into the hands of wicked men, great inquisition and search was made for the friends and adherents of the Maccabæans; and such of them as could be

taken, being brought to Bacchides, were put to death with all manner of cruelty and indignity; by reason whereof there was sore affliction and great distress in Israel, such as had not been from the days of the prophets that returned from the Babylonish captivity to that time, not excepting even the persecuting times of Antiochus Epiphanes. Whereon, for the remedy of this great evil and misery, all that wished well to Sion flocked to Jonathan, and made him their captain; and he thereon taking the government upon him, rose up in the place of Judas his brother, and got forces together to resist the enemy; which Bacchides hearing of, endeavoured to have gotten him into his power, that he might put him to death: whereon Jonathan and Simon his brother, with those that were with them, fled into the wilderness of Tekoa, and there encamped near the river of Jordan, where being surrounded with a morass on the one side, and the river on the other, they could not be easily come at. But that they might the better secure their goods and baggage from all the events of war, they sent all their carriages under the conduct of John, the brother of Jonathan and Simon, to their friends the Nabathwans, to be deposited with them, till they should be in a better condition again to receive them.

John slain by the Jambrian Arabs: Jonathan and Simon avenge his death. —But while John was on his way thither, the Jambrians, a tribe of the Arabs then living at Medaba, formerly a city of the Moabites, issued out from thence upon him, and having slain him and those that were with him, took all that they had, and carried it away for a prey. Not long after, Jonathan and Simon, understanding that a great marriage was to be solemnized at Medaba, between one of the chief men of the Jambrians and a daughter of one of the prime nobles of Canaan, and having gotten notice of the day when the bride was to be conducted home to her bridegroom, waylaid them in the mountains; from whence having a full sight of the bride's being carried on with great pomp and attendance, and the bridegroom's marching out with like pomp to meet and receive her, as soon as they perceived both companies were joined together, they rose up against them from the place where they lay in

ambush, and slew them all, excepting only some few that escaped by flying to the mountains, and took all their spoils; and having thus revenged the death of their brother, returned again to their former camp.

Jonathan compelled by Bacchides to retire eastward of the Jordan. —Bacchides, having received intelligence of this affair, marched thither against them, and having made himself master of the pass that led to their encampment, assaulted them in it on the sabbath-day, expecting then to find no resistance from them, because of the religious veneration which he understood they had for that day. But Jonathan, reminding his people of the determination that was made in this case in the time of Mattathias his father, exhorted them valiantly to resist the enemy, when thus pressed to it by necessity, notwithstanding it was the sabbath-day; and all accordingly complied herewith, and in defence of themselves slew of the assailants about one thousand men; but finding that they must at length be overpowered by their numbers, they cast themselves into the river Jordan, and swam over to the other side, and so escaped: for Bacchides, pursuing them no farther, returned again to Jerusalem, where having given order for the fortifying of several cities and strongholds throughout Judea and places best convenient for it, he put strong garrisons in them, that he might thereby the better keep the country in subjection, and the easier suppress all those of the contrary party that should rise up against him. And especially he took care to well repair and fortify the fortress of Mount Acra in Jerusalem, and having fully furnished it with men and provisions, he took of the children of the chief men of the country and put them into it, ordering them there to be kept as hostages for the fidelity of their fathers and friends; and so ended the year.

Death of Alcimus, 160. —In the next year after died Alcimus, the great troubler of Israel. For after having, by the power of Bacchides, fully established himself in the pontificate, he set himself to make several alterations for the corrupting of the then well-settled state of the Jewish religion, in order to the bringing of it to a nearer agreement with the heathen. And whereas round the sanctuary there was built, by the order of the latter prophets Haggai and Zechariah, a low wall or enclosure called the Chel, to serve for the separating of the holy part of the mountain of the house from the unholy; and the rule was, that within this no uncircumcised

person was ever to enter, Alcimus, in order to take away this distinction, and give the Gentile equal liberty with the Jews to pass into the inner courts of the temple, ordered this wall of partition to be pulled down. But while it was doing, he was smitten by the hand of God with a palsy, and died suddenly of it.

Demetrius recalls Bacchides to Syria. — When Bacchides saw that Alcimus was dead, for whose sake he came into Judæa, he returned again to Antioch; and the land had quiet from all molestations from the Syrians for two years. It is most likely Demetrius had by this time received the letters that were sent to him from the Romans in behalf

---

of the Jews, and thereupon gave Bacchides orders to surcease his vexations of that people; and that it was in obedience to those orders that, on the death of Alcimus, he took that occasion to leave that country.

Demetrius obtains the favour of Rome, and is acknowledged king of Syria. —For Demetrius about this time labouring all he could to get the Romans to favour him, was now more than ordinary cautious not to give them any offence; and therefore was the more ready to comply with anything they should desire. It hath been before related in what manner he fled from Rome, when he was a hostage there, and how, contrary to the mind of the senate, he seized Syria, and slew Antiochus Eupator, whom they had confirmed in that kingdom, and there reigned in his stead; for which reason they, being much displeased with him, had not as yet saluted him king, nor renewed the league with him which they had made with his predecessors. This Demetrius was very solicitous to have done; and in order thereto was at this time making use of all manner of methods to gain their favour: and therefore hearing that the Romans had then three ambassadors at the court of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of his prime ministers, thither to treat with them about this matter; and on his return, finding by the report which he made him of what had passed in this treaty, that the good offices of these ambassadors were absolutely necessary for the gaining of his point, he sent again to them, first into Pamphylia, and after that again to Rhodes, promising everything they should desire, and

never leaving soliciting and pressing them, till at length, by their interposition, all was granted him that he solicited for; and the Romans acknowledged him for king of Syria, and renewed the leagues of his predecessors with him.

Roman senate refuses to take the lives of Isocrates and Leptines as sufficient compensation for the murder of their ambassador, 159. — Whereon the next year after, Demetrius sent the same Menochares with others in a solemn embassy to Rome, for the further cultivating of their friendship with him. They carried thither a crown of gold of the value of ten thousand gold pieces of money for a present to the senate, in acknowledgment of the kind and free entertainment he had received from them while he was a hostage at Rome with them. And they also brought with them Leptines and Isocrates to be delivered into their hands, for the death of Octavius. It hath been above related, how this Leptines slew Octavius at Laodicea in Syria, while he was in that country on an embassy from the Romans. Isocrates was a talkative Greek, and by profession a grammarian; he being then in Syria when this murder was committed, undertook on all occasions to speak in the justification of it; for which reason being taken into custody, he grew distracted, and so continued ever after. But there was no occasion of seizing Leptines; he freely offered himself to go to Rome, there to answer for the fact, and accordingly, without any constraint, accompanied the ambassadors thither and although he constantly owned the fact, yet at the same time he as confidently assured himself he should suffer no hurt from the Romans for it; and so it

---

accordingly happened. As to the ambassadors, the senate received them with due respects, and kindly accepted of the present they brought, but would not meddle with the persons. The taking vengeance of these two men they thought was too small a satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador; and therefore they kept that matter still upon the same foot, reserving to themselves the further inquiry into it, and the demand from the whole nation of the Syrians (on whom in general they charged the guilt) of such satisfaction as, on a full and thorough cognizance of the cause, should be judged adequate to it.

Cappadocia: Demetrius assists Holophernes in wresting the kingdom of Cappadocia from Ariarathes. —About this time Holophernes, the pretended elder brother of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, laying claim to that kingdom, came to Demetrius to solicit his help for the recovering of it. Ariarathes the father had to his wife Antiochis the daughter of Antiochus the Great, king of Syria. She having lived some years without children, and therefore believing that she should never have any, to help the matter feigned herself to be with child, and thereon pretending to be delivered first of one son, and afterwards again of another, by the same trick she thus brought in two supposititious children to be heirs of the royal family; the first of which was called Ariarathes, and the other Holophernes. By which it appears, that the bringing in of false births for the inheriting of crowns is no new thing in the world. But after, the queen proving truly to be with child, and being delivered without fraud, first of one daughter and next of another, and in the last place of a son, she confessed the whole deceit. Whereon, that the false sons might not be heirs, to the wrong of the true, they were sent away into foreign parts, the eldest of them to Rome, and the other, which was this Holophernes, into Ionia, with sums of money sufficient there to educate and maintain them. And the true son, at first called Mithridates, thenceforth taking his father's name, was declared his true heir; and accordingly, after his death, succeeded him in the kingdom. And this is that Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, of whom we now speak, and against whom Holophernes made the claim I have mentioned. Demetrius had not long before offered him his sister Laodice in marriage; but she having been widow to Perseus king of Macedon, an enemy to the Romans, and Demetrius himself not being yet in good grace with them, Ariarathes feared he might by this match give them offence, and therefore rejected the offer. This Demetrius resented; and while he was under these resentments Holophernes came to him; and therefore, having easily obtained his assistance, by the strength and power thereof he expelled Ariarathes, though assisted by Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and reigned in his stead. But by his rapine, cruelty, and other mal-administrations, he soon made himself odious to all the people of his kingdom.

Pergamus: Eumenes dies, and is succeeded by Attalus. —This assistance, which Eumenes gave Ariarathes, was one of the last acts of his life; for he died soon after, having reigned at Pergamus thirty-eight years. By his will, he bequeathed his kingdom to Attalus his brother, who accordingly succeeded him in it. He had a son by Stratonice his queen, sister to Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia last mentioned; but he, being an infant at the time of his father's death, was then incapable of administering the government; and therefore Eumenes rather chose to put Attalus into the present possession of the crown, reserving to his son the next succession after him. And Attalus deceived not his expectation herein; for after his brother's death he married his wife, and took care of his son, and left him his kingdom at his death, after he had reigned in it twenty years, preferring him herein to his own sons, for the sake of that trust which his brother had reposed in him, as will be hereafter related in its proper place.

Jewish history: last invasion of Bacchides, and retirement of Jonathan to Bethbasi, 158. —Jonathan having had two years' quiet, and thereby brought his affairs to some settlement in Judæa, the adverse faction, being hereby excited with envy against him, sent to the Syrian court at Antioch, and there procured that Bacchides was again ordered into that land with a great army. The authors of this mischief proposed to seize Jonathan and all those of his party, in one and the same night, throughout the land, as soon as the army should arrive to back them in the enterprise; and all things were accordingly laid in order to it. And therefore Bacchides, on his entering the borders of Judæa, sent them letters to appoint the time for the executing of the plot in the manner as had been concerted between them. But the design being discovered, Jonathan got his forces together, seized fifty of the conspirators, and having put them to death, thereby quelled all the rest; and so the whole mischief that was intended against him was totally quashed and defeated. But not being strong enough to stand against so great a force as Bacchides brought against him, he retired to Bethbasi, a place strongly situated in the wilderness, and having well repaired its former fortifications, and furnished it with all things necessary, he there purposed to make defence against the enemy. Whereon Bacchides marched thither with all his army to besiege him, and called thither to him all the Jews that were in the Syrian interest to assist him herein. On his approach,

Jonathan left Simon his brother with one part of his forces to defend the place, and he with the other part took the field to harass the adversary abroad; and accordingly he

---

did cut off several of their parties as they went out to forage, smote and destroyed others that adhered to them, and sometimes made impressions upon the outskirts of those that lay at the siege, to the disturbing and disordering of the whole army. And at the same time Simon as valiantly did his part in Bethbasi, strenuously defending himself therein, making frequent sallies, and burning the engines of war provided against the place.

Bacchides concludes a peace with Jonathan and returns to Syria. — By this success of the two brothers Bacchides being made weary of the war, grew very angry with those who had been the authors of bringing him into it; and having put several of them to death, purposed to raise the siege and depart the country: of which Jonathan having notice, took hold of the opportunity to send messages to him for an accommodation; which Bacchides gladly receiving, made peace with Jonathan and his party; and all prisoners being thereon restored on both sides, Bacchides swore that he would never more do any harm to the Jews, as long as he should live; which he accordingly made good: for as soon as the peace was ratified and executed on both sides, he departed, and never afterwards came any more into that country. Whereon Jonathan settled in peace at Michmash, a town lying to the north of Jerusalem, at the distance of nine miles from it, and there governed Israel according to the law, cut off all that apostatized from it, and restored again justice and righteousness in the land, and reformed, as far as he could, all that was amiss either in church or state.

Cappadocia: expulsion of Holophernes and restoration of Ariarathes, 157. —Ariarathes, being driven out his kingdom of Cappadocia by Demetrius and Holophernes, in the manner as hath been above related, came to Rome for relief. And thither came also ambassadors from Demetrius and Holophernes, to justify what they had done against him: who being able speakers, and making their appearance with great splendour and show of riches, as coming from princes in possession of their

kingdoms, easily overbore by the power of their oratory and the power of their interest a poor exiled prince, who had no one else to speak for him, or any other interest to support him in his cause, save only the justness of it; and therefore they obtained the determination of the senate on their side against him. However, seeing Ariarathes had been formerly declared and often owned as a friend and ally of the Romans, they would not wholly dispossess him, but ordered him and Holophernes to reign together. But this partnership did not last long: for Holophernes having, by his many mal-administrations, utterly alienated the affections of the Cappadocians from him, they were all ready to declare against him for Ariarathes on the first occasion that should offer. Of which Attalus king of Pergamus being fully informed, sent Ariarathes such assistance as enabled him to drive Holophernes out of the country, and again reinstate himself in the possession of the whole kingdom. Hereon Holophernes retreated to Antioch, carrying thither with him a treasure sufficient to support him.

For before this turn of his affairs, suspecting that which happened, he got together a great sum of money, to the value of four hundred talents of silver, and deposited it with the Prienians, among whom he had been bred, as a reserve for all events. This money Ariarathes, after the recovery of his kingdom, demanded of the Prienians, as that which of right belonged to him, because raised out of the revenues of his crown. But the Prienians, being of old famous for their justice, resolved to make good that character on this occasion; and therefore would not be induced by any solicitations or threats to pay him the money, but, though they suffered much, both from Attalus as well as from Ariarathes, for the refusal, continued true to their trust, and restored the whole sum to Holophernes; and with this money he might have lived in plenty and ease at Antioch, could anything less than reigning have there contented him.

Egyptian history: Physcon appeals to Rome against Philometor, 156. —Ptolemy Physcon, king of Libya and Cyrene, having by his ill and cruel management of the government, and his very wicked and vicious conduct, justly incurred the general dislike and odium of his subjects, it happened that some of them, lying in wait for him, fell upon him and

wounded him in several places, thinking to have slain him. This he charged upon king Philometor his brother; and, as soon as he was recovered, he went again to Rome with his complaint against him, showing the senate the scars of his wounds, and accusing him of having employed the assassins from whom he received them. And although king Philometor was a person of so great benignity and good nature, that of all men living he was the most unlikely ever to have given the least countenance to such a fact, yet the senate, by reason of the disgust which they had conceived against him for his not submitting to their decree about Cyprus, yielded so easy an ear to this false accusation, that, taking it all to be true, they would not so much as hear what the ambassadors of Philometor had to say on the other side for the refutation of this charge; but ordered them forthwith to be gone from Rome, and then sent five ambassadors to conduct Physcon to Cyprus, and put him in possession of that island, and wrote letters to all their allies in those parts to furnish him with forces for this purpose.

Physcon fails to wrest Cyprus from Philometor: final reconciliation between the two brothers, 155. —By which means Physcon, having gotten together an army which he thought sufficient for the compassing of his design, landed with them on the island for the possessing of himself of it; but being there encountered by Philometor, he was vanquished in battle, and forced into Lapitho, a city in that island; where being pursued, shut up, and besieged, he was at length taken prisoner

---

in the place, and delivered into the hands of Philometor, who, out of his great clemency, dealt much better with him than he deserved. For although his demerits were such as might justly have provoked from him the utmost severities, yet he remitted all; and not only pardoned him, when his offences against him were such as everybody else would have judged unpardonable, but also restored to him Libya and Cyrene, and added some other territories to them, to compensate for his detaining Cyprus from him; and hereby the war between the two brothers was wholly ended, and never after again revived; the Romans being ashamed, it seems, any more to oppose themselves against so generous a clemency: for there is no more mention from this time of their any further interposal in this matter.

Treachery of Archias, the Egyptian governor of Cyprus.— Philometor, having thus finished the Cyprian war against his brother, left the command of that island, on his return to Alexandria, to Archias, one of the chief of his confidants. But he was deceived in the man: for he had not been long in this trust ere he agreed with Demetrius, king of Syria, for five hundred talents, to betray the island to him. But discovery being made hereof, he hanged himself, to avoid the punishment which that treachery deserved. He had formerly with great fidelity adhered to his master, when he was driven out of his kingdom, and accompanied him to Rome, when he went thither for help in his distress. But though his fidelity was of proof in that case, it was not so in this other: for, being a greedy man, he could not hold out against money; and therefore sold himself for the sum I have mentioned, and perished in the bargain.

Syrian history: alliance of Ptolemy Philometor with Attalus king of Pergamus and Ariarathes king of Cappadocia against Demetrius, 154. —Demetrius, giving himself wholly up to luxury and ease, lived at this time a very odd and slothful life. For having built him a castle near Antioch, and strongly fortified it with four towers, he there shut himself up; and casting off all care of the public, devoted himself wholly to his ease and his pleasures; the chief of which last was drinking, which he indulged to that excess, that he was usually drunk for the major part of every day that he there lived. Whereby it came to pass, that no petitions being admitted, no grievances redressed, nor any justice duly administered, the whole business of the government was at a stand; which justly giving disgust to all his subjects, they entered into a conspiracy for the deposing of him. And Holophernes, then living at Antioch, joined with them in it against his benefactor; hoping, on the success thereof, to ascend his throne and there reign in his stead. Of which discovery being made, Holophernes was thereon clapped up in prison. For Demetrius thought fit not to put him to death, that he might still have him in reserve to let loose upon Ariarathes, as future occasions should require. However, notwithstanding this detection, the conspiracy still went on. For Ptolemy being disgusted by Demetrius's late attempt upon Cyprus, and Attalus and Ariarathes being alike provoked by the wars which he had made upon them on the behalf of Holophernes,

they all three joined together for the encouraging of the conspirators against him.

Alexander Balas, the impostor, supported in his claim to Syria by the three kings and the Roman senate, 153. — Accordingly the three kings employed Heraclides to suborn one to take on him the pretence of being son to Antiochus Epiphanes, and under that title to claim the crown of Syria. This Heraclides was, as I have before related, a great favourite of Antiochus Epiphanes, and his treasurer in the province of Babylon, while Timarchus his brother, another like favourite of that king's, was governor of it. But on the coming of Demetrius to the crown, these two brothers being found to have been guilty of great misdemeanours, Timarchus was put to death; but Heraclides, making his escape out of the kingdom, took up his residence at Rhodes; where, being put on work to form this plot, and having accordingly found out, in that place, a youth of very mean and obscure condition, called Balas, that was every way fit for the purpose, he dressed him up, and thoroughly instructed him for the acting of his part in it. And when he had thus exactly formed him for the imposture, he first procured him to be owned by the three kings above mentioned, and then carried him to Rome, taking along with him Laodice, who was truly the daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, thereby to give the better colour to the fraud; and on his arrival thither, by his craft and sedulous solicitation, gained him to be owned there also; and procured from the senate a decree in his behalf, not only to permit him to return into Syria, for the recovery of that kingdom, but likewise to have their assistance in order to it. For the senators, though they plainly enough discerned all to be fiction and imposture that was alleged on the behalf of Balas, yet out of disgust to Demetrius they struck in with it, and made this decree in favour of the impostor; by virtue whereof he raised forces, and with them sailing to Ptolemais in Palestine, seized that city; and there, by the name of Alexander the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, took upon him to be king of Syria; and great numbers, out of their disaffection to Demetrius, flocked thither to him.

Jewish history: Demetrius seeks the assistance of Jonathan. — This brought Demetrius out of his castle to provide for his defence; in order

whereto, he got all the forces together that he could, and Alexander armed as fast on his part; and the assistance of Jonathan being like to carry great weight with it to that side he should declare for, both courted his friendship. And first, a letter was wrote to him from Demetrius, constituting him the king's general in Judæa, and authorizing him to raise forces, and provide them with arms to come to his assistance; and commanding that the hostages which were in the fortress at Jerusalem should be delivered to him. Jonathan, on the receiving of this letter, went up to Jerusalem, and caused it there to be read in the hearing of those in the fortress, and then, by virtue of it, demanded the hostages; which they accordingly delivered to him. For finding him invested with such authority from the king, they were afraid, and durst not withstand him in this matter. And therefore all

---

the hostages which Bacchides had taken of the Jews, and shut up in that fortress for the securing of the fidelity of their fathers and friends to the Syrian interest, being restored to those from whom they were taken, and the restraint put upon them hereby again removed, great numbers flocked to Jonathan, for the strengthening of him, whereby he grew to such power, that those forces which Bacchides had placed in garrisons all over the country, finding themselves not strong enough to hold out against him, left their fortresses and fled away; only Bethsura and the fortress at Jerusalem still held out. For the garrison soldiers in both these two places being most of them apostate Jews, they had nowhere else to flee to: and therefore, in this desperate case, had nothing else to depend upon, but by standing out to defend themselves to the utmost. Hereon Jonathan, settling at Jerusalem, began to repair the city and new fortify it on every side, and caused the wall round the mountain of the temple, which had been pulled down by Antiochus Eupator, to be again rebuilt.

Jonathan obtains the high priesthood from Alexander Balas and supports the impostor. —Alexander, hearing what Demetrius had done to gain Jonathan on his side, sent also his proposals to him; whereby he granted to him that he should be high priest to the Jews, and be called the king's friend; and he sent him a purple robe, and a crown of gold, as ensigns of the great dignity which he thereby invested him with (none but princes

and nobles of the first rank being allowed in those days to be clothed in purple). Of which Demetrius having received notice, resolved to outbid Alexander for the gaining of so valuable an ally, and therefore sent a second message to Jonathan, offering all that Alexander did, with the addition of many other extraordinary grants and privileges, both to him and all his people, in case he would declare for him, and come to his assistance. But it being remembered how bitter an enemy he had been to all that adhered to the true Jewish interest, and how much ruin and oppression he had brought upon that whole nation, they durst not confide in him; but looking on all his offers to be only such as were extorted from him by the necessity of his affairs, and which he would all immediately contravene and revoke whenever his fortunes should be again restored, they resolved rather to enter into a league with Alexander. And therefore Jonathan, accepting of his grant of the high priest's office, and having also for it the consent of all the people, did on the feast of tabernacles, which soon after ensued, put on the pontifical robe, and then officiated as high priest, after that office from the death of Alcimus had been now vacant seven years.

Settlement of the high priesthood in the family of the Asmoneans. — And from this time the office of high priest of the Jews became settled in the family of the Asmoneans, and continued in it for several descents, till the time of Herod, who changed it from an office of inheritance to

---

that of arbitrary will and pleasure: for from that time, those that were in power did put in and put out the high priests as they thought fit, till at length the office was extinguished in the destruction of the temple by the Romans. From the time of the return from the Babylonish captivity, the office of high priest of the Jews had been in the family of Josadack, and was transmitted down in it by lineal descent to Onias, the third of the name that was in that office; who being outed of it by the fraud of Jason his brother, and he again by the like fraud of Menelaus, another of those brothers, Alcimus was next, after the death of Menelaus, put into that office by the command of the king of Syria. Josephus tells us, that he was not of the pontifical family, by which he means no more than that he was not of the descendants of Josadack, though of the family of Aaron. For that he is said to be; and that was enough

to qualify him for the office, every descendant of Aaron being equally capable of it. Whether the Asmoneans were of that race of Josadack or not, is not anywhere said. Only this is certain, that they were of the course of Joarib, which was the first class of the sons of Aaron. And therefore, on the failure of the former pontifical family (which had then happened on the flight of Onias the son of Onias into Egypt), they had the best right next to succeed. And with this right Jonathan took the office, when nominated to it by the king then reigning in Syria, and also elected thereto by the general suffrage of all the people of the land.

Syrian history: war between Demetrius and Alexander Balas, 152.—Both kings having with their armies taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither courage nor understanding when out of his drunken fits, in the first battle had the victory; but he gained no advantage by it; for Alexander, being speedily recruited by the three kings that first set him up, and strongly supported by them, and having also the Romans and Jonathan on his side, was enabled thereby still to maintain his cause. And the Syrians continued, out of the aversion they had to Demetrius, still to make desertions from him. Whereon Demetrius, fearing where all this might end, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus (who both afterwards reigned in Syria), to Cnidus, and there committed them, with a great treasure, to the care of a friend of his which he had in that city, that so, in case the worst should happen to him in this war, they might there be secured out of the reach of any fatal stroke from it; and be reserved for such future turn of affairs as fortune should afterwards offer in their favour.

Macedonia: Andriscus the impostor claims the kingdom, 151.—About this time there appeared another impostor, one Andriscus of Adramyttium in Mysia, a young man of as mean condition in that place as Alexander had been at Rhodes; who, thinking to play the same game for the kingdom of Macedon that the other had for the kingdom of Syria, pretended to be son to king Perseus who last reigned in Macedon; and taking on him the name of Philip, by virtue of this title claimed to reign in that country: but, finding his pretence at that time to be but little regarded there, he applied himself to Demetrius at Antioch; hoping, that since the Romans had encouraged one imposture against him, he might the easier be induced to encourage another against them. But

Demetrius, seeing plainly through the falseness of his pretence, caused him to be seized and sent to Rome. This he did, either that he thought thereby to ingratiate himself with the Romans, or else rather that he would not countenance a fraud, which was the same with that which he was then suffering under. But on this impostor's being delivered at Rome, the Romans despising and neglecting him, he made his escape thence into Macedonia, where he kindled such a war as cost the Romans the expense of a great deal of time, and also a great deal of blood and treasure, again to quench it.

Syrian history: defeat and death of Demetrius, and establishment of Alexander Balas on the throne, 150.—In the interim, the two contenders for the crown of Syria, having drawn together all their forces, committed the determination of their cause to a decisive battle. In the first onset Demetrius's left wing put the opposite wing of the enemy to flight; but pursuing them too far (a fault in war which hath lost many victories, and yet is still committed), by the time they came back, the right wing in which Demetrius fought in person was overborne, and he slain in the rout. As long as he could face the enemy, he omitted nothing either of valour or conduct for the obtaining of better success, but at length, in the retreat, his horse having plunged him into a bog, they that pursued him there shot at him with their arrows till he died, after having reigned in Syria twelve years.

Alexander Balas marries the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, and bestows great honours on Jonathan. — Alexander by this victory having made himself master of the whole Syrian empire, sent to Ptolemy king of Egypt, to desire that Cleopatra his daughter might be given him in marriage; which Ptolemy consenting to, carried her to Ptolemais, and there married her unto him. Jonathan, being invited to the wedding, went thither, and was received with great favour by both kings, especially by Alexander; who, to do him the greatest honour, caused him to be clothed in purple, and ordered him to be enrolled among the chief of his friends, and to take place near him among the first princes of his kingdom. And he constituted him also general of his forces in Judæa, and gave him the office of Meridarches in his palace. And whereas many that maligned him came to Ptolemais,

there to prefer libels of accusations against him, Alexander would receive none of them, but caused it to be proclaimed all over the city, that no one should presume to speak evil of him; whereon all his enemies fled from thence, and Jonathan returned with honour again into Judæa.

Jewish history: influence of Onias and Dositheus in the court of Ptolemy Philometor, and erection of new Jewish temple in Heliopolis, 149. —Onias the son of Onias, who, on his being disappointed of the high priesthood on the death of his uncle Menelaus, fled into Egypt

---

(as hath been above related), there so far ingratiated himself with king Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his queen, that he gained the chief of their confidence in all their affairs: for he was a great soldier and a great politician; and thereby became advanced to the highest post both in the army and in the court; and having, by the strength of his interest, introduced another Jew, called Dositheus, into the like favour, they two had the chief management of the government during the latter end of Philometor's reign. And Onias having this power and interest with the king, made use of it at this time to obtain from him license to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that at Jerusalem, with a grant for him and his descendants to be always high priests in it. For the obtaining of the king's consent hereto, he set forth to him, that the building of such a temple for the Jews in Egypt would be for the interest of his crown; that Jerusalem being within the territories of the king of Syria, the going of the Egyptian Jews thither annually to worship might give occasion for the seducing of them to the Syrian interest, that therefore it ought to be prevented; and that the building for them a temple in Egypt would not only most effectually do this, but also draw many other Jews thither from Judæa, and other parts, for the better peopling and strengthening of his kingdom. But his greatest difficulty was to reconcile the Jews to this new invention, their constant notion having hitherto been, that Jerusalem only was the place which God had chosen for his worship, and that it was sin to sacrifice to him upon any altar elsewhere. To satisfy them as to this, he produced to them the prophecy of Isaiah, where it is said, "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts: one shall be called the

city of destruction. In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord, in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord." And having interpreted this place of Holy Scripture (which was truly meant only of the future state of the gospel in that country), as if it respected the then present times, he prevailed with all of his nation in Egypt to understand it so too, and thus served his purpose by it. And therefore, having thus gained the king, and also the Jews that were in Egypt, to approve of his project, he immediately set about the building. The place which he chose for it was a plot of ground within the nomos or prefecture of Heliopolis, at the distance of about twenty-four miles from Memphis, where had formerly stood an old temple of Bubastis (which was another name of Isis, the great goddess of the Egyptians), but it was then wholly neglected and demolished; and therefore having rid the ground of its ruins and rubbish, he there built upon the same spot his new Jewish temple. He made it exactly according to the pattern of that at Jerusalem, though not altogether so high nor so sumptuous: and there he placed an altar for burnt-offering, an altar of incense, a shew-bread table, and all other instruments and utensils necessary for the Jewish service in the same manner as in the temple at Jerusalem, save only that he had not there a golden candlestick of seven branches in the holy place, as was in that other temple, but instead of it had one great lamp hung there in its place by a golden

---

chain from the roof of the house. It is the opinion of a very learned man, that he was led to the choice of the prefecture of Heliopolis, for the erecting of his temple in it, by the same prophecy of Isaiah above recited, as then reading in the Hebrew text the word hacheres for the word haheres; as if, instead of air haheres yeamer leæchath, i. e. "one shall be called the city of destruction," as in our English translation, the reading then was air hacheres yeamer leæchath, i. e. "one shall be called the city of the sun," i. e. Heliopolis, for that name in Greek signifieth the city of the sun. And so much must be said for this conceit, that in the Hebrew alphabet, the letter (i. e. ch) and the letter (i. e. h) are so much alike, that they may by transcribers very easily be mistaken the one for the other, and thereby a various reading be made in that place. And it is certain, that in the time of Jonathan Ben

Uzziel, the Chaldee paraphraser of the prophets, who lived not much above one hundred years after the erecting of this temple, there was a doubt whether cheres or heres was the true reading in that place, though there be no keri cetib at it; and therefore in paraphrasing of that text, he took both in, and renders the place, "the city of the temple of the sun, which is to be destroyed, shall be said to be one of them." For which interpretation no other reason can be given, but that it being then uncertain which of the two readings was the true one, he solved the difficulty by taking in both. But the true reason why Onias built his temple in this place was, he had the government of this nomos or prefecture under the king, and had there given unto him a large territory, whereon he built a city, which from his name he called Onion, and planted all that territory with Jews; and therefore he could not find a place more to the advantage and convenience either of himself or his people anywhere else for it. And after he had thus built his temple, he surrounded the area within which it stood with a high brick wall, and placed priests and Levites to officiate in it; and from that time the divine service was therein daily carried on in the same manner and order as in the temple at Jerusalem, till at length, after the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, this temple also was first shut up, and afterwards wholly demolished and destroyed with the city of Onion, in which it stood, by the command of Vespasian the Roman emperor, about two hundred and twenty-four years after it had been first built.

Septuagint version of Isaiah executed after the building of the temple of Onias. —In favour of this temple of Onias, the Septuagint render the passage of Isaiah above mentioned, Πόλις ᾽Ασεδέκ κληθήσεται ἡ μα πόλις, i. e. "one of the cities shall be called Azedek," intimating thereby, as if the original were neither air haheres nor air hacheres, but air hazzedek, i. e. "the city of righteousness;" which is a plain corrupting of the text, to make it speak for the honour and approbation of the temple of

---

Onias, which was there built. From whence these two inferences are plainly deducible:—1st, That the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, which we call the Septuagint, was made by the Jews of Egypt, who worshipped God at the temple of Onias: and 2ndly, That this part of it which gives us

the version of Isaiah (and the same may be said as to the other prophets) was made after that temple was built; which agrees exactly with what I have above written of the original of this version; that is, 1, That it was first made for the use of the Hellenistical Jews of Alexandria. 2. That it was not made all at the same time, but by parts at different times, as they needed it for the use of their synagogues. 3. That they needed it for that use as soon as there was a necessity for the reading of the Scriptures in the Greek language, in the said synagogues. 4. That this necessity began as soon as the Greek became the common language of the Jews in that place, and their own was worn out and forgot among them; which happened about the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. 5. That, till the time of the Maccabees, the law only having been read in their synagogues, till that time they needed none other of the Scriptures but the law only to have been translated for this use; and therefore, till then, no more of them than the law was put into the Greek language. 6. That when the Jews of Jerusalem, in the time of the Maccabees (that is, of the three brothers, Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, whose history under the name of Maccabees is written in the apocryphal Scriptures), had brought in the prophets also to be read in their synagogues on the occasion I have above mentioned, and the Jews of Alexandria, Egypt, Libya, and Cyrene thought fit to follow their example herein, this made it necessary for them to have the prophets also translated into Greek for this purpose; which being most certainly not done till after the time of the Maccabees (for sooner we cannot suppose the usage to have been propagated from Jerusalem so far as into Egypt, and the thing there settled), it must from hence follow that it must not have been done till after the building of Onias's temple also, that having been built in the eleventh year of the government of Jonathan, the second of those Maccabees, as I have here placed it.

Sedition at Alexandria between the Jews and the Samaritans. — About this time there arose a great sedition at Alexandria between the Jews and the Samaritans of that city, the former holding Jerusalem, and the other Mount Gerizim, to be the place where, according to the law, God was to be worshipped: they did run their contentions about this point so high, that at length they came to open arms. Whereon, for the quelling of this disturbance, a day was appointed for the hearing and determining of the

dispute before king Ptolemy and his council. The point in contest was, whether, by the law of Moses, Jerusalem or Mount Gerizim was the place where God was to be worshipped by Israel; and advocates were appointed on each side to argue and plead the cause: wherein the Samaritans failing of that proof which they pretended to, their advocates were put to death for making the contention; and so the whole disorder ceased.

Syrian history: Demetrius Nicator endeavours to obtain the Syrian kingdom from Alexander Balas, 148.—Alexander Balas having gotten into the possession of the crown of Syria by the means I have mentioned,

---

thought now that he had nothing else to do but to glut himself in the enjoyment of all those vicious pleasures of luxury, idleness, and debauchery, which the plenty and power he was then invested with could afford him. And therefore giving himself wholly up to them, and spending most of his time with women, which he had in a great number got about him, he took no care at all of the government, but left it wholly to the administration of a favourite of his, called Ammonius, who managing himself in it with great insolence, tyranny, and cruelty, put to death queen Laodice, sister of Demetrius (who had been wife to Perseus king of Macedon), and Antigonus, a son of his that had been left behind when the other two were sent to Cnidus, and all others of the royal family that he could get into his power, thinking this the best means of securing to his master the possession of the crown, which by fraud and imposture he had usurped from them; whereby he soon made both Alexander and himself very odious to all the people. Of which Demetrius the son of Demetrius (who had by his father been sent to Cnidus in the beginning of the late war, and was now grown up to years of puberty) having received notice, thought this a proper time for him to recover his right; and therefore, having by the means of Lasthenes his host hired a band of Cretans, landed with them in Cilicia, and there soon growing to a great army, took possession of all that country; whereby Alexander being roused up from his sloth, was forced to leave his seraglio of concubines which he had got about him, to look after his affairs; and therefore having committed the government of Antioch to

Hierax and Diodotus, who was also called Tryphon, he took the field with as many forces as he could get together.

Apollonius declares for Demetrius: five Apolloniuses mentioned in the history of the Maccabees. —Alexander hearing that Apollonius, governor of Cœle-Syria and Phoenicia, had declared for Demetrius, then called in king Ptolemy his father-in-law to his assistance. But the name of Apollonius often occurring in the history of these times, before we proceed further herein, it is necessary to give an account who the persons were that bore this name; that so this part of the history may be cleared from that confusion and obscurity which otherwise it must lie under. For Apollonius being a very common name among the Syro-Macedonians as well as the Greeks, it was not always the same person whom we find mentioned by this name in the occurrences of those times. The first that we meet with of this name in the history of the Maccabees is Apollonius the son of Thraseas, who was governor of Cœle-Syria and Phoenicia under Seleucus Philopator, when Helidorus came to Jerusalem to rob the temple, and afterwards, by his authority in that province, supported Simon the governor of the temple at Jerusalem, against Onias the high priest. The same was also chief minister of state to the said king Seleucus. But on the coming of his brother Antiochus Epiphanes to the crown after him, this Apollonius, being some way made obnoxious to him, left Syria and retired to Miletus. At the same time, while he resided at Miletus, he had a son

---

of the same name at Rome, there bred up and residing with Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopator, who was then a hostage in that place. This Apollonius, being a prime favourite and confident of Demetrius's, was, on his recovering of the crown of Syria, made governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, the same government which his father was in under Seleucus Philopator. And this I take to be the Apollonius who, being continued in the same government by Alexander, now revolted from him to embrace the interest of Demetrius, the son of his old master. Another Apollonius is spoken of as favourite and chief minister of Antiochus Epiphanes; but he being said to be the son of Menestheus, is sufficiently distinguished by that character from the other two above mentioned. He went ambassador from

Antiochus, first to Rome, and afterwards to Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt; and him I take to be the same who in the history of the Maccabees is said to be over the tribute, and who, on Antiochus's return from his last expedition into Egypt, was sent with a detachment of twenty-two thousand men to destroy Jerusalem, and build that fortress or citadel on Mount Acra, which held the Jews there by the throat for many years after. Besides these, there are two other Apolloniuses mentioned in the history of the Maccabees; the first, who, being governor of Samaria in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, was slain in battle by Judas Maccabæus; and the other called the son of Gennæus, who being governor of some toparchy in Palestine under Antiochus Eupator, then signalized himself by being a great enemy to the Jews.

Jonathan defeats Apollonius, and receives a gold buckle from Alexander Balas.—Apollonius having embraced the party of Demetrius, as I have mentioned, his first attempt was to reduce Jonathan, who held firm to the interest of Alexander, according to the league which he had made with him. And therefore having drawn together a great army, he encamped with it at Jamnia, and from thence sent to Jonathan a proud braggadocio message, to challenge him to come to battle with him: whereon Jonathan, marching out of Jerusalem with ten thousand men, took Joppa, in the sight of Apollonius and his army; and after this joining battle with him, vanquished him in the open field, and pursued his broken forces to Azotus, and having taken that town, set it on fire and burnt it down to the ground, with the temple of Dagon that was in it, consuming all those with it that fled thither to save themselves; so that there perished that day of the enemy's forces, what by the sword, and what by fire, about eight thousand men. After this, treating other towns of the enemy in the country round after the same manner, he returned to Jerusalem with their spoils. Whereon Alexander, hearing of this victory gained in his interest, sent to Jonathan a buckle of gold, such as used only to be given those to wear who were of the royal family; and he gave him also the city of Ecron, with the territory thereto belonging, and ordered him to be put in possession of it.

Hipparchus the astronomer of Nicea flourishes, 147.—About this time flourished Hipparchus of Nicæa in Bithynia, the most celebrated astronomer of all the ancients. He gave himself up to this study for thirty-four years, making through all that time continual observations of the positions and motions of the heavenly bodies, which are still preserved in the works of Ptolemy the astronomer. These observations he began in the year before Christ 162, and ended them anno 128, soon after which year we suppose he died. The Jews called him Abrachus, and his name is of great renown among them, and that very deservedly: for Rabbi Samuel, Rabbi Adda, and Rabbi Hillel, the authors of that form of the year which they now use, were mostly beholden to him for the observations and calculations by which they made it.

Ptolemy Philometor advances to the assistance of Alexander Balas, and effects a junction with Jonathan, 146.—Ptolemy Philometor, having been called to the assistance of his son-in-law, Alexander king of Syria, marched into Palestine with a great army for this purpose; and all the cities as he passed opening their gates to him, as being ordered by Alexander so to do, he left of his soldiers in each of them to strengthen their garrisons. At Joppa Jonathan met him, and although many complaints were made against him about the devastations made by him in those parts, after his late victory over Apollonius, yet he would take no notice of any of them, but Jonathan was received very kindly by him, and marched on with him to Ptolemais.

Philometor veers round and supports the cause of Demetrius Nicator.—On Ptolemy's coming thither, discovery was made of snares that were there laid for his life: for Ammonius, who managed all affairs under Alexander, fearing that Ptolemy came with so great a power rather to serve his own interest, by seizing Syria to himself, than to succour Alexander, or else having received intelligence that this was really his intent, formed a design of having him cut off on his coming to Ptolemais, which Ptolemy having gotten full discovery of, marched forward to demand the traitor to be delivered to him; and Jonathan attended on him as far as the river Eleutherus in Syria. From thence Ptolemy marched to Seleucia on the Orontes, where finding that Alexander would not deliver up Ammonius to him, he concluded him to be a party to the treason; and therefore taking his

daughter from him, he gave her to Demetrius, and made a league with him for the restoring of him to his father's kingdom. Hereon the Antiochians, who bore great hatred to Ammonius, thinking this a fit time for the executing of their resentments upon him, rose in a tumult against him, and having slain him as he endeavoured to escape in woman's clothes, declared against Alexander, and opened their gates to Ptolemy, and would have made him their king; but he declaring himself contented with his own dominions, instead of accepting this offer, recommended to them the restoration of Demetrius the true heir (which is a certain proof he had no design upon Syria for himself, though this be said in the First Book

---

of the Maccabees): upon which recommendation Demetrius, being received into the city, was placed on the throne of his ancestors, and all the inhabitants of Antioch declared for him. Whereon Alexander, who was then in Cilicia, coming thence with all his forces, wasted the country round Antioch with fire and sword.

Defeat and death of Alexander Balas, and accession of Demetrius Nicator.—This brought the two armies to a battle, in which Alexander being vanquished, fled with only five hundred horse to Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he had before intrusted his children. But he being there slain by those he most confided in, his head was carried to Ptolemy, who was much pleased with the sight of it.

Death of Ptolemy Philometor.—But the joy of Ptolemy did not last long; for having received a dangerous wound in the battle, he died of it within a few days after. And thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, both ended their lives together, the former having reigned five, and the other thirty-five years. Demetrius succeeding in Syria, by virtue of this victory, from hence called himself *Nicator*, i. e. the conqueror: but the succession in Egypt was not so easily determined.

Roman history: destruction of Carthage by Scipio Africanus, junior, and of Corinth by Mummius.—This same year was rendered famous, not only by the death of these two kings, but also by the destruction of two celebrated cities, Carthage and Corinth. The former was destroyed

by Scipio Africanus, junior, after a war of three years, which was called the third Punic war. And the other was taken and burnt by L. Mummius, the Roman consul for this year. In the burning of this city, all their brass being melted down and running together with other metals, this mixture made the *æs Corinthiacum*, i. e. the famous Corinthian brass of the ancients.

Conclusion of the history of Polybius.—At this same year ended the famous history of Polybius, which he wrote in forty books, beginning it from the beginning of the second Punic war, and ending it at the end of the third. But of this great and celebrated work now only five books remain entire; of the rest we have only fragments and abstracts. He was by birth of Megalopolis in Arcadia, and the son of Lycortas, the famous supporter of the Achæan commonwealth in his time. This commonwealth, much resembling that of the Dutch, was made out of the confederacy of several states and cities of Peloponnesus united together in one common league. Aratus first made it considerable; Philopœmen brought it to its highest perfection, and Lycortas, as long as he lived, kept it up in the same state. And Polybius his son, who was a person very eminent for all military and political knowledge, would have continued to have done the same, but that he was overborne by the Romans: for

---

they, becoming jealous what this growing commonwealth might at length come to, resolved to suppress it; in order whereto they forced from them a thousand of their best men, and made them live in Italy in manner of hostages, but chiefly with design that their commonwealth, being deprived of its principal men, might sink and come to nothing through want of them. Of these thousand hostages, Polybius was one of the chiefest. While he was thus confined, he lived at Rome, and there made use of the leisure which that confinement afforded him to write this history. He had much of the favour and friendship of Scipio Africanus, junior, to whom by reason of his learning and wisdom he was very dear; and therefore when he went into Africa in the third Punic war, he carried Polybius with him, and it was chiefly owing to the assistance of his counsel and advice that Scipio ended that war with success; and in that end of it Polybius ended his history, much grieving that at the same time ended also the Achæan commonwealth, in the

destruction of Corinth, and the subjecting thereon to the Roman yoke the rest of the cities and states of which that commonwealth did consist. He lived a long while after, for he reached the eighty-second year of his age.

Egyptian history: Ptolemy Physcon obtains the throne by marrying the widow of Philometor and murdering her son, 145.—Cleopatra queen of Egypt, on the death of king Philometor, her brother and husband, endeavoured to secure the succession for her son which she had by him. But he being then young, others set up for Physcon king of Cyrene, the brother of the deceased, and sent ambassadors to call him to Alexandria. This necessitating Cleopatra to provide for the defence of herself and her son, Onias and Dositheus came to her with an army of Jews for her assistance. But at that time Thermus, an ambassador from Rome, being present at Alexandria, by his interposal matters were compromised, on the terms that Physcon should take Cleopatra to wife, and breed up her son under his tuition for the next succession, and reign in the interim. That the Egyptians were thus delivered from a civil war, and the differences then among them on this occasion all brought to a composure in this manner, Josephus tells us was only owing to the assistance which Onias and Dositheus then brought to the queen. However, the perfidy of Physcon made all this turn very little to the service or content of Cleopatra. For as soon as he had married her, and thereby got possession of the crown, he murdered her son in her arms on the very day of the nuptials, and thereby acted over again the same tragedy which Ptolemy Ceraunus had before on the marriage of his sister Arsinoe; and such incestuous conjunctions well deserve such a curse to attend them. This king was commonly called Physcon, by reason of his great belly; but the name which he affected to assume was *Euergetes*, i. e. the Benefactor: this the Alexandrians turned into *Kakergetes*, i. e. the Malefactor, by reason of his great wickedness; for he was the wickedest and cruelest, and also the most vile and despicable

---

of all the Ptolemies that reigned in Egypt. He began his reign with the murder of his nephew, in the manner I have mentioned, and continued it with the same cruelty and wickedness all his reign after, putting many others to death almost every day; some upon groundless suspicions, some

for small faults, and others for none at all, as the humour took him, and some again for no other reason, but that under the pretence of forfeiture he might take all that they had: and those who were the forwardest to call him to the crown were many of them the first that suffered by him.

Syrian history: unpopular measures of Demetrius Nicator.—And things went not much better in Syria. Demetrius, being young and inexperienced, committed the management of his affairs to Lasthenes, by whose agency he hired those Cretan mercenaries that brought him to the crown; who, being a wicked and rash man, did soon run himself into those mal-administrations, that alienated from his master the affections of those who should have supported him: and Demetrius himself, being naturally of an unhappy and perverse disposition, did not mend the matter. The first false step he made was towards those soldiers which Ptolemy had placed in the maritime towns of Phœnicia and Syria, for the strengthening of their garrisons, as he passed by them towards Antioch, in his late expedition thither. These, if continued there, would have been a great strength and support to him; but upon some suggestions growing jealous of them, he sent orders to the other soldiers garrisoned with them to put them all to the sword: which being accordingly executed, this so disgusted the rest of the Egyptian army that were in Syria, and had there placed him on the throne, that they all left him, and returned again into Egypt. After this he proceeded to make a severe inquisition after those who had been against him or his father in the late wars, and put them all to death as he could get them into his power. And then, thinking he had no more enemies to fear, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, reserving none other in his pay but his Cretans and some other mercenaries; whereby he not only deprived himself of those veterans who served his father, and would have been his chief support in the throne, but made them also his bitterest enemies, by depriving them of the only means which they had whereby to subsist: the mischief of which he severely felt in the revolts and revolutions that after happened.

Jonathan confirmed in the high priesthood, and freed from the payment of all taxes and tolls.—In the interim Jonathan, finding all quiet in Judæa, set himself to besiege the fortress which the heathens still held in Jerusalem, that by expelling them thence he might remedy those mischiefs which the Jews there suffered from them. And accordingly he beset the

place, with an army and engines of war, in order to take it: of which complaint being made to Demetrius, he came to Ptolemais, and there summoned Jonathan to him to give an account of this matter. Whereon ordering the siege still to go on, he went to Ptolemais, taking with him some of the priests and chief elders of the land, and also many rich and valuable presents; by virtue of which, and his wise management, he so mollified the king, and ingratiated himself so far with him

---

and his ministers, that he not only rejected all accusations against him, but also honoured him with many favours. For he confirmed him in the high priest's office, admitted him into a chief place among his friends, and, on his request, agreed to add to Judæa the three toparchies of Apherema, Lydda, and Ramatha, which formerly belonged to Samaria; and to free the whole land under his government of all manner of taxes, tolls, and tributes whatsoever, for three hundred talents, to be paid in lieu of them, and then returned again to Antioch; where going on in the same methods of cruelty, folly, and rashness, he daily alienated the people more and more from him, till at length he made them all ready for a general defection.

Tryphon schemes to obtain the Syrian throne, first for Antiochus son of Alexander Balas, and then for himself.—Which being observed by Diodotus, afterwards called Tryphon, who formerly had served Alexander as governor of Antioch in conjunction with Hierax, he thought this a fit time for him to play a gaining game for his own interest, aiming at nothing less than, by the advantage of these disorders, to put the crown upon his own head. And therefore going into Arabia to Zabdiel, who had the bringing up of Antiochus the son of Alexander, laid before him the then state of affairs in Syria, telling him how all the people, and especially the soldiery, were disaffected to Demetrius, and that thereby a favourable opportunity was offered for recovering to Antiochus his father's kingdom. And therefore he desired that the youth might be put into his hands, that he might prosecute this advantage for him. For his scheme of treason was, first to claim the crown for Antiochus, and when he should have gotten it by virtue of that claim, then to make away that youth, and wear it himself; and so it afterwards accordingly happened. But Zabdiel either seeing through the

design, or else disliking the project, would not immediately yield to the proposal, which detained Tryphon there many days further to press and solicit the matter, till at length either by the force of his importunities, or the force of his presents, he brought over Zabdiel to comply with him, and obtained from him what he desired.

Demetrius suppresses a rising of his subjects through the assistance of Jonathan.—In the mean while, Jonathan pressed hard on the siege of the fortress at Jerusalem; but finding no success in it, he sent an embassy to Demetrius, to desire of him the withdrawing of this garrison, which he could not expel. Demetrius, being then very much embarrassed by the tumults and seditions of the Antiochians, whom he had provoked to the utmost aversion both against him and his government, promised Jonathan that he would do this and much

---

more for him, provided he would send him some forces for his assistance against the present mutineers: whereon Jonathan immediately despatched away to him three thousand men. On their arrival, Demetrius, confiding in the strength of this recruit, would have disarmed the Antiochians, and therefore commanded them all to bring in their arms: which they refusing to do, rose all in a tumult, to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and beset the palace, with intent to slay the tyrant. Hereon the Jews, coming to his assistance, fell on them with fire and sword, burning a great part of the city, and slaying of the inhabitants about one hundred thousand persons. This brought the rest to pray for peace; which being granted them, the tumult ceased; and the Jews, having thus retaliated upon the Antiochians what they had formerly suffered from them in Judah and Jerusalem, especially in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned with vast spoils and great honour to their own country.

Demetrius continues his oppressions, and breaks his agreement with Jonathan.—But Demetrius, still going on with the same methods of cruelty, tyranny, and oppression, put many to death for the late sedition, confiscated the goods of others, and drove great numbers into banishment: whereon the whole kingdom being everywhere filled with hatred and anger

against him, they only wanted an opportunity for their revenge, for the executing of it upon him to the utmost. And notwithstanding his promises to Jonathan, and the great obligations which he owed to him for his late assistance, his conduct towards him was no better than to all the rest. For thinking now he should have no more need of him, he broke the bargain he had made with him at Ptolemais, of freeing him and his people from all taxes, tolls, and tribute, for three hundred talents, to be paid him for the redemption of them; and notwithstanding he had received the money, demanded that all the said taxes, tolls, and tribute should be still paid in the utmost rigour as formerly, and threatened him with war unless this were done; whereby he alienated the Jews as much from him as he had all others.

Tryphon defeats Demetrius, and places Antiochus Theos on the throne of Syria, 144.—While things were in this state, Tryphon, having at length obtained of Zabdiel to have Antiochus the son of Alexander delivered unto him, came with him into Syria, and there laid claim to the kingdom for him: whereon all the soldiers whom Demetrius had disbanded, and multitudes of others whom he had by his ill conduct made his enemies, flocked to the pretender; and having declared him king, marched under his banner against Demetrius; and having vanquished him in battle, forced him into Seleucia, took all his elephants, and made themselves masters of Antioch, and there placed Antiochus upon the throne of the kings of Syria, giving him the name of *Theos*, or the Divine.

Jonathan declares for Antiochus Theos.—And Jonathan, being provoked by the ill return Demetrius had made him for his great services to him, accepted of the invitation which he had received from the new king, of coming into his interest. For as soon as Antiochus had gained

---

Antioch, there was sent from him an embassy to Jonathan, with letters written in his name, whereby the high priest's office was confirmed to him, the grant of the three toparchies renewed, and a fourth added to them; and he was allowed to wear purple and the golden buckle, and to have place among the chief of the king's friends; and many other privileges and advantages were moreover added. And Simon was made chief commander

of all the king's forces, from the ladder of Tyre to the borders of Egypt, on condition that these two brothers and the Jews would declare for him; which Jonathan readily consented to, having just reason for it from the ill conduct of Demetrius towards him. Whereon a commission was sent him to raise forces for the service of Antiochus through all Cœle-Syria and Palestine; by virtue whereof having gotten together a great army, he marched round the country, even as far as Damascus, to secure all in those parts to the interest of Antiochus. For the diverting of Jonathan from this purpose, the forces which Demetrius had in Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia drew together and invaded Galilee: whereon Jonathan marched thither to oppose them, leaving Simon to command in Judæa. On his first coming into Galilee, being drawn into an ambush, he had like to have been overborne by the enemy; and most of his forces, falling into a panic fear, fled from him, excepting a very few of the valiantest of them. But these few making a resolute stand, the rest rallied, and, coming on again to the fight, won the victory. And Simon, in the interim, laying siege to Bethsura, forced it to a surrender, and thereby expelled the heathen, who had long kept a garrison there, to the great annoyance of all the country round it.

Jonathan sends an embassy to Rome and Lacedæmon, to renew the treaties made with Judas Maccabæus.—Jonathan, on his return into Judea, finding all things there in quiet, sent ambassadors to the Romans to renew with them the league which they made with Judas; who being introduced into the senate were there received with honour, and dismissed with their full satisfaction. On their return from Rome, their orders were to address themselves to the Lacedæmonians and the other allies of the Jews in those parts, for the like renewing of their leagues with them; which they having accordingly done, they returned to Jerusalem, bringing back with them full success in all the negotiations on which they were sent.

Activity of Jonathan and Simon in the cause of Antiochus.—The captains of Demetrius's forces, whom Jonathan had lately vanquished in Galilee, having by new reinforcements much increased their number and strength, came the second time against him: whereon he marched out to meet them as far as Amathis, in the utmost confines of Canaan, and there encamped against them; where being informed by his spies that their intent

was to storm his camp the next night, he took care to be in full readiness to receive them; which the enemy

---

finding on their approach, they were so discouraged at the disappointment, that returning to their camp, and lighting fires in it to make it believed that they were still there, they marched off in the night, and were got so far by the time Jonathan found they were gone, that though he immediately on the discovery of it pursued after them, yet it was all in vain; for they had passed the river Eleutherus, and were thereby got out of his reach before he could come up thither. After this he led back his army against the Arabs that were of Demetrius's party, and having smitten them and taken their spoils, turned his course towards Damascus: and passing over the country thereabout, made strict inquiry after all that were adversaries to the interest of Antiochus, and suppressed them everywhere. And while he was thus employed beyond Jordan, Simon his brother was not idle in Judæa; for marching thence into the land of the Philistines, he made all there submit to him; and having taken Joppa, he placed a strong garrison in it.

Jonathan fortifies Jerusalem, and blockades the Syrian fortress on Mount Acra.—After this, both brothers being returned to Jerusalem, they called the great council of the nation together, to consult about the repairing and new-fortifying of Jerusalem and other strongholds in Judæa, so that they might be made tenable against any enemy that should come against them. And it being then agreed that the walls of Jerusalem, where they were broken down or decayed, should be repaired, and where too low should be built higher, and everything else done that was necessary thoroughly to fortify the place; all this was immediately set about, and carried on with the utmost expedition. And at the same time they built a wall or mount between the fortress and the rest of the city, that the heathen who were in garrison there might receive no relief of provision, or of anything else that way; which soon reduced them to great distress, and very much forwarded that necessity whereby at last they were forced to surrender the place. Jonathan took on himself the oversight of all these works at Jerusalem; and while he was there thus employed, Simon went into the country, and did the same as to all the other fortresses and

strongholds that were in the land; and thereby the whole country became well fortified against any enemy that should come to make war against it.

Tryphon treacherously murders Jonathan and Antiochus Theos, and declares himself king of Syria.—Tryphon, thinking his plot for the making away of Antiochus, and seizing the crown of Syria to himself, now ripe for execution in all other particulars, save only that he foresaw Jonathan would never be brought to bear so great a villany, resolved at any rate to take him out of the way; and therefore marched with a great army towards Judæa, in order to get him into his power, that so he might put him to death. On his coming to Bethsan, there Jonathan met him with forty thousand men. Tryphon, seeing him at the head of so great an army, durst not openly attempt anything against him; but endeavoured to deceive him by flattering words and a false appearance of friendship, pretending that he came thither only to consult with him about their common interest, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he intended wholly to resign to him; and having deceived him by these fair pretences, he persuaded him to send away all

---

his army, except three thousand men, two thousand of which he sent into Galilee; and with the other thousand he went with Tryphon to Ptolemais, expecting, according to the oath of that traitor, to have the place delivered to him; but as soon as he and his company were got within the walls, the gates were shut upon them, and Jonathan was made a prisoner, and all his men were put to the sword. And immediately forces were sent out to cut off the two thousand also that were in Galilee: but they having notice of what had been done to Jonathan and his men at Ptolemais, encouraged each other to stand to their defence; and then joining close together, put themselves in a posture resolutely to fight for their lives; which the enemy perceiving, durst not attack them, but permitted them quietly to march off; and they all returned safe to Jerusalem, where was great lamentation for what had happened to Jonathan. For hereon all the heathen round about, finding the Jews thus deprived of their captain, were making ready to destroy them: and Tryphon, drawing together all his forces for the same purpose, reckoned on this opportunity utterly to cut off and extirpate the whole nation. Whereon

the people being in great fears, Simon went up to the temple, and there calling the people together to him, encouraged them to stand to their defence, and offered himself to fight for them, as his father and brothers had done before him. Whereon their hearts being again raised, and their drooping spirits revived, they unanimously made choice of Simon to be their captain in the place of Jonathan; and under his conduct and direction immediately set themselves hard at work for the finishing of the fortifications at Jerusalem, which Jonathan had begun. And on Tryphon's approach to invade the land, Simon led forth a great army against him; whereon Tryphon, not daring to engage him in battle, sent to him a deceitful message, telling him that he had seized Jonathan only because he owed one hundred talents to the king; that in case he would send the money and Jonathan's two sons to be hostages for their father's fidelity to the king, he would set him again at liberty. Though Simon well saw all this was fraud and deceit, yet he complied, to avoid the ill report which otherwise might have been raised against him, as if he had wilfully caused his brother's death by the refusal; and therefore sent both the money and the young men. But the false traitor, according as Simon foresaw, when he had received all that he demanded, would do nothing of what he had promised, but still detained Jonathan in chains: and after having gotten together more forces, he came again to invade the land, with intent utterly to destroy it; but Simon, coasting him wherever he marched, opposed and baffled him in all his designs. At this time the heathen garrison in the fortress at Jerusalem, being much distressed by reason of the blockade laid at it, first by Jonathan, and now continued by Simon, pressed hard for relief; and Tryphon, having accordingly formed a design of sending relief to them, ordered out all his horse one night for the executing of it. But they had not marched

---

far, ere there fell so great a snow, as not only made their farther proceeding on this enterprise impracticable, but also forced Tryphon and all his army next day to decamp and begone, as being able no longer to bear abroad in the field the severity of the season. On his retreat from hence to his winter-quarters, coming to Bascama in the land of Gilead, he there put Jonathan to death: and after that, thinking he had no one else to fear for the obstructing

of him in the ultimate execution of his designs, he caused Antiochus to be secretly put to death, giving out that he died of the stone; and then assuming the crown, declared himself king of Syria in his stead.

IV. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JEWISH INDEPENDENCE UNDER SIMON, B. C. 143—135.

Kings of Syria—Demetrius Nicator, 145;

Antiochus Sidetes, 140.

Kings of Egypt—Ptolemy VII. Physcon, 145.

Simon succeeds Jonathan in the high priesthood and civil government, and buries him in the sepulchre of Mattathias, 143.— When Simon heard of his brother's death, and that they had buried him at Bascama, he sent thither and fetched his bones from thence, and buried them in the sepulchre of his father at Modin, over which he afterwards erected a very famous monument, of a great height, all built of white marble, curiously wrought and polished; near which he placed seven pyramids, two for his father and mother, four for his four brothers, and the seventh for himself, and then encompassed the whole with a stately portico supported by marble pillars, each of a whole piece. All which was a very excellent work, and, being erected on an eminence, was seen far off at sea, and was taken notice of as a remarkable sea-mark on that coast, whereby seafaring men who sailed that way directed their course. Josephus tells us that it was remaining entire in his time, and then looked on as a curious and very excellent piece of architecture; and Eusebius also speaks of it as still in being in his time, which was above two hundred years after the time of Josephus.

Romans refuse to acknowledge Tryphon to be king of Syria.— Tryphon, having usurped the crown of Syria, would gladly have himself acknowledged king by the Romans, as thinking this would add great reputation both to himself and his affairs; and therefore sent a splendid

embassy to them, with the present of a golden image of Victory, to the value of ten thousand pieces of gold, hoping to obtain, both for the sake of so valuable a gift, and the good omen of victory which the image carried with it, to be owned by them as king of Syria. But the Romans, cunningly eluding his expectations, received the image, and ordered to be engraven on it the name of Antiochus, whom Tryphon had lately murdered, as if he had been the donor of it.

Romans renew their previous treaties with Simon. —But the ambassadors of Simon were there received with much more respect. For

---

as soon as Jonathan was dead, and Simon admitted to be his successor, both in the high priesthood and government of the land, he sent ambassadors to notify it to the Romans and other allies. The Romans were very sorry at the death of Jonathan; but when they heard that Simon was in his place, this was well pleasing to them. And therefore when his ambassadors approached Rome, they sent out to meet them, and received them with honour, and readily renewed all their former leagues made with his predecessors; which being written in tables of brass, were carried to Jerusalem, and there read before all the people. And the same ambassadors, on their return from Rome, went also to the Lacedæmonians, and other allies of the Jews, and in the name of Simon renewed in like manner all former leagues with them, and returned with authentic instruments hereof to Jerusalem.

Sarpedon defeated: soldiers of Tryphon drowned at Ptolemais.— Sarpedon, one of Demetrius's captains, coming into Phœnicia with an army, a battle happened between him and the forces which Tryphon had in those parts. This battle was fought near the walls of Ptolemais, in which Sarpedon being vanquished, he retreated into the inland country. But the Tryphonians, on their return from the pursuit, marching back to Ptolemais, on the beach of the sea, a sudden tide coming upon them overwhelmed a great number of their men, and then going back again with as sudden an ebb as it had come on with a flow, left the dead bodies on the strand, with a great quantity of fish mingled with them; whereon Sarpedon's men again returning took up the fish, and by way of thanksgiving for them, and the destruction that had

befallen the enemy, offered sacrifices to Neptune before the very gates of Ptolemais, in the same place where the battle had been before fought.

Simon adheres to the cause of Demetrius, and obtains the independent sovereignty of Judæa.—But while Demetrius's soldiers were thus fighting for him in the field, he lay idle at Laodicea, glutting himself with all the vile pleasures of luxury and lewdness, without being made wiser by his calamities, or seeming at all to be sensible of them. However, Tryphon having given sufficient reason for the Jews utterly to renounce him and his party, Simon sent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him about terms of peace and alliance; who having obtained from that prince a grant of confirmation of the high priesthood and principality to Simon, and a release of all taxes, tolls, and tributes, with an oblivion of all past acts of hostility, on the condition of the Jews joining with him against Tryphon, they returned to Jerusalem with letters under the royal signature containing the same; which being accepted of and confirmed by all the people of the Jews, by virtue hereof Simon was made sovereign prince of the Jews, and the land freed from all foreign yoke. And therefore the Jews from this time, instead of dating their instruments and contracts by the years of the Syrian kings, as they had hitherto done, thenceforth dated them by the years of Simon and his successors.

Simon establishes himself in the government of Judea.—Simon, having thus obtained the independent sovereignty of the land, made a

---

progress through it to see to and provide for its security, repairing the fortifications in those cities and places where they were decayed, and making new ones in those where they were wanting, and this he especially did at Bethsura and Joppa. The former he made a place of arms, and put a strong garrison in it; and the latter being the nearest maritime town to Jerusalem, though at the distance of forty miles from it, he made it the sea-port to that city and all Judæa; it being the fittest place on all that coast for the carrying on of their trade through it to all the isles and countries in the Mediterranean; and it served them for this purpose for many ages after, as it still doth the inhabitants of that country even to this day, and it is there still

known by the same name. And whereas Gazara on the death of Jonathan had revolted, he laid siege to the place: and having reduced it, he cast out all the heathen out of the city, and planted it wholly with Jews; and, having well fortified it, built a house there for himself, wherein he might lodge when his affairs should call him to that place.

Destruction of the Syrian fortress on Mount Acra, 142.—The heathen in the fortress at Jerusalem since Jonathan's building of the wall against them, which did cut them off from all communication with the rest of the city, being much distressed for want of provisions and all other necessaries, were thereby at length brought to that necessity, as forced them to surrender the place and depart the land; whereon Simon took possession of it, and thereby delivered Israel from a great grievance; that garrison having been a terrible thorn in their side ever since Antiochus Epiphanes first placed it there. And that they might no more in like manner be annoyed from that place, Simon demolished not only the fortress, but also the hill itself on which it stood; for it overtopping and thereby commanding the mountain of the temple, if any other enemy should at any time after seize that place, they might from thence cause them the same mischief. And therefore Simon having called the people together, and fully laid before them what they had suffered from that place, and what they might again suffer, should it at any time after again fall into the hands of an enemy, proposed to them the digging down of the mountain itself to the level of the mountain of the temple, that so there might not be left a possibility of any more annoying the temple from that place; which they all readily consenting to, immediately did set about the work, and carried it on with great assiduity, all taking their turns in it, till at length, after three years' constant labour employed herein, they fully finished all that was intended. And while this was doing, Simon new fortified the mountain of the temple, repairing

---

the outer wall, and making it stronger than it was before, and provided habitations within it both for himself and company; and there he afterwards dwelt; and most likely his house stood where the castle Antonia was afterwards built.

Simon appoints his son John Hyrcanus to the command of the Jewish forces.—Simon finding his son John, afterwards called Hyrcanus, to be a valiant man, and very expert in all military affairs, he made him general of all the forces of Judæa, and sent him to live at Gazara, that being a border which most wanted his presence; and Joppa being in the neighbourhood, perchance to be nigh that place, for the supervising of those works that were there carrying on by his order, for the making of it a convenient seaport for all Judæa, might be another reason why he appointed him to have his residence in that place.

Demetrius undertakes an expedition against the Parthians, and is treacherously taken prisoner, 141.—Demetrius was at length roused up from his sloth by many messages out of the East inviting him thither: for the Parthians having now overrun in a manner all the East, and subjugated to them all the countries of Asia, from the river Indus to the Euphrates, those that were of the Macedonian race in those countries, not bearing this usurpation, nor that pride and insolence with which those new masters ruled over them, earnestly invited Demetrius by repeated embassies to come into those parts, promising him a general revolt from the Parthians, and such assistance of forces against them as should enable him absolutely to suppress those usurpers, and recover again all the provinces of the East to his empire. With which hopes Demetrius being excited to undertake this expedition, marched over the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in possession of the greater part of Syria behind him: for he reckoned that, after he should have made himself master of the East, he should have such an augmentation of power as would best enable him to suppress that rebel on his return. As soon as he came eastward, the Elymæans, the Persians, and the Bactrians declared for him; and, by their assistance, he overthrew the Parthians in many conflicts. But at last, under the show of a treaty of peace, being drawn into a snare, he was taken prisoner, and all his army cut in pieces.

Final establishment of the Parthian empire, from the Euphrates to the Ganges, under Mithridates.—Hereby the Parthian empire became established with that greatness of power and firmness of stability, as to make it last for several ages after, to the terror of all within their reach, even to the rivalling of the Romans themselves in the strength of their arms and the prowess and fame of their military exploits. The king that reigned in

Parthia at this time was Mithridates, the son of Priapatius, a very valiant and wise prince. How Arsaces first founded the kingdom of the Parthians, and how Arsaces his son after settled and established it by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great, hath been already related. The son and successor of the second Arsaces was Priapatius, called also Arsaces (that being the family name of all the kings

---

of this race). He, having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to Phrahates his eldest son; after whose death succeeded this Mithridates his brother, the Parthian king, into whose hands Demetrius fell. He was therefore, from Arsaces the first founder of that kingdom, the fourth in descent, and the fifth in succession of reigning, and not the sixth, as Orosius saith. He, having subdued the Medes, the Elymeans, the Persians, and the Bactrians, extended his dominions into India, beyond the boundaries of Alexander's conquests; and, having vanquished Demetrius, finally secured Babylonia and Mesopotamia also to his empire; so that thenceforth he had Euphrates on the west, as well as the Ganges on the east, for the limits of his empire.

Captivity of Demetrius in the Parthian court.—After Mithridates had thus gotten Demetrius into his power, he carried him round the revolted provinces, and exposed him everywhere to their view, that they, by seeing the prince whom they confided in reduced to this ignominious and low condition, might be the easier brought to submit again to their former yoke. But when this show was over, he allowed him a maintenance suitable to the state of a king, and sending him into Hyrcania to reside, gave him Rhodaguna one of his daughters in marriage. However, he still kept him in captivity, though with as much freedom as was consistent with a captive state, and at his death left him in this condition to Phrahates his son, who succeeded him in the kingdom. It is particularly related of Mithridates, that having conquered several nations, he gathered from every one of them whatsoever he found best in their constitutions, and then, out of the whole collection, made a body of most wholesome laws for the government of his empire.

Jewish nation publicly confer the high priesthood and supreme civil authority on Simon and his posterity.—In a general congregation of the priests and elders, and all the people of the Jews assembled together at Jerusalem, it was agreed, by the unanimous consent of all present, that the supreme government of the nation, as well as the high priesthood, should be conferred on Simon, and settled both upon him and his posterity after him. This had before been personally settled on Simon by the grant of Demetrius the Syrian king, and the same was now granted also by the whole nation of the Jews, and the settlement made, not only on the person of Simon, but upon him and his descendants for ever. And a public act or instrument in writing was made hereof, wherein it being recited what good deeds Simon and his family had done for the people of the Jews, they, in acknowledgment hereof, constituted him their prince, as well as their high priest, and granted both dignities to him and his posterity after him; a copy of which act they ordered to be engraven on tables of brass, and hung up in the sanctuary, and laid up the original in the sacred archives belonging to the treasury of the temple. And from that time Simon took on him the state, style, and authority of prince, as well as high priest of the Jews, and all public acts thenceforth went in his name. And after him both these dignities descended together to his posterity, and continued

---

among them thus united together for several descents, they being at the same time sovereign pontiffs and sovereign princes of the Jewish nation. This act bore date on the eighteenth day of the month Elul (which was the sixth of their months), in the 172nd year of the era of the Seleucide, and the third of Simon's pontificate.

At this time, the Jews tell us, Simeon Ben Shetach and Jehudah Ben Tabbai were the rectors and chief teachers of the divinity school at Jerusalem, the first of which they say was president and the other vice-president of the Sanhedrim. Of these several fables are told in the Talmud, which are not worth troubling the reader with.

Cleopatra, queen of Demetrius, offers her crown and hand to Antiochus Sidetes, 140.—Queen Cleopatra, on her husband's captivity in

Parthia, shut up herself with her children in Seleucia, on the Orontes, and there many of Tryphon's soldiers revolted to her. For being naturally of a brutish and cruel temper, he had artfully concealed this under the cloak of affability and good temper, as long as he was courting the favour of the people, for the carrying on of his ambitious designs. But when he was possessed of the crown, and Demetrius made a prisoner in Parthia, he cast off all guard and restraint, which till then he had put upon his inclinations, and let himself loose to his own natural disposition; which being such as many about him could not bear, this caused many desertions from him to Cleopatra. But still her party alone was not strong enough to support her; and therefore fearing lest the people of Seleucia would rather give her up to Tryphon than suffer a siege for her sake, she sent to Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius, to join his interest with hers, offering him her crown and herself in marriage on this condition; for hearing of the marriage of Demetrius with Rhodaguna in Parthia, and being greatly provoked thereby, she cast off all regard for him, and resolved to seek a new interest for her support, by disposing of herself in marriage elsewhere; and not seeing where she could do this more to her advantage than to the next heir of the crown, she therefore sent for him, and made him her husband.

Antiochus assumes the title of king of Syria, and despatches a letter to Simon.—This Antiochus was second son to Demetrius Soter, and on the wars which that prince had with Alexander Balas was sent to Cnidus with his brother Demetrius, the now captive king of Syria, to be kept there out of harm's way, as hath been already related. He seems to have still continued in those parts after his brother's recovering the crown; for he is said to have been at Rhodes when Demetrius was taken prisoner; and therefore no doubt in that place it was that Cleopatra's message found him. For he having on the receiving of it accepted the offer, and thereon taken upon him the style and title of king of Syria, he wrote a letter to Simon, dated from the Isles of the Sea, and most likely this was from Rhodes, since he is said to have been there so lately before, as at the time of the first news of his brother's captivity. The substance of his letter to Simon was, to complain of

the unjust usurpation of Tryphon, and to let him know that he was preparing to come into Syria, to take vengeance of that usurper, and recover his father's kingdom; and therefore, to gain him over to his interest, makes him many grants, and promiseth him many more when he should be fully settled in the throne, as may be seen in that letter, 1 Maccab. xv. 2—9.

Antiochus marries Cleopatra, expels Tryphon, and obtains the kingdom of Syria, 139.—And accordingly, in the beginning of the next year, Antiochus Sidetes landed in Syria, with an army of mercenaries, whom he had hired in Greece, Lesser Asia, and the Isles; and having married Cleopatra, joined her forces to his own, and marched against Tryphon. Whereon most of the usurper's forces, now weary of his tyranny, went over from him to Antiochus, which augmented his army to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and eight thousand horse. This being a power Tryphon could not keep the field against, he retreated to Dora, a city near Ptolemais in Phoenicia, where being besieged by Antiochus with all his forces both by sea and land, and finding the place not capable of long holding out against so great a power, he made his escape by sea to Orthosia, another maritime town in Phoenicia, from whence flying to Apamia, his own native city, he was there taken and put to death. And hereby an end being put to his usurpation, Antiochus became fully possessed of his father's throne, and sat in it nine years. He, being much given to hunting, had the name Sidetes (i. e. the Hunter) given unto him, from zidah, a word of that signification in the Syriac language.

Simon acknowledged by the Romans as high priest and prince of the Jews.—Simon, being instated in the sovereign command of Judæa by the general consent of all that nation, in the manner as above related, thought it would be of great advantage to him, for his firmer establishment in it, to get himself acknowledged what they had made him by the Romans, and to have all their former leagues and alliances renewed with him, under the style and title which he then bore of high priest and prince of the Jews. And therefore he sent another embassy to them for this purpose, with a present of a large shield of gold, weighing one thousand minæ, which, according to the lowest computation of an Attic mina, amounted to the value of fifty thousand pounds of our present sterling money. Both the present and the embassy were very acceptable to the senate; and therefore they not only renewed

their league and alliance with Simon and his people, in the manner he desired, but also ordered that Lucius Cornelius Piso, one of the consuls, should write letters to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, Demetrius king of Syria, and Mithridates king of Parthia, and to all the cities and states of Greece, Lesser Asia, and the isles that were then in alliance with them, to let them know that the Jews were their friends and allies, and that therefore they should not attempt anything to their damage, or protect any traitors or fugitives of that nation against them, but should deliver up to Simon, the high priest and prince of the Jews, all such

---

traitors and fugitives as should flee unto them, whenever demanded by him.

War between Antiochus Sidetes and Simon.—The letters to the Syrian king were directed to Demetrius, though then a prisoner in Parthia, because neither Tryphon nor Antiochus Sidetes, who were then contending for the crown at the time when these letters were written, were either of them acknowledged as king by the Romans. And therefore, when these letters were brought into Syria, they were of no benefit to Simon or the Jews; for Antiochus, having no regard to them, as not being written to him, as soon as he had driven Tryphon out of the field, took the first opportunity to quarrel with Simon. For although Simon sent to Antiochus, while he was besieging Tryphon at Dora, two thousand chosen men for his assistance, with gold, and silver, and arms, and other instruments and engines of war, he would not receive any of them, but rescinding all that he had formerly granted or promised, sent Athenobius one of his friends to him, to demand the restoration of Gazara, Joppa, and the fortress of Jerusalem, with several other places then held by Simon, which he claimed as belonging to the kingdom of Syria, or else five hundred talents in lieu of them, and five hundred talents more for the damages that were done by the Jews within the borders of his other dominions. On Athenobius's coming to Jerusalem with this message, Simon's answer was, that for Gazara and Joppa he was content to pay the king one hundred talents; but as to all the rest, he told him it was the inheritance of their forefathers, which they had for a time been wrongfully deprived of, and that, having now again gotten possession

of it, they were resolved to keep it. This answer very much angering Athenobius, he, without replying anything thereto, returned in great wrath to the king, and made report to him of what Simon had said, and also of what he had seen of the pomp and grandeur in which he lived. For being now sovereign prince of the Jews, he was served in much plate of gold and silver, had many attendants, and in all things else appeared in the same manner of splendour and glory as other princes did. At all which the king being very much offended, resolved on a war against him; and therefore, having made Cendebæus, one of his nobles, captain and governor of the sea-coasts of Palestine, he sent him with one part of his army to fight against Simon, and in the mean time he with the other pursued after Tryphon, till he had taken and slain him in the manner as I have mentioned.

Cendebæus, general of Antiochus, defeated by John Hyrcanus.— Cendebæus forthwith marched with his forces into the parts near Jamnia and Joppa; and having there, according to the orders which he had received from the king, fortified Kedron, he placed a strong part of his army in it, and from thence began to make inroads upon the Jews, and to kill and plunder, and commit all manner of hostilities in their land. Whereon John, the son of Simon, who lived in Gazara in the neighbourhood, went from thence to Jerusalem to acquaint his father of these particulars. By which Simon, perceiving that the intention of Antiochus was to make war upon him, got together an army of twenty

---

thousand foot, with a proportionable number of horse. And because he himself, being now broken with age, could no more bear the fatigues of war, he committed the command of them to Judas and John his sons, and sent them forth to fight the enemy. The first night after they took the field, they encamped at Modin, the original seat of their family, and from thence, the next day after, marched out against Cendebæus. This soon brought it to a battle between them; in which Cendebæus, being overthrown, lost two thousand of his men, and the rest fled, part to Kedron and part to other strongholds near the field of battle, and part to Azotus. Judas, being wounded in the fight, was forced to stay behind; but John followed the pursuit till he came to Azotus, and having there taken their fortresses and

towers of defence, burned them with fire. After this the two brothers, having driven the Syrians out of those parts, and settled all matters there in quiet, returned in triumph to Jerusalem.

Egyptian history: monstrous vices and cruelty of Ptolemy Physcon, 138.—Ptolemy Physcon had now reigned in Egypt seven years, during all which time we find nothing else recorded of him but his monstrous vices and his detestable cruelties; scarce any other prince having been more brutal in his lusts, or more barbarous and bloody in the government of his people. And besides, in all his other conduct he appeared very despicable and foolish, usually both doing and saying very childish and ridiculous things in public as well as in private; whereby he incurred to a great degree the contempt as well as the hatred and detestation of his people. And that he kept the crown upon his head under so general an odium and aversion of his subjects was wholly owing to Hierax his chief minister. He was by birth of Antioch, and the same who, in the reign of Alexander Balas, had in joint commission with Diodotus (afterwards called Tryphon) the government of that city committed to him. On the turn of affairs that afterwards happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, and there falling into the service of Ptolemy Physcon, became the chief commander of his armies, and the chief manager of all his other affairs; and being a very valiant and wise man, he by taking care of well paying the soldiers, and balancing by his good and wise ministration the mal-administrations of his master, and remedying and preventing as many of them as he was able, had hitherto the success to keep all things quiet in that kingdom.

Pergamus: savage barbarities of Attalus Philometor.—This year as great a monster of cruelty began his reign at Pergamus, Attalus Philometor the son of Eumenes, who succeeded Attalus his uncle in that kingdom. He being a minor at the death of his father, the tuition of him, with the crown, was left to Attalus the uncle, who so faithfully discharged his trust, that he not only carefully bred up the pupil, but on his death, which happened this year, left the crown to him, passing by the children which he had of his own. For he looked on the crown as left him by his brother to be no more than a depositum intrusted with him for his nephew; and therefore he accordingly restored it to him in the next succession, which is a procedure very rarely practised where a

crown is the thing in possession. Another instance of such a restoration is scarce anywhere else to be found in history; princes being usually no less solicitous to preserve their crowns to their posterity than to themselves. But this turned to the great plague and calamity of the whole kingdom; for this Attalus Philometor, being more than half a madman, managed his government accordingly in a very wild, irrational, and pernicious manner. For he had scarce been warm in his throne ere he had stained it all over with the blood of his nearest relations and other the best friends of his family; putting to death most of those who with the greatest fidelity had served his father and his uncle; pretending against some of them, that they had by evil arts caused the death of Stratonice his mother, who deceased an old woman; and against others, that they caused, by the like evil arts, the death of Berenice his wife, who died of an incurable disease which she happened to fall into. And others he put to death upon vain and groundless suspicions, cutting off with them their wives and children and all their whole families. These executions he did by the hands of his mercenaries, whom he had hired out of the most cruel and savage of the barbarous nations, they only being fit instruments for such bloody and abominable work. After he had thus, in a wild and mad fury, cut off the best men in his kingdom, he withdrew from the public view, appearing no more abroad among the people, nor was he any more seen at home entertaining himself either in banquets or public repasts, but putting on a sordid apparel, and letting his beard grow to a great length without trimming it, behaved himself in the same manner as those used to do who were under arraignment for some great crime, acting hereby as if he had acknowledged himself guilty of all the villany he had done. And going on after this rate into other extravagances, he neglected all the affairs of the government, and betook himself to his garden, there digging the ground himself, and sowing it with all manner of poisonous and unwholesome herbs, as well as with those that were wholesome; he infected the wholesome with the juices of the poisonous, and then sent them as especial presents to his friends. And thus he wore out in wild and cruel extravagances the remainder of his reign; the best recommendation of which was, that it was very short: for it ended after

five years' time in his death, which then happened in the manner as will be hereafter related in its proper place.

Syrian history: Antiochus Sidetes fully established on the throne, 137.—Antiochus Sidetes, after having vanquished Tryphon, and wholly broken and brought under all that were of his party, did next betake himself to recover to the Syrian empire all such cities and places as had taken the advantage of the late distractions that followed upon his father's death to revolt from it. And having gained full success herein, he settled all things within the kingdom of Syria again, upon the same bottom on which they were before these distractions began.

Egyptian history: increase of murder and rapine, 136.—But in Egypt all things went worse and worse: for whether it were that Hierax was

---

dead, or else that the madness of the prince overbore all the wisdom and prudence of the chief minister, we hear nothing of him from this time but his barbarous cruelties and monstrous mismanagements in all his conduct. Most of those who were the forwardest to call him to the crown on his brother's decease, and after that to support him in it, he causelessly put to death. Most of those who had the favour of Philometor his brother, or had been employed in his service, he either slew or drove into banishment; and, by his foreign mercenaries, whom he let loose to commit all manner of murders and rapines as they pleased, he oppressed and terrified the Alexandrians to so great a degree, that most of them fled into other countries to avoid his cruelty, and left their city in a manner desolate. That therefore he might not reign over empty houses without inhabitants, he, by his proclamations dispersed over the neighbouring countries, invited all strangers to come thither to repeople the place. Whereon great multitudes flocking thither, he gave them the habitations of those that were fled; and admitting them to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the former citizens, he by this means again replenished the city.

Flight of the Alexandrians, and consequent revival of learning in Greece, Asia Minor, and the East. — There being among those that fled out of Egypt on this occasion many grammarians, philosophers,

geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other masters and professors of ingenious arts and sciences, this banishment of theirs became the means of reviving learning again in Greece, Lesser Asia, and the isles, and in all other places where they went. The wars which followed after the death of Alexander, among those that succeeded him, had in a manner extinguished learning in all those parts; and it would have gone nigh to have been utterly lost amidst the calamities of those times, but that it found a support under the patronage of the Ptolemies at Alexandria. For the first Ptolemy having there erected a museum or college for the maintenance and encouragement of learned men, and also a great library for their use (of both which I have already spoken), this drew most of the learned men of Greece thither. And the second and third Ptolemy having followed herein the same steps of their predecessor, Alexandria became the place where the liberal arts and sciences, and all other parts of learning, were preserved, and flourished in those ages, when they were almost dropped everywhere else; and most of its inhabitants were bred up in the knowledge of some or other of them. And hereby it came to pass, that when they were driven into foreign parts by the cruelty and oppression of the wicked tyrant I have mentioned, being qualified to gain themselves a maintenance by teaching, each in the places where they came, the particular professions they were skilled in, they accordingly betook themselves hereto, and erected schools for this purpose in all the countries above mentioned through which they were dispersed; and they being, by reason of their poverty, content to teach for a small hire, this drew great numbers of scholars to them, and by this means all the several branches of learning became again revived in those eastern parts, in the same manner as they were in these latter ages in the western, after the taking of Constantinople

---

by the Turks. For till then most of the learning of the West was in school-divinity and the canon law: and although the former of these was built more upon Aristotle than the Holy Scriptures, yet they had nothing of Aristotle in those days but in a translation at the third hand. The Saracens had translated the works of that philosopher into Arabic, and from thence those Christians of the Latin church, who learned philosophy from the Saracens in Spain,

translated them into Latin. And this was the only text of that author on which, during the reign of the schoolmen, all their comments on him were made. And yet upon no better a foundation are some of those decisions in divinity built, which the Romanists hold as infallible, than what they have thus borrowed from a heathen philosopher, handed to them in a translation made by the disciples of Mahomet. But when Constantinople was taken by Mahomet, the king of the Turks, in the year of our Lord 1453, and the learned men who dwelt there and in other parts of Greece, fearing the cruelty and the barbarity of the Turks, fled into Italy, they brought thither with them their books and their learning; and there first, under the patronage of the princes of that country (especially of Lorenzo de Medices, the first founder of the greatness of his family), propagated both. And this gave the rise to all that learning in these western parts which hath ever since grown and flourished in them.

Roman embassy inspect the state of affairs in Egypt. — At the same time that foreigners were flocking to Alexandria for the repeopling of that city, there came thither Publius Scipio Africanus, junior, Spurius Mummius, and L. Metellus, in an embassy from the Romans. It was the usage of that people often to send out embassies to inspect the affairs of their allies, and to make up and compose what differences they should find among them; and for this purpose this famous embassy, consisting of three of the most eminent men of Rome, was at this time sent from thence. Their commission was to pass through Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece, to see and observe how the affairs of each kingdom and state in those countries stood, and to take an account how the leagues they had made with the Romans were kept and observed; and to set all things at rights, that they should find anywhere amiss among them. And this trust they everywhere discharged so honourably and justly, and so much to the benefit and advantage of those they were sent to, in regulating their disorders, and adjusting all differences which they found among them, that they were no sooner returned to Rome, but ambassadors followed them from all places where they had been, to thank the senate for sending such honourable persons to them, and for the great benefits they had received from them. The first place which they came to in the discharge of their commission being Alexandria in Egypt, they were received by the king in great state. But they made their entrance

thither with so little, that Scipio, who was then the greatest man in Rome, had no more than one friend, Panaetius the philosopher, and five servants in his retinue. And although they were, during their stay there, entertained with all the varieties of the most sumptuous fare, yet they

---

would touch nothing more of it than what was useful, in the most temperate manner, for the necessary support of nature, despising all the rest as that which corrupted the mind as well as the body, and bred vicious humours in both. Such was the moderation and temperance of the Romans at this time, and hereby it was that they at length advanced their state to so great a height: and in this height would they have still continued, could they still have retained the same virtues. But when their prosperity, and the great wealth obtained thereby, became the occasion that they degenerated into luxury and corruption of manners, they drew decay and ruin as fast upon them as they had before victory and prosperity, till at length they were undone by it. So that the poet said justly of them,

"Saevior armis

Luxuria incubuit victumque ulciscitur orbem."

Juv. Sat. 6, ver. 29.

Luxury came on more cruel than our arms,

And did revenge the vanquish'd world with its charms.

When the ambassadors had taken a full view of Alexandria and the state of affairs in that city, they sailed up the Nile to see Memphis and other parts of Egypt; whereby having thoroughly informed themselves of the great number of cities and the vast multitude of inhabitants that were in that country, and also of the strength of its situation, the fertility of its soil, and the many other excellencies and advantages of it, they observed it to be a country that wanted nothing for its being made a very potent and formidable kingdom, but a prince of capacity and application sufficient to form it thereto.

Deformities of Ptolemy Physcon. — And therefore, no doubt, it was to the great satisfaction of the Roman ambassadors that they found the present king Ptolemy Physcon thoroughly destitute of every qualification that was necessary for such an undertaking. For nothing could appear more despicable than he did to them in every interview they had with him. Of his cruelty, barbarity, luxury, and other vile and vicious dispositions which he was addicted to, I have in part already spoken, and there will be occasions hereafter to give more instances of them. And the deformities of his body were no less than those of his soul. For he was of a most deformed countenance, of a short stature, and such a monstrous and prominent belly therewith, as no man was able to encompass with both his arms; so that by reason of this load of flesh, acquired by his luxury, he was so unwieldy, that he never stepped abroad without a staff to lean on. Over this vile carcass he wore a garment so thin and transparent, that there were seen through it, not only all the deformities of his body, but also those parts which it is one of the main ends of garments modestly to cover and conceal. From this deformed monster the ambassadors passed over to Cyprus, and from thence proceeded to execute their commission in all the other countries to which they were sent.

Jewish history: Simon and his sons, Judas and Mattathias, treacherously murdered by Ptolemy, son of Abubus, 135.—In the month of Shebat (which was in the latter end of the Jewish year, and in the beginning of the Julian), Simon making a progress through the cities of Judah, to take care for the well ordering of all things in them, came to Jericho, having then two of his sons, Judas and Mattathias, there in company with him; Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, who had married one of his daughters, being governor of the place under him, invited him to the castle which he had built in the neighbourhood, to partake of an entertainment he had there provided for him. Simon and his sons, suspecting no evil from so near a relation, accepted of the invitation, and went thither. But the perfidious wretch, having laid a design for the usurping of the government of Judaea to himself, and concerted the matter with Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, for the accomplishing of it, wickedly plotted the destruction of

Simon and his sons: and therefore, having hid men in the castle where the entertainment was made, when his guests had well drunk he brought forth these murderers upon them, and assassinated them all three while they were sitting at his banquet, and all those that attended upon them: and thinking immediately hereupon to make himself master of the whole land, sent a party to Gazara where John resided, to slay him also; and wrote letters to the commanders of the army that had their station in those parts, to come over to him, proffering them gold and silver, and other rewards, to draw them into his designs. But John having received notice of what had been done at Jericho, before this party could reach Gazara, he was there provided for them; and therefore fell on them, and cut them all off, as soon as they approached the place; and then hastening to Jerusalem, secured that city and the mountain of the temple against those whom the traitor had sent to seize both. And being thereupon declared high priest and prince of the Jews, in the place of his father Simon, he took care everywhere to provide for the security of the country, and the peace of all those that dwelt in it. Whereon Ptolemy, being defeated of all those plots which he had laid for the compassing of his designs, had nothing now left to do but to send to Antiochus to come with an army for the accomplishing of them by open force; without which being no longer able to support himself against John in Judaea, he fled to Zeno, surnamed Cotyla, who was then tyrant of Philadelphia, and there waited till Antiochus should arrive. What became of him afterwards is uncertain. For although Antiochus came at his call into Judaea, and a bitter war thereon ensued, yet after his flight to Zeno no more mention is made of him. Although the treason might be acceptable enough to that king, because of the fair prospect that was given him by the advantage of it again to recover Judaea to his crown, yet he could not but abhor such an execrable traitor, and perchance dealt with him according to what his wickedness deserved. But here ending the history of the Maccabees, as contained in the apocryphal books of Scripture known by that name, I shall here also end this fourth book of my present work.

BOOK V.

JEWISH HISTORY AND JEWISH ACTS

DURING THE REIGN OF JOHN HYRCANUS I., B. C. 135 το 107.

I. REIGN OF JOHN HYRCANUS I. B. 0. 135-107.

Kings of Syria—Antiochus Sidetes, 140;

Demetrius Nicator iterum, 130;

Zebina, 125;

Antiochus Grypus, 123.

Kings of Damascus—Antiochus Cyzicenus, 114.

Kings of Egypt—Ptolemy VII. Physcon, 145;

Ptolemy VIII. Lathyrus sive Soter, 116.

Antiochus Sidetes attempts the reconquest of Judea, and besieges Jerusalem, 135.—ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, king of Syria, having received from Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, the account which he had sent him of the death of Simon and his sons, made haste to take the advantage of it, for the reducing of Judaea again under the Syrian empire; and therefore forthwith marched thitherward with a great army, and having overrun the country, and driven Hyrcanus out of the field, shut him up and all his forces with him in Jerusalem, and there besieged him with his whole army, divided into seven camps, whereby he enclosed him all round; and to do this the more effectually, he caused two large and deep ditches to be drawn round the city, one of circumvallation, and the other of contravallation: so that by reason hereof none could come out from the besieged to make their escape, or any get in to them to bring them relief. And therefore when Hyrcanus, to rid

himself of unprofitable mouths, which consumed the stores of the besieged, without helping them in the defence of the place, put all such as were useless for the wars out of the city, they could not pass the ditch that enclosed them, but were pent up between that and the walls of the city, and were there forced to abide; till at length Hyrcanus found it necessary, for the saving of them from perishing by famine, to receive them in again. This siege continued till about the time of the beginning of autumn; the besiegers all this while daily making their assaults, and the besieged as valiantly defending themselves against them, always repulsing the enemy, and often making sallies upon them, and in these sallies sometimes burning their engines and destroying their works; and thus it went on till the time of the Jews' feast of tabernacles, which was always held in the middle of the first autumnal moon.

Courtesy of Antiochus towards Hyrcanus at the feast of tabernacles, followed by a treaty of peace.—On the approach of that holy time, Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus to pray a truce during the festival; which he not only readily granted, but also sent beasts and other things necessary for the sacrifices then to be offered: which giving Hyrcanus an instance of the equity and benignity as well as of the piety of that prince, this encouraged him to send to him again for terms of peace; which message being complied with, a treaty thereon commenced, in which Hyrcanus having yielded, that the besieged should deliver up their arms, that Jerusalem should be dismantled, and that tribute should be paid the king for Joppa and

---

the other towns held by the Jews out of Judaea, peace was made upon these terms. It was demanded also by Antiochus, that the fortress at Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and a garrison again received into it; but this Hyrcanus would not consent to, remembering the damage and mischief which the Jews had received from the former garrison in that place; but rather chose to pay the king five hundred talents to buy it off. Whereon such of these terms as were capable of an immediate execution being accordingly executed, and hostages given for the performance of the rest (one of which was a brother

of Hyrcanus), the siege was raised, and peace again restored to the whole land. This was done in the ninth month after the death of Simon.

Antiochus vainly urged to destroy the entire Jewish nation.— When Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus for peace, he was brought almost to the last extremity through want of provisions, all the stores of the city being in a manner spent and exhausted; which being well known in the camp of the besiegers, those that were about Antiochus pressed him hard to make use of this opportunity for the destroying and utterly extirpating the whole nation of the Jews. They urged against them, that they had been driven out of Egypt as an impious people, hated by God and man; that they treated all mankind besides themselves as enemies, refusing communication with all excepting those of their own sect, neither eating nor drinking nor freely conversing with any other, nor worshipping any of the same gods with them, but using laws, customs, and a religion quite different from all other nations; and that therefore they deserved that all other nations should treat them with the same aversion and hatred, and cut them all off and destroy them, as declared enemies to all mankind. And Diodorus Siculus, as well as Josephus, tells us, that it was wholly owing to the generosity and clemency of Antiochus that the whole nation of the Jews were not at this time totally cut off and utterly destroyed, and had peace granted unto them upon the terms above mentioned.

Improbable stories of Josephus concerning the treasures in the sepulchre of David.—Of the five hundred talents which, by the terms of this peace, were to be paid to Antiochus, three hundred were laid down in present; for the payment of the other two hundred, time was allowed. Josephus tells us, that Hyrcanus, to find money for this and other occasions of the government, broke up the sepulchre of David, and took from thence three thousand talents; and the like he afterwards tells us of Herod, as if he also had robbed the same sepulchre, and taken great riches from it: but both these stories are very improbable. David had been now dead near nine hundred years; and what is told of this matter supposeth this treasure to have been buried up with him all this time; it supposeth, that as often as the city of Jerusalem, the palace, and the temple had, during the reigns of the kings of Judah, been plundered of all their wealth and treasure by prevailing enemies (as they had often been), this dead stock still remained safe from

all rifle or violation; it supposeth, that as often as those kings were forced to take all the treasure that could be found in the house

---

of the Lord, as well as in their own, to relieve the exigencies of the state, they never meddled with this treasure in David's grave, there uselessly buried with the dead; it supposeth, that when one of the worst of their kings plundered the temple of its sacred vessels, and cut them in pieces to melt them down into money for his common occasions, and when one of the best of them was forced to cut off the gold with which the gates and pillars of the temple were overlaid, to buy off a destroying enemy, this useless treasure still continued unmeddled with in both these cases; nay further, it supposeth, that when Nebuchadnezzar destroyed both the city and the temple of Jerusalem, and both thereon lay in rubbish a great many years, this treasure in David's sepulchre during all this time did under this rubbish lie secure and untouched; and also, that when Antiochus Epiphanes destroyed this city, and robbed the temple of all he could find in it, still David's sepulchre and the treasure buried in it (though while it was thus buried it was wholly useless and unprofitable for the service either of God or man) still escaped all manner of violation as in all former times, and was never touched nor meddled with till Hyrcanus laid his hands upon it: all which suppositions seem utterly improbable and beyond all belief. What the manner of the sepulchres of David and the kings of his lineage was, I have already described. They were vaults cut out of a marble rock, one within another, where there was no earth to bury up or cover any hidden treasure, but whatsoever was there laid must have lain open to the view of every one that entered into them. If there were any foundation of truth in this matter, I can only resolve it into this, that several rich men who feared Herod's rapacity hid their treasures in those vaults, thinking that they would be there best secured from it; and that this crafty tyrant, having gotten notice of it, seized what was there deposited, as if it had been king David's treasure, and then trumped up this story of Hyrcanus to screen himself from censure, by the example of so good and great a man; but it is most likely that both parts of the story are a mere fiction, picked up by Josephus without any ground of truth, as are also some other particulars in his history.

Birth of Matthias Aphlias, the ancestor of Josephus.—In this first year of Hyrcanus, Matthias Aphlias, priest of the course of Joarib, married a daughter of Jonathan, the late prince of the Jews, of whom was born Matthias Curtus; of this Matthias was born Josephus, who was the father of another Matthias, of whom was born Josephus the historian, in the first year of Caligula the Roman emperor, which was the 37th of the vulgar era from Christ's incarnation.

Syrian history: presents of Antiochus to Scipio Africanus, junior, 134.—Scipio Africanus, junior, going to the war of Numantium in Spain, Antiochus Sidetes sent thither to him very valuable and magnificent presents, which he received publicly while he was sitting on his tribunal in the sight of the whole army, and ordered them to be delivered

---

into the hands of the questor for the public charges of the war, it being the temper of the Romans at this time to do and receive all they could for the interest of the commonwealth, without taking or reserving anything to themselves, but the honour of faithfully serving it to the utmost of their power; and as long as this temper lasted, they prospered in all their undertakings; but afterwards, when this public spirit became turned all into self-interest, and none served the public but to serve themselves by plundering it, everything then went backward with them as fast as it had gone forward with them before, till they were soon after swallowed up, first in tyranny, and afterwards in ruin.

Pergamus: death of Attalus, and reduction of the kingdom by the Romans, 133.—Attalus king of Pergamus going on in his wild freaks, took a fancy of employing himself in the trade of a founder, and projecting to make a brazen monument for his mother; while he laboured in melting and working the brass in a hot summer's day, he contracted a fever, of which he died on the seventh day after: whereby his people had the happiness of being delivered from a horrid tyrant. At his death he left a will, whereby he left the Romans heirs of all his goods; by virtue whereof they seized his kingdom, reckoning that among his goods, and reduced it into the form of a province, which was called the Proper Asia; but Aristonicus the next heir

did not tamely submit hereto. He was the son of Eumenes, and the brother of Attalus, though by another mother; by virtue whereof, claiming the crown as his inheritance, he got together an army, and took possession of it; and it cost the Romans the death of one of their consuls, the loss of an army with him, and a four years' war, before they could reduce him and his party, and thoroughly settle themselves in the possession of the country. And here ended the Pergamenian kingdom, which included the greatest part of Lesser Asia, after it had continued through the succession of six kings.

Book of Ecclesiasticus translated into Greek by Sirach the Jew, 132.—In the thirty-eighth year of Ptolemy Euergetes the Second, alias Physcon, Jesus the son of Sirach, a Jew of Jerusalem, coming into Egypt, and settling there, translated out of Hebrew into Greek, for the use of the Hellenistical Jews, the Book of Jesus his grandfather, which is the same we now have among the apocryphal Scriptures in our English

---

Bible, by the name of Ecclesiasticus. The ancients call it Πανάρετον, that is, the treasure of all virtue, as supposing it to contain maxims leading to every virtue. It was originally written in Hebrew, by Jesus the author of it, about the time that Onias, the second of that name, was high priest at Jerusalem, and translated into Greek by Jesus the son of Sirach, grandson to the author. The Hebrew original is now lost. It was extant in the time of Jerome; for he tells us that he had seen it under the title of The Parables, but the common name of it in Greek was The Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach. At present, the title in our printed Greek copies is The Wisdom of Sirach, which is an abbreviation made with great absurdity; for it ascribes the book to Sirach, who was neither the author nor the translator of it, and therefore could neither way have any relation to it. There is, indeed, a controversy whether Sirach was the father of Jesus the author of the book, or of Jesus the translator of it. Or rather, to reduce it to other terms, whether he, that is called Jesus the son of Sirach, were Jesus that was the author of the book, or else Jesus his grandson, that was the translator of it. The matter not being of any great moment, I am content to be concluded by the first prologue premised to the book in our English Bible, in which it is plainly asserted that Jesus the author of the book was the grandfather, Sirach the son, and

Jesus the translator the grandson; and therefore, according to this prologue, it is the grandson, and not the grandfather, that was called Jesus the son of Sirach. And it seems most likely that the conclusion of the book, chap. 1, ver. 27-29, are the words of the translator, and so also the prayer in the last chapter. For what is there said by the writer of it, of the danger he was brought into of his life before the king on an unjust accusation, seems plainly to point to the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, whose cruelty inclined him to bring any one, and on the lightest occasion, into danger of his life, that came under his power; which could not be the case of the grandfather, who lived at Jerusalem three ages before, when there was no such tyranny in that place. I have above made mention of the first preface prefixed before this book in the English version; this implies that there was a second. This second preface was written by Jesus the grandson of the author, who translated the book into the Greek language. Who was the composer of the first is not known; it is taken out of the book entitled Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae, which is ascribed to Athanasius: and if it be not his (as it is by many held that it is not), yet it is most certainly a book of ancient composure, and as far as it is so it carries authority with it, though the author be not certainly known. The Latin version of this Book of Ecclesiasticus hath more in it than the Greek, several particulars being inserted into it which are not in the other. These seem to have been interpolated by the first author of that version; but now the Hebrew being lost, the Greek, which hath been made from it by the grandson of the author, must stand for the original, and from that the English translation hath been made. The Jews have now a book among them, which they call the Book of Ben Sira, i. e. the Book of the Son of Sira; and this book containing a collection of moral sayings, hence some would have it, that this Ben Sira, or son of Sira, was

---

the same with Ben Sirach, or the son of Sirach, and his book the same with Ecclesiasticus; but whosoever shall compare the books will find that there is no foundation for this opinion, except only in the similitude of the names of the authors of them.

Syrian history: expedition of Antiochus into Parthia for the deliverance of Demetrius Nicator, 131.—Demetrius Nicator having been several years detained as a prisoner in Hyrcania by the Parthians, Antiochus Sidetes his brother, under pretence of effecting his deliverance, marched with a powerful army into the East against Phraates the Parthian king. This army consisted of above eighty thousand men well appointed for the war: but the instruments of luxury that accompanied them, as sutlers, cooks, pastry-men, confectioners, scullions, stage-players, musicians, whores, &c., were near four times their number, for they are said to have amounted to three hundred thousand persons; neither was the practice of luxury less among them than the number of its instruments, and this at length caused the ruin of the whole army, and of the king with it. However, at first Antiochus had full success; for he overthrew Phraates in three battles, and recovered Babylonia and Media; and thereon all the rest of those eastern countries, which had formerly been provinces of the Syrian empire, revolted to him, excepting Parthia only, where Phraates was reduced within the narrow limits of the first Parthian kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition; and having had his part in all the victories that were obtained, returned with the glory of them at the end of the year.

Antiochus defeated and slain by Phraates, king of Parthia, 130.—But the rest of the army wintered in the East, and by reason of the great numbers of them and their attendants, as amounting to near four hundred thousand persons, being forced to disperse all over the country, and quarter at such a distance from each other as not to be able readily to gather together and embody for their mutual defence on any occasion that should require it, the inhabitants, whom they grievously oppressed in all places were they lay, taking the advantage hereof to be revenged on them for it, conspired with the Parthians all to fall upon them in one and the same day in their several quarters, and there cut all their throats, before they should be able to come together to help each other; and this they accordingly executed. Hereon Antiochus, with the forces about him, hastening to help the quarters that lay next him, was overpowered and slain, and the rest of the army at the same time were in all those places where they lay in quarters in the same manner fallen upon, and all cut in pieces, or made captives, so

that there scarce returned a man into Syria, of all this vast number, to carry thither the doleful news of this terrible overthrow.

Demetrius Nicator returns to Syria, and recovers his kingdom.— In the interim, Demetrius was returned into Syria, and on his brother's death, there again recovered the kingdom. For Phraates, after being thrice vanquished by Antiochus, had released him from his captivity, and sent him back into Syria, hoping that by raising troubles there for the recovery of his crown, he might force Antiochus to return for the suppressing of them. But on the obtaining of this victory, he sent a party of horse after him, to bring him back again; but Demetrius, being aware hereof, made such haste that he was gotten over the Euphrates into Syria, before these forces could reach the borders of that country. And by this means he again recovered his kingdom, and made great rejoicing thereon at the same time, when all the rest of Syria was in great sorrow and lamentation for the loss sustained in the East, there being scarce a family in the whole country which had not a part in it.

Phraates marries a daughter of Antiochus.—After Phraates had gained this victory, he caused the body of Antiochus to be taken up from among the dead, and having put it into a silver coffin, sent it honourably into Syria to be there buried among his ancestors; and finding a daughter of his among the captives, he was smitten with her beauty, and took her to wife. Being flushed with this success, he thought of carrying the war into Syria, for the revenging of this last invasion upon him; but while he was preparing for it, he found himself entangled with a war at home from the Scythians. He had called them into Parthia to assist him against Antiochus, but the work being done before they arrived, he denied them their hire: whereon they turned their arms against him whom they came to assist; and to be revenged on him for the wrong hereby done them, made war upon him, and hereby Phraates was forced to keep at home for the defending of his own country.

Jewish history: Hyrcanus enlarges his dominions, and frees himself from all dependence on Syria.—After the death of Antiochus,

Hyrcanus took the advantage of the disturbances and divisions that thenceforth ensued through the whole Syrian empire, not only to enlarge his territories by seizing Madeba, Samega, and several other places in Syria, Phoenicia, and Arabia, and adding them to his dominions, but also from this time to make himself absolute and wholly independent. For after this neither he nor any of his descendants owned any further dependence on the kings of Syria, but thenceforth wholly freed themselves from all manner of homage, servitude, or subjection to them.

Egyptian history: war between Ptolemy Physcon and his divorced wife Cleopatra.—In the interim Ptolemy Physcon king of Egypt went still on in the same steps of luxury, cruelty, and tyranny, continuing to increase the number of his most flagitious iniquities by the guilt of new wickednesses from time to time added to them. I have already related how,

---

having married Cleopatra his sister and relict of his brother who had reigned before him, he slew her son in her arms on the very day of the nuptials; after this he divorced her and married her daughter, also named Cleopatra, whom he had previously ravished. And whereas on his having, by his cruelty, driven out most of the old inhabitants of Alexandria, he had repeopled it with new ones, whom he invited thither from foreign parts, he soon made himself, by the excesses of his wickedness, as odious to them as he was to the former inhabitants; and therefore, thinking he might best secure himself from them by cutting off their young men, who were the strength of the place, he caused his mercenaries to surround them in the place of their public exercises, when they were in the fullest numbers met together, and put them all to death. Whereon the people being exasperated against him to the utmost, all rose in a general tumult, and in their rage set fire to his palace, with intent to have burnt him in it; but having timely made his escape, he fled to Cyprus, carrying with him Cleopatra his wife and Memphitis his son; and on his arrival thither, hearing that the people of Alexandria had put the government of the kingdom into the hands of Cleopatra his divorced wife, he hired an army of mercenaries to make war against both.

Jewish history: Hyrcanus destroys the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim.—Hyrcanus having taken Sechem, the prime seat of the sect of the Samaritans, destroyed their temple on Mount Gerizim, which had been there built by Sanballat. However they still continued to have an altar in that place, and still have one there, on which they offer sacrifices according to the Levitical law, even to this day.

Idumæans incorporated into the Jewish nation and church, 129.—Hyrcanus after this, having conquered the Edomites or Idumæans, reducing them to this necessity, either to embrace the Jewish religion or else to leave the country, and seek new dwellings elsewhere; whereon choosing rather to leave their idolatry than their country, they all became proselytes to the Jewish religion; and hereon being incorporated into the Jewish nation, as well as into the Jewish church, they thenceforth became reputed as one and the same people, and at length the name of Edomites or Idumæans being swallowed up in that of Jews, it became wholly lost and no more heard of. This abolition of their name happened about the end of the first century after Christ. For after that we hear no more mention of the name of Edomites or Idumæans, it being by that time wholly absorbed in the name of Jews. The rabbies indeed speak of Edom and Edomites long after that time; but thereby they do not mean Idumæa, or the sons of Edom, but Rome, and the Christians of the Roman empire. For fearing the displeasure of the Christians among whom they lived, for avoiding of it, whenever they speak any reproachful thing of Christians or their religion, they usually blend it

---

under feigned names, sometimes calling us Cutheans, i. e. Samaritans, and sometimes Epicureans, and sometimes Edomites, and this last is the civilest appellation they give us. And for proselytes to Judaism to take the name of Jews, as well as their religion, was not peculiar to the Edomites only, it being usual for all others who took their religion to take also their name, and thenceforth be reputed as of the same nation with them, as well of the same religion. Thus it was in the time of Dion Cassius the historian, and thus it hath been ever since even down to our age.

Two sorts of proselytes amongst the Jews: 1st, Proselytes of the gate.—But here it is to be noted, that there were two sorts of proselytes among the Jews: 1. The proselytes of the gate; and 2. The proselytes of justice. The first, or proselytes of the gate, they obliged only to renounce idolatry, and worship God according to the law of nature, which they reduced to seven articles, called by them the seven precepts of the sons of Noah. To these they held all men were obliged to conform; but not so as to the law of Moses, for this they reckoned as a law made only for their nation, and not for the whole world. As to the rest of mankind, if they kept the law of nature, and observed the precepts above mentioned, they held that they performed all that God required of them, and would by this service render themselves as acceptable to him as the Jews by theirs; and therefore they allowed all such to live with them in their land, and from hence they were called gerim toshavim, i. e. "sojourning proselytes;" and for the same reason they were called also gere shahar, i. e. "proselytes of the gate," as being permitted to dwell with those of Israel within the same gates. The occasion of this name seems to be taken from these words in the fourth commandment, vegereka bishareka, i. e. "and the strangers which are within thy gates," which may as well be rendered, "thy proselytes which are within thy gates," that is, the proselytes of the gate that dwell with thee; for the Hebrew word ger, which signifies a stranger, signifieth also a proselyte; and both in this place in the fourth commandment come to the same thing; for no strangers were permitted to dwell within their gates, unless they renounced idolatry, and were proselyted so far as to the observance of the seven precepts of the sons of Noah. Though they were slaves taken in war, they were not permitted to live with them within any of the gates of Israel on any other terms; but on their refusal thus far to comply, were either given up to the sword, or else sold to some foreign people. And as those who were thus far made proselytes were admitted to dwell with them, so also were they admitted into the temple, there to worship God; but were not allowed to enter any further than

---

into the outer court, called the court of the Gentiles: for into the inner courts, which were within the enclosure called the Chel, none were

admitted, but only such as were thorough professors of the whole Jewish religion; and therefore when any of these sojourning proselytes came into the temple, they always worshipped in the outer court. And of this sort of proselytes Naaman the Syrian and Cornelius the centurion are held to have been.

2nd, **Proselytes of justice.—**The second sort of proselytes, called the proselytes of justice, were such as took on them the observance of the whole Jewish law: for although the Jews did not hold this necessary for such as were not of their nation, yet they refused none, but gladly received all who would thus profess their religion; and they are remarked in our Saviour's time to have been very sedulous to convert all they could hereto: and when any were thus proselyted to the Jewish religion, they were initiated to it by baptism, sacrifice, and circumcision, and thenceforth were admitted to all the rites, ceremonies, and privileges that were used by the natural Jews. And in this manner was it that the Edomites, at the command of Hyrcanus, were made proselytes to the Jewish religion; and when they had thus taken on them the religion of the Jews, they continued united to them ever after, till at length the name of Edomites was lost in that of Jews, and both people became consolidated into one and the same nation together.

Egyptian history: Ptolemy Physcon murders his two sons.— Ptolemy Physcon, while he lay in Cyprus, fearing lest the Alexandrians should make his son, whom he had appointed governor of Cyrene, king in his stead, sent for him from thence to come to him, and on his arrival put him to death, for no other reason but to prevent that which perchance without any reason he feared as to this matter. By which cruel barbarity the Alexandrians being further exasperated, pulled down and demolished all his statues, wherever erected in their city; which he interpreting to have been done at the instigation of Cleopatra his divorced queen, for the revenging of it upon her, caused Memphitis, the son he had by her, a very hopeful and beautiful prince, to be slain before his face, and then cutting his body into pieces, put them all into a box with the head, thereby to show to whom they belonged, and sent it with them therein enclosed to Alexandria by one of his guards, ordering him to present it to the queen on the day then approaching, which he knew was to be celebrated with feasting and festival joy, as being the anniversary of her birth; and accordingly in the midst of the festivity it

was presented to her; which soon turned all the rejoicing and mirth of the festival into sorrow and lamentation, and excited in all present that horror and detestation against the tyrant, as so monstrous and unparalleled a cruelty deserved. And this dismal present being exposed to the people, gave them the same sentiments, and provoked them with the greater earnestness to arm, for the keeping so great a monster of cruelty and barbarity from any more returning again to reign

---

over them: and accordingly an army was raised under the command of Marsyas, whom the queen had made her general, to defend the country against him.

War between the Parthians and Scythians: death of Phraates, and accession of Mithridates the Great.—Phraates, having drawn upon him the war of the Scythians, committed an oversight in the managing of it, as great as the injustice whereby he brought it upon him. For to strengthen himself against these enemies, he intrusted his safety into the hands of those whom he had made more his enemies than the others, that is, the Grecian mercenaries who followed king Antiochus in his late expedition into those parts against him. For having taken prisoners great numbers of them in the late overthrow of that prince, he on the breaking out of this new war listed them all among his other forces, for the better strengthening of his army for it. But when they had thus gotten arms into their hands, remembering the wrongs, insolences, and other ill usages with which they had been treated during their captivity, resolved to make use of this opportunity to be revenged for them; and therefore as soon as the armies joined battle, they went over to the Scythians, and by this conjunction with them overthrew the Parthians with a great slaughter, cutting off Phraates himself in the rout, and most of his army with him. After this the Grecians and Scythians, having plundered the country, contented themselves with this revenge, and both returned again into their own countries. On their departure, Artabanus the uncle of Phraates took the crown of Parthia; but being within a few days after slain in battle by the Thogarians, another nation of the Scythian race, he was succeeded by Mithridates, who by the greatness of his actions afterwards acquired the name of Mithridates the Great.

Egyptian history: Physcon defeats the army of Cleopatra, who applies for assistance to Demetrius Nicator, 128.—Ptolemy Physcon, having gotten together an army, sent it against the Alexandrians under the command of Hegelochus his general; and thereon a battle ensuing between him and Marsyas, the general of the Alexandrians, Hegelochus got the victory, and took Marsyas prisoner, and sent him in chains to Physcon. But when it was expected that, according to his usual cruelty, he would have put him to some tormenting death, contrary to what everybody expected, he pardoned him and let him go. For having fully experienced what mischiefs followed upon him for his cruelties, he became weary of them, and acted in the contrary extreme; and as he had put multitudes to death contrary to all reason, so now he pardoned this man without any reason at all for it. Cleopatra, being distressed by this overthrow and the loss of her Alexandrian army, they being most of them cut in pieces in the rout, sent to Demetrius king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter by Philometor, for his assistance, promising him the crown of Egypt for his reward; which proposal Demetrius gladly accepting of, marched into Egypt with all his forces, and there laid siege to Pelusium.

Jewish embassy to Rome, and its favourable reception.—About this time Hyrcanus sent an embassy to the Romans, to renew the league

---

made with them by Simon his father; which was readily consented to by the senate. And whereas Antiochus Sidetes had made war upon the Jews, contrary to what the Romans had in their behalf decreed in that league, and taken from them several cities, and had made them to become tributaries for Gazara, Joppa, and some other places which they were permitted still to hold, and forced them to a disadvantageous peace by besieging Jerusalem; on the ambassadors setting forth all this before the senate, they agreed that whatsoever had been done against them of this kind since their said late league with Simon should be all null and void; that Gazara, Joppa, and all other places that had been either taken from them by the Syrians, or been made tributary to them, contrary to the tenor of the said league, should be all again restored to them, and made free of all homage, tribute, or other services; and that reparations should be made them by the Syrians for all

damages done them contrary to what the senate had decreed in their league with Simon; and that the Syrian kings should have no right to march their soldiers or armies through the Jewish territories; and that ambassadors should be sent to see all this fully executed. And it was further ordered, that money should be given the Jewish ambassadors for the bearing of their expenses in their journey homeward, and that letters should be written to all the confederate states and princes in their way thither, to give them a safe and honourable passage through their dominions. And all this was accordingly done, which much rejoiced Hyrcanus and all the Jewish nation.

Second embassy, and mistake of Josephus concerning it, 127.— And therefore the next year after they sent to them another embassy, by Alexander the son of Jason, Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Alexander the son of Dorotheus, to return their thanks for the said decree; and in acknowledgment of it, they presented them by the said ambassadors with a cup and a shield, both of gold, to the value of fifty thousand gold pieces of their money. Whereon another decree was made in their favour, ratifying and confirming all that was granted them in the decree of the former year. This decree is recited at large in Josephus, Antiq. book 14, c. 16. But it is there misplaced, as if it had been enacted in the time of Hyrcanus II., whereas the subject matter of it, and the date which it bears, manifestly proves that it can be none other than that which was now granted to Hyrcanus I., and could not possibly be that which was granted to Hyrcanus II., the grandson of the other, in whose time Josephus placeth it. For first, as to the subject matter of it, Josephus tells us, in the place where he inserts it, that it was to give license to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem which Pompey had pulled down: but there is not one word of any such matter in that decree, nor doth it contain or import anything more than the renewing and confirming of a former league of friendship and alliance made with them, which plainly refers to that league which was made with them in the time of Hyrcanus I. in the year last here before preceding. And secondly, as to the date which it bears, it is in the 9th year of Hyrcanus, which cannot be understood of Hyrcanus II. For Josephus tells us, that the decree which was made for the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem was granted by Julius Cæsar

to Hyrcanus II. after the end of the Alexandrian war, in reward of the assistance which Hyrcanus II. sent him in it. But that war was not ended till the 47th year before Christ, long after the 9th year of that Hyrcanus. For the 47th year before Christ was the 17th year of Hyrcanus II., reckoning from the time of his restoration by Pompey; but the 23rd, reckoning from the beginning of his reign, on the death of his mother. And furthermore the preface to that decree, which Josephus tells us was for the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, bears date in the ides of December (i. e. the 13th of that month); whereas the date of the decree itself, which he puts under that preface, is in Panemus, the Syro-Macedonian month, which answers to our July, and therefore it could not possibly be the decree that belongeth to that preface. All this put together plainly shows, this decree of the 9th year of Hyrcanus could not be the decree granted to Hyrcanus II. by Julius Cæsar for the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem; but most certainly it must be that which was granted to Hyrcanus I. by the Roman senate, in this year where I have placed it, and that it was by the mistake of Josephus that it was put by him elsewhere. And this is beyond all contradiction confirmed by that Numenius the son of Antiochus is said, in the body of the decree, to have been one of the ambassadors by whom it was obtained, who was the same that had been one of the ambassadors that were sent to Rome by Jonathan on a like embassy. For he might have well been alive to go on such an embassy in the 9th year of Hyrcanus I., but cannot be supposed to have been so after the ending of the Alexandrian war, which was near one hundred years after the former embassy, in which he was employed by Jonathan. Joseph Scaliger takes notice of this blunder of Josephus's; but while he mends it, he makes as great ones of his own, which Salianus the Jesuit justly corrects him for.

Syrians revolt against Demetrius Nicator.—Demetrius king of Syria having by his tyrannical government, vicious manners, and a most perverse and disagreeable behaviour, made himself as odious to the Syrians as Physcon was to the Egyptians, they took the advantage of his absence at the siege of Pelusium to rise in rebellion against him. The Antiochians began the revolt, and soon after the Apameans and many other of the Syrian

cities followed their example, and joined with them herein. This forced Demetrius to hasten out of Egypt to look to his interest at home.

Egyptian civil war terminated by the flight of Cleopatra and restoration of Physcon.—Whereon Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, being defeated of the assistance which she expected from him, put all her treasure on shipboard, and fled with it by sea to Ptolemais, to Cleopatra queen of Syria, her daughter by Philometor, who there resided. This Cleopatra the daughter had first married Alexander Balas, and afterwards this Demetrius in her father's lifetime; but after that, Demetrius being taken

---

prisoner in Parthia, and there detained in captivity, she became the wife of Antiochus Sidetes his brother, and after his death returned again to the bed of Demetrius, on his coming out of Parthia and recovering his kingdom, and then held Ptolemais, when her mother came to her. Physcon, on her flight out of Egypt, returned again to Alexandria, and reassumed the government, there being no power in that place after the defeat of Marsyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, that could any further oppose him.

Alexander Zebina supported against Demetrius by Ptolemy Physcon.—After he had again settled himself in the kingdom, to be revenged on Demetrius for his late invasion, he set up an impostor against him, who was called Alexander Zebina. He was the son of a broker of Alexandria; but feigning himself to be the son of Alexander Balas, under that pretended title claimed the crown of Syria, and Physcon furnished him with an army to take possession of it. On his arrival in Syria, multitudes joined with him, out of the great aversion they had to Demetrius, without examining at all the title of the pretender, as not caring whom they had for their king so they could get rid of Demetrius.

Death of Demetrius, and division of the kingdom of Syria between Cleopatra and Alexander Zebina, 126.—At length the controversy was brought to the decision of a battle, which was fought near Damascus in Cœle-Syria, wherein Demetrius being overthrown, fled to Ptolemais to Cleopatra his wife. But she retaining her resentments against him for his marrying Rhodaguna while in Parthia, took this opportunity of being

revenged for it, and shut the gates against him; whereon being forced to flee to Tyre, he was there slain. After his death, Cleopatra retained some part of the kingdom, and Zebina reigned over all the rest; and for the better securing of himself in it, he made a strict league and alliance with John Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews; and John made all the advantages of these divisions, which might justly be expected from so wise a man, for the establishing of his own and his country's interest, and he much improved the state of the Jews thereby.

Plague of locusts, 125.—Vast numbers of locusts about this time coming into Africa, there destroyed the fruits of the earth, and at last being by the wind driven into the sea, and there drowned, and by the flowing of the tide cast up upon the land, caused such a stench as poisoned the air, and produced a most terrible plague; which in Libya, Cyrene, and other parts of Africa, destroyed above eight hundred thousand persons.

Cleopatra slays her son Seleucus, 124.—Seleucus, the eldest son of Demetrius Nicator by Cleopatra, being now about twenty years old, took upon him to reign in Syria in his father's stead, contrary to the good liking of his mother. For she having on the death of Demetrius seized part of the Syrian empire, thought to have reigned there by her own authority; and therefore was very angry at the setting up of her

---

son against her; and besides, she feared he would revenge his father's death upon her, which it was well known she had been the cause of; and therefore having gotten him within her power, she slew him with her own hands, by thrusting a dart through him, after he had reigned only one year.

Popularity of Zebina.—Antipater, Clonius, and Æropus, three of Zebina's chief commanders, having revolted from him to Cleopatra, seized Laodicea, and there endeavoured to maintain themselves against him; but he having soon reduced them, on their submission, out of his great clemency and magnanimity, pardoned them all, without doing any hurt to either of them. For he was a person of a very benign temper, and carried himself with a great deal of good nature, affability, and courtesy, towards all

that came in his way, which made him very much beloved even by those who liked not the imposture whereby he usurped the crown.

Pontus: death of Mithridates Euergetes, and accession of Mithridates Eupator.—In this year died Mithridates Euergetes, king of Pontus, being slain by the treachery of some of those that were about him. He was succeeded by his son, the famous Mithridates Eupator, who struggled so long with the Romans for the empire of Asia, having maintained a war against them for about thirty years. He was but twelve years old when he began to reign; for he is said to have lived seventy-two years, and to have reigned sixty of them. He was descended from a long series of kings, who had reigned in Pontus before him. The first of them was one of those seven princes that slew the Magians, and settled the kingdom of Persia on Darius Hystaspis, and having obtained the sovereignty of this country, transmitted it to his posterity through sixteen generations, Mithridates Eupator being reckoned the sixteenth from him. The first of these, of whom we find a name in history, is that Mithridates who, dying in the year before Christ 363, was succeeded by Ariobarzanes his son, then governor of Phrygia for Artaxerxes Mnemon king of Persia, who, having reigned twenty-six years, was succeeded by his son Mithridates II. in the year 337; he first took part with Eumenes against Antigonus, but when Eumenes was slain, he submitted to the conqueror, and served him in his wars; and being a man of great valour and military skill, he was very useful to him; but at length, being suspected of being an underhand favourer of the interest of Cassander, Antigonus caused him to be put to death in the year 302, after he had reigned thirty-five years. On his death he was succeeded by his son Mithridates III. While his father lived, he had for some time resided in the court of Antigonus, and there contracted a great intimacy and friendship with Demetrius his son. But Antigonus having dreamed that when he had

---

sowed a field with golden seed, and it had brought forth a plentiful crop of the same metal, Mithridates had reaped it all, and carried it away with him into Pontus, he concluded that this dream foretold that Mithridates should reap the fruit of all his victories; and therefore, for the preventing of it,

resolved to put him to death. But Mithridates, being warned hereof by Demetrius, made his escape into Cappadocia, and there having gotten together an army, seized several places and territories in those parts, which there belonged to Antigonus; and having after his father's death succeeded him, he added these acquisitions to the kingdom of Pontus; whereby having very much enlarged it, he is reckoned as the founder of it; and therefore is by historians called Ktistes, i. e. the Founder. He reigned in Pontus thirty-six years, and on his death, which happened in the year 266, left his kingdom to Ariobarzanes his son. From this Mithridates the founder, Mithridates Eupator was the eighth; but of these history furnisheth us with the names only of six, and these are, 1. Mithridates Ktistes, 2. Ariobarzanes, 3. Mithridates, 4. Pharnaces, 5. Mithridates Euergetes, and, 6. Mithridates Eupator. Of Ariobarzanes no more is said, but that he succeeded his father. Mithridates, who is the next that is named, married the daughter of Seleucus Callinicus king of Syria, and having by her a daughter called Laodice, gave her in marriage to Antiochus the Great, son of Callinicus; and only on the account of these two marriages is he anywhere made mention of. Pharnaces seized the city of Synope, and added it to the kingdom of Pontus in the year B. C. 183; made war with Eumenes king of Pergamus in the year B. C. 182; invaded Galatia in the year B. C. 181; and on these accounts, and several others, he is often spoken of: but for nothing more than for the abominable character left behind him of being one of the wickedest princes that ever reigned. Mithridates Euergetes is the next that is named in this race of kings. This Mithridates was son to Pharnaces, and grandson to Mithridates the immediate predecessor of Pharnaces. For that Mithridates, according to Justin, was great-grandfather to Mithridates Eupator; and therefore Pharnaces must have been his son, Mithridates Euergetes his grandson, and Mithridates Eupator his great-grandson. The first time we hear of this Mithridates Euergetes is in the year B. C. 149, when he aided the Romans with some ships in the third Punic war; and he was aiding to them also in their war with Aristonicus; for the reward of which, on the ending of that war, they gave him the province of the Greater Phrygia. The last of this series was Mithridates Eupator, the prince we now speak of; and he being the most remarkable person of the time in which he lived, I hope it will not be unacceptable to the reader to have an account here given of the race from whence he proceeded. It is very

remarkable, that at the time of his birth there appeared a very great comet for seventy days together, and the like again for the same number of days at the time of his accession to the crown; the tails of both which were so large as to take up one quarter of the hemisphere. These seemed to portend that he should be a great incendiary in the world, and so he proved. He began his reign with the murder of his mother and his brother, and all the rest of his actions were of a piece herewith. He was a person of very extraordinary abilities and endowments of mind, but he employed them all to the mischief of mankind, and many were the thousands that perished by it.

Cleopatra sets up her son Antiochus Grypus, and rules in his name, 123. —Cleopatra, having slain Seleucus her eldest son in the manner as I have related, found it necessary to have one with the name of king to give countenance and support to the authority by which she governed; and therefore having formerly sent Antiochus, the other son which she had by Demetrius, to Athens for the benefit of his education, she recalled him from thence to take this name upon him; and on his arrival declared him king of Syria, but with intent to allow him no more than the royal style, and keep all the authority to herself: and being then very young, as not yet exceeding the age of twenty, if so much, he was contented for some time to be made her property. To distinguish him from the other Antiochuses, he is commonly called Grypus, a name taken from his hook-nose. He is called Philometor by Josephus, but Epiphanes by himself in his coins.

Physcon supports Cleopatra and Grypus against Zebina: death of Zebina, 122.—Zebina, on the death of Demetrius Nicator, having settled himself in a great part of the Syrian empire, Physcon, by whom he was advanced hereto, expected he should hold it as in homage and dependence from him; which Zebina not understanding, nor in any point complying therewith, Physcon resolved to pull him down again as fast as he had set him up, and therefore coming to an agreement with queen Cleopatra his niece, married Tryphaena his daughter to Grypus her son, and sent an army to her assistance; whereby Zebina being overthrown, fled to Antioch; but there endeavouring privately to rob the temple of Jupiter for the carrying on of the war, and being detected in the attempt, the Antiochians rose in a

tumult against him, and drove him thence; whereon being forced to shift from place to place about the country, he was at length taken, and put to death.

Famous Opimian wine year at Rome, 121.—L. Opimius and Q. Fabius Maximus being consuls at Rome, the seasons of the year in all their turns proved so very kindly and benign, that the fruits of the earth now produced were all beyond what they used to be in other years, and especially their wine, which was this year of that excellency and strength that some of it was kept for two hundred years after, it being the famous Opimian wine (so called from the name of the consul) which is so much spoken of by the poets.

Unsuccessful attempt of Cleopatra to poison Grypus: her death, 120. —After Zebina was vanquished and slain, Antiochus Grypus, now growing to maturity of age, began to take on him the authority as well as the name of king: whereby the power of Cleopatra in the government becoming very much eclipsed, she could not bear this diminution of her grandeur and domination; and therefore, for the recovering of it again wholly to herself, that so she might again absolutely rule and govern the Syrian empire, she resolved to make away with Grypus, as she had before with Seleucus, and call to the crown another son of hers, which she had by Antiochus Sidetes; under whom, he being very young, she presumed she might much longer have the full enjoyment of the royal authority, and thereby have the opportunity of gathering strength for the fixing of herself in it for all her life after. And therefore, for the executing of this wicked design, having provided a cup of poison, she offered it to Grypus one day as he came hot and weary from exercising himself; but being forewarned of the mischief she intended him, he forced her to drink it all herself, and it had its full operation upon her; and thereby an end was put to the life of a most wicked and pernicious woman, who had long been the plague of Syria. She had been the wife of three kings of that country, and the mother of four. Two of her husbands she had been the death of: and of her said sons, one she murdered with her own hands, and would have served Grypus in the same manner, but he made her wicked design turn upon her own

head, as I have related; and thereon, having settled his affairs in peace and security, he reigned several years after without any disturbance, till at length Cyzicenus, his brother by the same mother, rose up against him, as will be hereafter related in its proper place.

Egyptian history: death of Ptolemy VIII. Physcon, and accession of Ptolemy Lathyrus, 117.—Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, after having reigned there from the death of Philometor his brother twenty-nine years, died at Alexandria, and thereby did put an end to a most wicked life, and to a most cruel and tyrannical reign, he being infamous for both, beyond all that reigned in that country before him; whereof too many instances are given in the foregoing part of this history. He left behind him three sons: the eldest, named Apion, he had by a concubine, the other two by Cleopatra his niece, whom he had married after his divorcing of her mother; the eldest of these was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander. By his will he left the kingdom of Cyrene to Apion, and that of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with one of her sons, which she should like best of the two to make choice of; and she looking on Alexander as the likelier to be compliant with her, offered to make choice of him; but the people, not bearing that the eldest

---

should be put by the right of his birth, forced her to send for him from Cyprus, where, in his father's lifetime, she had procured him to be banished, and admit him as king to reign in co-partnership with her. But before she would suffer him to be inaugurated at Memphis, according to the usage of the country, she forced him to divorce Cleopatra, the eldest of his sisters (whom he had taken to be his wife, and dearly loved), and marry in her stead Selene, his younger sister, who was not so acceptable to him. On his inauguration, he took the name of Soter: Athenæus and Pausanias call him Philometor; but Lathyrus is the name by which he is mostly named in history. But that being a nickname not tending to his honour, it was never owned by him.

Syrian history: war between Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus, 114.—Antiochus Grypus, while he was preparing for a war against the Jews, was prevented by a war at home, raised against him by

Antiochus Cyzicenus his half brother. He was the son of Cleopatra by Antiochus Sidetes, born to him of her while Demetrius her former husband was a prisoner among the Parthians. But on Demetrius's returning again, and repossessing his kingdom after the death of Sidetes, Cleopatra, fearing how Demetrius might deal with him should he fall into his hands, sent him out of his reach to Cyzicus, a city lying on the Propontis in the Lesser Mysia, where he was bred up under the care and tuition of Craterus, a faithful eunuch, to whose charge he was committed; and therefore from hence he had the name of Cyzicenus. Grypus, being jealous of him, endeavoured to have him taken out of the way by poison; which being discovered, forced Cyzicenus to arm against him for his life, as well as for the crown of Syria. And it is often the hard case of princes, to be thus brought to a necessity either to reign or die, without having any medium between for their choice.

Defeat of Cyzicenus: Cleopatra, his wife, slain by Tryphaena, wife of Grypus, 113.—Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus was forced to divorce, after that separation disposed of herself in marriage to Cyzicenus, and having gotten together an army in Cyprus, instead of a dower, carried that with her to him into Syria for his assistance in this war against his brother, whereby his forces being made equal to those of his brother, he came to a battle with him; but having had the misfortune to be overthrown, he fled to Antioch, and having there left his wife, as he thought, in a safe place, he went thence to other parts for the recruiting of his broken forces. Hereon Grypus laid siege to Antioch, and he having taken the place, Tryphaena the wife of Grypus earnestly desired to have Cleopatra delivered into her hands, that she might put her to death, so bitterly was she enraged against her, though her own sister both by father and mother, for that she had married her husband's enemy, and brought an army to his assistance against him. But Cleopatra

---

having taken sanctuary in one of the temples at Antioch, Grypus was very unwilling to comply with the rage of his wife in this matter. He urged against it the sacredness of the place where she had taken refuge, and further told her, that the putting her to death would serve to no purpose; that

the cutting her off would no way weaken or hurt the interest of Cyzicenus, nor the keeping of her alive be any strengthening to it; that in all the wars, whether domestical or foreign, which he or his ancestors had been engaged in, it had never been their usage, after victory obtained, to execute cruelty upon women, especially upon so near a relation: that Cleopatra was her sister, and also his own near kinswoman; and therefore he desired her to press this thing no further, for he could not comply with her in it. But Tryphaena, instead of being dissuaded hereby from what she so cruelly intended against her sister, was the more excited to the executing of it: for suspecting this to proceed from some love Grypus had contracted for the lady, rather than barely from a pity for her case, she added jealousy to her anger; and therefore being driven by a double passion to work her destruction, in the heat of both she forthwith sent soldiers into the temple, who by her command there slew the unfortunate lady, while embracing the image of the god to which she fled thither for refuge. This shows how great the rage of this sister was against the other. And thus it often comes to pass, when enmity happens between those of the same family and kindred, the nearer is the relation, the bitterer often is the hatred between them; of which many instances may be found within every man's observation. And the same may also be observed in differences of religion, they that are at the greatest distance herein being seldom so incensed as the nearest of the subordinate sects usually are against each other.

Cleopatra the mother appoints her younger son Alexander king of Cyprus, as a counterpoise to Ptolemy Lathyrus.—In the interim Cleopatra queen of Egypt, who was mother to both these two sisters, expressed no regard or concern for either of them for her mind being actuated wholly by ambition and the love of reigning, she employed all her thoughts this way, that is, how she might best support her authority in Egypt, and there continue to reign without control as long as she should live. And therefore for the better strengthening of herself for this purpose, she made Alexander, her younger son, king of Cyprus, that she might from thence be assisted by him against Lathyrus his brother, whenever occasion should require.

Cyzicenus defeats Grypus, and puts Tryphaena to death, 112.— But the death of Cleopatra in Syria did not long go unrevenged. For

Cyzicenus, having drawn another army together, fought a second battle with his brother, and having gained the victory, and in the pursuit of it gotten Tryphaena into his power, he sacrificed her to the ghost of his murdered wife, by putting her to such a death as her cruelty to her well deserved. Grypus, by this overthrow being driven out of Syria, fled to Aspendus in Pamphylia, from whence he had also the name of Aspendius.

Syrian empire divided between Cyzicenus and Grypus, 111.—But the next year after, Grypus, returning from thence with an army, again recovered Syria: and the two brothers thenceforth parting the Syrian empire between them, Cyzicenus reigned at Damascus over Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, and Grypus at Antioch over all the rest. Both brothers were very excessive in their luxury and other follies, and so were most of the other later Syrian kings; and to this and their divisions they owed the loss of their empire, for they were truly men most unworthy of it.

Jewish history: Hyrcanus increases in power, and prepares to reduce Samaria, 110.—While these two brothers were thus harassing each other in war, or else wasting themselves in the luxury of peace, John Hyrcanus grew in riches and power; and finding he had nothing to fear from either of them, resolved to reduce Samaria under his dominion; and therefore sent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his sons, to besiege the city whereon the inhabitants sent to Antiochus Cyzicenus, king of Damascus, for his relief; who, coming with a great army to raise the siege, was met by the two brothers, and being vanquished by them, and pursued as far as Scythopolis, he hardly escaped out of their hands.

Samaria taken and demolished, 109. —The two brothers after the gaining of this victory, having again returned to the siege, pressed it so hard, that the besieged were forced a second time to send to Cyzicenus for relief: but he, having not forces enough of his own for the attempt, desired the assistance of Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt, who sent him six thousand auxiliaries, much to the mislike of Cleopatra his mother. For Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, sons of that Onias who built the Jewish temple in Egypt, being her chief favourites and ministers, that commanded

all her forces and directed all her councils, for their sakes she much favoured the Jews, and was averse to anything that might tend to their damage; and she had like to have deposed Lathyrus from the throne for acting against her will in this matter. When the Egyptian auxiliaries arrived, Cyzicenus joined them with what forces he had, but durst not openly face the enemy, or make any attempt upon the army that lay at the siege, but spent himself wholly in harassing and plundering the open country, hoping thereby to draw the Jews from the siege for its relief; but failing of his expectations herein, and finding also that his army, what by surprises, desertions, and other casualties, was much diminished in the carrying on of this sort of war, he durst not trust himself abroad in the field any longer with it, but retired to Tripoly, leaving Callimander and Epicrates, two of his prime commanders, to pursue the remainder of the war; the former of which, rashly venturing upon an enterprise too hard for him, was cut off with all his party; whereon Epicrates, finding that nothing further was to be done, made the best advantage of it that he could for his own interest. For coming to an agreement with Hyrcanus, for a sum of money he delivered up unto him Scythopolis, and all other places which the Syrians had in that country, and thereby basely betrayed the interest of his

---

master for his own gain. Whereon Samaria being deprived of all further hopes of relief, was forced, after it had held out a year's siege, to surrender into the hands of Hyrcanus, who forthwith wholly demolished the place, causing not only the houses and walls to be pulled down and razed to the ground, but also trenches to be drawn through and across the ground whereon it stood, and to be filled with water, that it might never again be built. They are mistaken who think this was done out of the hatred which the Jews bore to the sect of the Samaritans; for none of that sect then lived in that place. All the inhabitants of that city at this time were of the Syro-Macedonian race, and the heathen superstition. For the ancient Samaritans, who were of the sect that worshipped God in Mount Gerizim, had been long before all expelled thence by Alexander for the revenging of the death of Andromachus his governor of Syria, whom they slew in a tumult, as hath been afore related in the first part of this history. After this, these expelled

Samaritans retired to Shechem, which hath been the head seat of their sect ever since: and Alexander new planted the city with a colony of Macedonians, Greeks, and Syrians, mixed together, and they were of their posterity that then inhabited the place, when Hyrcanus made this war against it. From this time Samaria continued in its demolished state till Herod rebuilt it, and gave it the name of Sebaste, in honour of Augustus, as will be hereafter related. After this victory Hyrcanus became master of all Judaea, Galilee, and Samaria, and of several other places in the outskirts of the country round him; whereby he made himself one of the most considerable princes of the age in which he lived; and after this none of his neighbours durst any more cope with him, but he enjoyed the remainder of his time in full quiet from all foreign wars.

Hyrcanus quarrels with the Pharisees concerning the character of his mother and his claim to the high priesthood, 108.—But in the latter end of his life Hyrcanus met with some trouble at home from the Pharisees, a busy and mutinous sect among the Jews. These, by their pretences to a more than ordinary strictness in religion, had gained to themselves a great reputation and interest among the common people; and for this reason Hyrcanus endeavoured to gain them to him by all manner of favours. He had been bred up in their discipline from the beginning, and therefore professing himself of their sect, had always given them all manner of countenance and encouragement; and further to ingratiate himself with them about this time, invited the heads of the party to an entertainment, and having therein regaled them with all manner of good cheer, he spake to them to this effect: "That the fixed purposes of his mind, as they well knew, had always been to be just in his actions towards men, and to do all things towards God that should be well pleasing to him, according to the doctrines which the Pharisees taught; and therefore he desired, that if they saw anything in him wherein he failed of his duty, in either of these two branches of it, they would give him their instructions, that thereby it might be reformed and amended."

In answer hereto, they all applauded his conduct; all gave him the praise of a just and religious governor, excepting only one man, and Hyrcanus was

mightily pleased hereat. But when all these had done with their encomiums, this one man, named Eleazar, a very ill-natured person, and one that much delighted in making disturbances, stood up, and addressing himself to Hyrcanus, said, "Since you are desirous to be told the truth, if you would approve yourself a just man, quit the high priesthood, and content yourself with having the government of the people." Whereon Hyrcanus asking him what reason there was for this, he replied, "Because we are assured by the testimony of the ancients among us, that your mother was a captive taken in the wars, and therefore, as born of her, you are incapable of the high priesthood, and cannot hold it by the law." And had the matter of fact been true, his inference had been right. For whoever was born of any prohibited marriage was, by the law of Moses, profane; and whoever was thus profane was, by the same law, incapable of being priest or high priest. Now these prohibited marriages among the Jews were, in respect of the different degrees of the persons to whom they were prohibited, of three different sorts.

I. Such as were prohibited to all Israel; and these were the marrying within the prohibited degrees of kindred, and the marrying any of another nation.

2. Such as were prohibited to priests; and these were the marrying of a whore, or a divorced woman, or one that was profane. 3. Such as were prohibited to the high priest, who, over and above all these other prohibited marriages, was also forbidden to marry a widow. For the words of the law are, that he should take none other to wife but a virgin of his own people. And therefore, if a high priest had a son by any of these prohibited marriages, or a priest by any of those prohibited to him, that son was profane, and thereby rendered incapable of being either priest or high priest. For as the prohibited marriages of the first sort above mentioned, as well as those of the second, were forbidden the priest, so all three were forbidden the high priest; that is, the first sort as he was an Israelite, the second as he was a priest, and the third as he was high priest. And therefore had Hyrcanus's mother been an alien taken captive in war, or any other, when first married to his father, than one whose marriage was allowed to a priest (for Simon was no more than a priest when he first married her), every son born of her would have been profane, and consequently incapable of being either priest or high priest. But the matter of fact Josephus (from whom

alone we have this story) assures us was all false and a most notorious calumny; and therefore the objecting of it was disapproved of and resented with great indignation by all that were present; and it afterwards became the origin of great disturbances.

Hyrcanus joins the Sadducees. —For Hyrcanus, not being able to bear that his mother should be thus defamed, and the purity of his birth and his capacity for the high priesthood be hereby called in question, was exceedingly exasperated hereat; which one Jonathan, a zealous disciple of the Sadducees (the opposite sect to the Pharisees), and an intimate friend of Hyrcanus, observing, laid hold of this opportunity to set him against the whole party, and draw him over to that of the Sadducees. For this purpose he suggested to Hyrcanus, that this was not the single act of Eleazar, but most certainly a thing concerted by the whole party; that Eleazar in speaking of it out was no more than the mouth of all the rest; and that he needed do no more for the full assuring of himself of the truth hereof, than to refer it to them for their opinion what punishment the calumniator deserved; for if he would be pleased, urged Jonathan, to make this experiment, he would certainly find, by the lenity of their sentence against the criminal, that they were all parties with him in the crime. Hyrcanus, hearkening to the suggestion of Jonathan, followed his advice, and accordingly proposed it to the heads of the Pharisees for their opinion, what punishment Eleazar deserved for thus defaming the prince and high priest of his people, expecting from them no lesser sentence than that of death. Their answer hereto was, that defamation and calumny were no capital crimes, and therefore could be punished no further than with whipping and imprisonment. Whereon Hyrcanus, being fully persuaded that all that Jonathan suggested was true, became thenceforth a bitter enemy to the whole sect of the Pharisees; for he forthwith abrogated all their traditionary constitutions, enjoined a penalty upon all that should observe them, and utterly renouncing their party, went over to that of the Sadducees.

Death and character of Hyrcanus, 107. —But Hyrcanus did not long live after this ruffle, for he died the next year after, having been from the death of Simon his father high priest and prince of the Jews twenty-nine

years. He was, saith Josephus, honoured with three of the highest dignities: for he was, according to him, a prophet, as well as a prince and high priest: of which there are given two instances: 1st, That he foretold that Aristobulus and Antigonus, his two eldest sons, should not live long after him, but that the succession of the government should come to Alexander his third son; and 2ndly, That when Aristobulus and Antigonus vanquished Antiochus Cyzicenus in battle, it was

---

made known to him the very same moment in which the victory was gained, though he were then at Jerusalem, at the distance of two days' journey from the field of battle. The former, they say, was revealed to him in a dream of the night, and the other by a voice from heaven, which the Jews call bath kol, i. e. "the daughter of a voice," or "the daughter voice."

Oracular revelations by Bath Kol, or "daughter of a voice:" — The Jewish writers hold that there were three sorts of revelations anciently among them: the first by Urim and Thummim; the second, by the spirit of prophecy; and the third, by bath kol. The first, they say, was in use from the erecting of the tabernacle to the building of the temple; the second, from the beginning of the world (but mostly under the first temple) till the death of Malachi under the second temple. But that after the death of Malachi, the spirit of prophecy wholly ceased in Israel, and that thenceforth they had bath kol in its stead, which, they say, was a voice from heaven. That they called it bath kol, i. e. "the daughter voice," or "the daughter of a voice" (for it may be interpreted both ways), seems to be with respect to the oracular voice delivered from the mercy-seat, when God was there consulted by Urim and Thummim. That was the grand and primary voice of revelation, this of a secondary dignity, and inferior to it, as the daughter is to the mother; and therefore in respect to it, and as succeeding in its stead, it is called "the daughter voice," the other being to it as the mother in precedence both of time and dignity. That it may be understood what kind of oracle this was, I shall here give the reader one instance of it out of the Talmud; it is as followeth: "Rabbi Jochanan and Rabbi Simeon Ben Lachish, desiring to see the face of R. Samuel, a Babylonish doctor, Let us follow, said they, the hearing of bath kol. Travelling therefore near a school,

they heard the voice of a boy reading these words out of the First Book of Samuel, chap. xxv. 1: 'And Samuel died:' they observed this, and inferred from hence that their friend Samuel was dead: and so they found it had happened, for Samuel of Babylon was then dead." Many more instances of this sort may be produced out of the Jewish writings, but this is enough to let the reader see that their bath kol was no such voice from heaven as they pretend, but only a fantastical way of divination of their own invention, like the Sortes Virgilianae among the heathens: for as with them, the words first dipped at in the book of that poets was the oracle whereby they prognosticated those future events which they desired to be informed of; so with the Jews, when they appealed to bath kol, the next words which they should hear from any one's mouth were the same. And this they called a voice from heaven, because thereby they thought the judgment of Heaven to be declared as to any dubious point they

---

desired to be informed of, and the decrees of Heaven to be revealed concerning the future success of any matter which they would be preinformed of, whensoever in either of these two cases they this way consulted it.

Sortes Virgilianae. —The Sortes Virgilianae, on the failing of oracles after the coming of Christ, were instead of them much made use of by the heathens, as long as heathenism remained among the Romans. And the Christians, when Christianity first began to be corrupted, learned from them the like way of divination, and much practised it, without any other change, than by putting the book of the Holy Scriptures in the place of the book of the heathen poet. This was as ancient as the time of St. Austin, who lived in the fourth century; for he makes mention of it. And it was practised by Heraclius, emperor of the East, in the beginning of the seventh century. For being engaged in war against Chosroes king of Persia, and after a successful campaign being in doubt where to take his winter quarters, enjoined a time of fasting and prayer to all his army; and after that consulted the book of the Holy Scriptures in this way of divination, and thereby determined himself as to this matter. But it obtained most in the West, especially in France, where for several ages it was the practice, on the consecration of a new

bishop, to consult the Bible concerning him by this way of divination, and from the words which they should first dip at in the opening of the book made a judgment of his life, manners, and future behaviour. And the Normans, on their conquest of this land, brought this usage hither with them. On the consecration of William the second Norman bishop of the diocese of Norwich, the words which the Bible first opened at for him were, *Non hunc, sed Barabbam*, i. e, "Not this man, but Barabbas;" by which they made a judgment, that this bishop was not long to continue, and that a thief should come in his place: and so it accordingly happened: for William soon after dying, Herbertus de Losinga, another Norman, was made his successor, who was chief simony broker to king William Rufus (that king openly selling all ecclesiastical benefices), and had simoniacally obtained of him the abbey of Winchester for his father, and the abbey of Ramsay for himself; and had now, by the like evil means, gained this bishopric. At his consecration, the words which the Bible opened at for him were the same which Christ spoke to Judas when he came to betray him; Amice, ad quod venisti? i. e. "Friend, wherefore art thou come?" These, and the former words for his predecessor, putting home upon his conscience how much he had been a thief and a traitor to Christ and his church, brought him to a thorough repentance for his crimes; and to expiate for them, he built the cathedral church of Norwich, of which he laid the first stone in A. D. 1096. And afterwards having translated his episcopal chair from Thetford to it, he thereby fixed the

---

see of his bishopric in the city of Norwich, and there it hath been ever since. This account may serve not only to show the great folly of mankind in devising such vain and groundless prognostics for future events (which too many are guilty of), but also to make us see how abominable the corruptions of the Romish Church were in those days, in their thus running into so impious a practice, and making it part of their sacred offices; for such their ordinals are reckoned to be, in which this way of prognosticating at the consecrations of bishop was then directed. This indeed was too gross to be long continued; but when it was dropped, other things came in its stead altogether as bad. And since it was the ignorance and blind

superstition of those ages that introduced these abominations, this tells us how to account for the rise of all the other corrupt practices and doctrines that still are found remaining among those of that communion.

Foundation of the castle Baris by Hyrcanus. —It is also spoken of, to the honour of Hyrcanus, that he was the founder of the castle Baris, which was the palace of the Asmonæan princes in Jerusalem as long as they reigned there. When Simon the father of Hyrcanus had destroyed the fortress of Mount Acra, in which a heathen garrison had been kept for the Syrian kings, he built fortifications round the mountain on which the temple stood, for the better securing and fortifying of it against all future insults from the heathens, should any of them in after-times again become masters of Jerusalem. And within these fortifications he built a house for himself, and there he dwelt all his life after. This house seems to be the same which Hyrcanus afterwards built into the castle Baris. It stood on a steep rock fifty cubits high, without the outer square of the temple, upon the same mountain with it; and the south side of it did run parallel with the north side of the said square, beginning westward, and reaching forward to the north-west corner of the same square, or beyond it to the length of half a furlong. For it was a square building of two furlongs in compass, that is, of half a furlong or three hundred feet on every side (for a furlong contained six hundred of our feet). Here Hyrcanus and all his successors of the Asmonean family dwelt, and kept their court; and here they laid up the pontifical stole, or sacred robes of the high priest, taking them out when they used them on all solemn occasions, and there again depositing them as soon as the said solemnities were over.

Subsequent erection of the fortress Antonia by Herod. —And thus it continued to be done till the time of Herod, who, on his being made king of Judæa, having observed the convenience of the place, new built it, and made it a very strong fortress. The rock on which it stood, I have already said, was fifty cubits, i. e. seventy-five feet, high; this he lined or cased all over with polished marble, whereby he rendered it inaccessible, it not being possible for any one to climb up on it on either of those sides on which it was thus lined, by reason of its slipperiness. Upon the top of this rock he built his fortress, and instead of Baris,

the name it formerly bore, called it Antonia, complimenting thereby Marcus Antonius the triumvir, who then governed the Eastern provinces of the Roman empire. The form of the building was that of a quadrangle all built on every side, wherein were rooms for all uses of a palace, and of magnificence suitable thereto; and in the middle within was a large area for the soldiers to be in, and round it was a stately piazza or cloister. The whole building was, on the outside, forty cubits high above the rock on which it stood; and at the four corners it had four turrets, three of which were fifty cubits high, i. e. ten cubits above the rest of the building, and the fourth seventy cubits high, i. e. thirty above the rest of the building. This fourth turret was that which stood at the south-east corner of the fortress. For that lying near the middle of the north side of the great square of the temple, it was built at this height, that from thence might be seen all that was done in the courts within; so that if any tumult should arise in any part of the temple, it might from thence be observed, and soldiers sent down to quell it. And for this use there were made, from two several parts of the south side of the fortress, two pair of stairs leading from thence into the outer cloisters of the temple that were next adjoining. And thus it was when the tumult was risen in the temple against St. Paul (Acts xxi.), the whole of which, by observing what hath been above said, may be clearly understood.

St. Paul, being to perform his vow as a Nazarite (ver. 26), was in the court of the women, the south-east corner of which was the place appointed for the rites belonging to this matter. Here the Jews having found him (ver. 27), laid hold of him, and having dragged him out of that holier part of the temple into the court of the Gentiles, which was not of the holier part, purposed there to have slain him (ver. 30, 31), which the sentinel, that kept watch on the south-east turret of the fortress Antonia, from thence discerning, gave notice of it; whereon the captain of the fortress, taking soldiers, ran down the stairs above mentioned into the outer cloisters of the temple, and from thence into the court where the mutiny was, and having there rescued Paul from the multitude, he carried him with him into the said fortress or castle, up the same pair of stairs through which he came down (ver. 32, 33); and when he had brought him near the top of them, the people having by that time got round to the place of those stairs without the temple,

Paul obtained leave of the captain there to speak to them; and from thence he made that speech which is contained in Acts xxii. And from what was done in this instance may be understood the use that was made of this fortress at all other times.

It was called Baris, from birah, which word among the eastern nations signified a palace or royal castle; and in this sense it is often used in those Scriptures of the Old Testament which were written after the Babylonish captivity, as in Daniel, Ezra, Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Esther; which shows it to have been borrowed from the Chaldeans, and from them brought into the Hebrew language. The Septuagint often renders it by the word Baris; and in this sense it is that this fortress was under the Asmonæans called Baris, that is, the birah, or royal palace of the prince; for that it was during all the reign

---

of the Asmonæans: and when Herod first rebuilt it, he intended it for the same purpose; but afterwards finding it more proper for a fortress, he built him a palace elsewhere, and turned this into a garrison: for the temple, by reason of its height, commanding Jerusalem, and this fortress in like manner commanding the temple, he thought he could not better keep the other two in order and awe than by having a good garrison in this fortress. And when Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Romans, they continued it to the same use, keeping always a strong garrison in it, and by reason of its immediate influence upon the temple the captain of the garrison is, in the Scriptures of the New Testament, called "the captain of the Temple" (Luke xxii. 52; Acts iv. 1, v. 24—26).

The Asmonæans having always kept the pontifical robes in this fortress, here Herod on his coming to the crown found them, and here he continued still to keep them in the same place, and so did Archelaus his successor, and the Romans after him, all upon an opinion, that their having these robes in their possession would be a means for the better keeping of the Jews in awe. The custom was, to lay them up in a cabinet made of purpose for it, under the seals of the high priest and the treasurer of the temple; and when they needed them for the sacred solemnities on which they were used, they

exhibited their seals to the captain of the castle, and then had the robes delivered to them; and when the solemnities were over, they were then again laid up under the same seals in the same place; and thus it continued to be done, till at length the temple, this fortress, and the robes in it, were all destroyed in the deflagration and total destruction of the city of Jerusalem by Titus and his Romans.

Hyrcanus's breach with the Pharisees fatal to his family. —During the whole time of Hyrcanus's government all things went with him successfully abroad, and smooth and quiet at home, till his unfortunate breach with the Pharisees. But after he fell out with them, and went over to the Sadducees, he lost the love of the common people; for they being wholly attached to the Pharisees, joined with them in their resentments for his procedure. And from this time neither he nor any of his family could any more recover their affections; which afterwards created them infinite troubles, especially in the time of Alexander, the son of this Hyrcanus, as will be hereafter shown in the future series of this history.

II. JEWISH SECTS.

Origin of the Jewish sects. —But since I have here spoken of the Pharisees and the Sadducees, and there will be many occasions hereafter to make mention of them, and also of the other sects and parties among the Jews, it will be necessary, for the better understanding of the following part of this history, here to give the reader a full account of all of them before I proceed any further. I have above shown, that after the return of the Jews from Babylon, and the full settling of the Jewish church again in Judæa by Ezra and Nehemiah, there arose two parties of men among them; the one, who, adhering to the written

---

word, held that in the observance of that alone they fulfilled all righteousness, and therefore thought this alone sufficient to entitle them to the name of **Zadikim**, i. e. the Righteous; the other, who, over and above

the written law, superadded the traditional constitutions of the elders, and other rigorous observances, which, by way of supererogation, they voluntarily devoted themselves to; and therefore from hence being reckoned of a superior degree of holiness above the others, they were called **Chasidim**, that is, the Pious, who are the same that are mentioned in the Maccabees by the name of Assideans. From the former of these proceeded the Samaritans, the Sadducees, and the Karraites; and from the latter, the Pharisees and the Essenes; of all which I shall treat in their order.

I. **The Samaritans.**—The Samaritans were no more at first than a mongrel sort of heathens, who worshipped the God of Israel only in an idolatrous manner, and in conjunction with their other deities, and so continued till Manasseh, with other fugitive Jews, coming to them from Jerusalem, brought with them the book of the law, and out of it taught them to reject all idolatry, and worship the true God only, according to the Mosaical institution; and from the time that they became thus reformed, they may truly be reckoned a sect of the Jewish religion. But I having treated of them already in the sixth book of the first part of this history, to refer the reader thither is all that I need further say of them in this place.

II. **The Sadducees.**—The Sadducees at first were no more than what the Karraites now are; that is, they would not receive the traditions of the elders, but stuck to the written word only. How these traditions grew among the Jews, I have already given a full account; and the Pharisees being the grand promoters of them, hence they and the Sadducees became sects directly opposite to each other. And as long as the Sadducees opposed them no further than in this matter only, they were in the right; but afterward they imbibed other doctrines, which rendered them a sect thoroughly impious.

Doctrines of the Sadducees: 1st, Disbelief in the resurrection of the dead and existence of angels and spirits. —The Sadducees denied the resurrection of the dead, the being of angels, and all existences of the spirits or souls of men departed. For their notion was, that there is no spiritual being but God only; that as to man, this world is his all; that at his death, body and soul die together, never to live more; and that therefore there is no future reward or punishment. They acknowledged that God made this world by his power, and governs it by his providence: and for the carrying on of

this government, hath ordained rewards and punishments, but that they are in this world only: and for this reason alone was it that they worshipped him, and paid obedience to his laws. In sum, they were Epicurean deists in all other respects, excepting only that they allowed that God made the world by his power, and governs it by his providence. The Talmudic story

---

of Sadoc, the scholar of Antigonus of Socho, tells us how they came to fall into this impiety, and that from this Sadoc they had the name of Sadducees. This being above fully related, I need not here again repeat it. But I must confess, Talmudic stories are but of very little credit with me. When John Hyrcanus deserted the sect of the Pharisees, and went over to the Sadducees, no other alteration is mentioned then to have been made by him in that change, but his rejecting and annulling all the traditional constitutions of the Pharisees, which makes it probable that the Sadducees were at that time gone no further in the tenets of their sect than to the denying of these constitutions. And moreover, Hyrcanus having the character of a just and religious prince, and all his actions speaking him such, it is not likely that he should embrace so impious a doctrine as that of denying the resurrection and a future state, especially when he was going into that state (for it was in the latter end of his life that this was done). All which put together give good reason to suppose that this impiety had not then infected this sect. Whenever it was introduced among them, this much we may be assured of, that vice and wickedness were the only causes of its birth; and wherever it is elsewhere found, it always hath the same parents. When men live such lives that they cannot give God an account of them, they greedily lay hold of any scheme, how false and foolish soever, that shall exempt them from it. Epicurus's brag was that he had delivered the world from the fear of the gods. And to lay asleep the conscience, and deliver men's minds from the fear of God and his judgments, so as to be at liberty to sin on without reluctancy or regret, is the only reason that makes any to be Epicurus's disciples. And it is most likely that this impiety among the Jews had the same original. Under the Asmonean princes the Jews grew prosperous, powerful, and rich, and their riches produced great luxury and vice; and to free their consciences from the fear of a future accounting for

the enormities which grew up from this root was the true cause that introduced this doctrine against a future state among them. And this is confirmed by what Josephus writes of this sect: for he tells us, that they were men of quality and riches only that were of it. But since the generality of learned men admit the Talmudic story above mentioned concerning the first introduction of this doctrine among them by Sadoc, the disciple of Antigonus of Socho, I will enter into no further contest about it; but having offered my conjectures to the contrary, I leave it to the reader to make his judgment about it as he shall see cause.

2nd, Rejection of all traditions, and of all the Scriptures excepting the Pentateuch. —The Sadducees not only rejected all unwritten traditions, but also all the written word, excepting only that of the five books of Moses. And if it be true what the Talmudic story above mentioned relates, that Sadoc, on his first venting of his doctrine against a future state, was forced for the impiety of it to flee to the Samaritans for refuge, perchance he might learn this part of his heresy from them; for they admitted only the five books of Moses, rejecting all the other parts of Holy Scripture, as well the prophets as the hagiographa. But it seems most

---

probable, that the Sadducees rejected these books because they found them inconsistent with their doctrine. There are many places in the prophets and the hagiographa which plainly and undeniably prove a future state and the resurrection from the dead; and therefore having embraced the doctrine of denying both, they did what usually all heretics do, that is, reject, right or wrong, whatsoever did make against them. Some learned men, and among them Scaliger for one, hold that they did not reject the other Scriptures, but only gave a preference above them to the five books of Moses. But the account which is given in the Gospels of the disputation which Christ had with the Sadducees plainly proves the contrary. For seeing there are so many texts in the prophets and hagiographa which plainly and directly prove a future state and the resurrection from the dead, no other reason can be given why Christ waived all these proofs, and drew his argument only by consequence from what is said in the law, but that he knew they had rejected the prophets and the hagiographa, and therefore would admit no

argument but from the law only. Their agreeing with the Samaritans in rejecting all traditions, and in receiving no other Scriptures than the five books of Moses only, hath given a handle to the Jews to load the Samaritans with the imputation of agreeing with them also in the denial of a future state and the resurrection from the dead, whereas in this article the Samaritans are sounder than the Jews themselves, and so continue even to this day.

3rd, Denial of the doctrine of predestination, and belief in the doctrine of freewill.—The third point of the Sadducees' heresy was about freewill and predestination. For whereas the Essenes held all things to be predetermined and fixed in an unalterable concatenation of causes never to be varied from, and the Pharisees allowed a freewill in conjunction with predestination, the Sadducees, differing from both, denied all manner of predestination whatever, their doctrine being, that God made man absolute master of all his actions, with a full freedom to do either good or evil, as he shall think fit to choose, without any assistance to him for the one, or any restraint upon him as to the other; so that whether a man doth good or evil, it is wholly from himself, because he hath it absolutely in his own power both to do the one and avoid the other. In sum, they held the same among the Jews that Pelagius did afterwards among the Christians, that is, that there is no help from God, either of his preventing grace or his assisting grace; but that, without any such help, every man hath in himself full power to avoid all the evil which the law of God forbids, and to do all the good which it commands. And therefore, looking on all men to have this power in themselves, it is remarked of them, that whenever they sat in judgment upon criminals, they always were for the severest sentence against them. And indeed their general character was, that they were a very ill-natured sort of men, churlish and morose in their behaviour to each other, but cruel and savage to all besides. Their number was the fewest of all the sects of the Jews; but they were men of the best quality and the greatest riches among them. And it is too often found, that those who abound most in the things of this world are the forwardest

to neglect and disbelieve the promises of a better. All those that were of the greatest power and riches among the Jews being cut off in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, this whole sect seems then to have perished with them. For we find no mention made of them, as a sect in being, for many ages after, till their name was revived again in the Karraites, which is the next sect of the Jews that I am to give an account of.

III. **The Karraites: accept the Traditions as human helps only, for the better understanding of the written word.** —These Karraites, though in the way of reproach they are called Sadducees by the other Jews, yet agree with them in nothing else but in rejecting all traditions, and adhering only to the written word. Here indeed the Sadducees first began, but afterwards went further into those impious doctrines above described, which the Karraites have not. For in all other matters they agree with the other Jews; neither do they absolutely reject all traditions, but only refuse to allow them the same authority as they do to the written word. They are content to admit them as the opinions of the former doctors, as human helps for the interpreting and the better understanding of the written word, as far as they shall find them conducive thereto, but not to equal them to the written word itself, which all the other Jews do. For as to these other Jews, I have shown in the former part of this history, how they hold, that besides the written law there was also given to Moses, from Mount Sinai, an oral law of the same authority with the former; under this latter they comprehend all their traditions, and therefore think themselves under the same obligation to observe them as the written word itself, or rather a greater. For they observe not the written word any otherwise than as interpreted by their traditions. And therefore having, in process of time, gathered all these traditions into that voluminous book called their Talmud, they required the same deference and veneration to be paid that book as to the Holy Scriptures themselves, founding all their articles of faith upon its dictates, and regulating their practice in all things according to the directions and precepts that are therein. This book was published about the beginning of the sixth century after Christ. But when it came to be scanned and examined by such as were men of sense and judgment among them, they not being able to conceive how such trash, nonsense, and incredible fables as they found heaped up therein could come from God, were so

shocked hereby that they could not give up their faith to it; but reserving that wholly for the written word of God (i. e. the law, the prophets, and the hagiographa), received the other only as a work of human composure, to be used only as a help for the interpreting and explaining the written word in such passages of it where it should be found conducive thereto: and for some time their dissent on this point went on without making any breach or schism among them, till about A. D. 750. But then Anan a Jew of Babylonia, of the stock of David, and Saul his son, both learned men in their way, having openly declared for the written word only, and publicly disclaimed and condemned all manner of traditions, excepting such alone as agreed therewith, this forthwith produced a rent and a schism among them, so that they became

---

divided into two parties, the one standing up for the Talmud and its traditions, and the other rejecting and disowning both, as containing, in their opinion, the inventions of men, and not the doctrines and commands of God. Those who stood up for the Talmud and its traditions being chiefly the rabbies and their scholars and followers, hence this party had the name of Rabbinists; and the other being for the Scripture only, which in the Babylonish language is called Kara, from hence they had the name of Karraites, which is as much as to say Scripturarians; under which two names the controversy was thenceforth carried on between them, and so continues even to this day.

The Jews tell us that the cause of this schism was wholly from the ambition and disgust of Anan; that being put by from the degree of Gaon, and also at another time from being chosen Æchmalotarch, or head of the captivity at Babylon, to which he had a pretence, as being of the seed of David, to be revenged for these two repulses, they say, he made this division among the people. This sect is still in being, and those that are of it are reckoned men of the best learning and the best probity of all the Jewish nation. There are very few of them, if any at all, in these western parts. The most of them are to be found in Poland, Russia, and the eastern countries. In the middle of the last century there was an account taken of their numbers, whereby it appears that there were then of them in Poland two thousand, at Caffa in

Tartaria Crimea one thousand two hundred, at Cario three hundred, at Damascus two hundred, at Jerusalem thirty, in Babylonia one hundred, in Persia six hundred. But all these put together make but a small number in respect of the great bulk of those that are on the other side. They read the Scriptures and their liturgies everywhere, both publicly and privately, in the language of the country in which they dwell. At Constantinople they have them in Greek, at Caffa in Turkish, in Persia in the Persian language, and in Arabic in all places where Arabic is spoken as the vulgar tongue.

IV. **The Pharisees: received the Law, the Prophets, the Hagiographa, and the Traditions.** —But the greatest sect of the Jews was that of the Pharisees: for they had not only the scribes and all the learned men in the law of their party, but they also drew after them all the bulk of the common people. They differed from the Samaritans, in that besides the law they received the prophets, the hagiographa, and the traditions of the elders; and from the Sadducees, not only in these particulars, but also in their doctrines about a future state and the resurrection of the dead, and about predestination and freewill.

Doctrines of the Pharisees: 1st, Belief in the resurrection of the dead and in the existence of angels and spirits. —For as to the first of these, it is said in Scripture, that, "whereas the Sadducees say that

---

there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit, the Pharisees confess both;" that is, 1st, that there is to be a resurrection from the dead; and 2ndly, that there are angels and spirits. But according to Josephus, this resurrection of theirs was no more than a Pythagorean resurrection, that is, a resurrection of the soul only by its transmigration into another body, and being born anew with it. But from this resurrection they excluded all that were notoriously wicked. For of such their notion was, that their souls, as soon as separated from their bodies, were transmitted into a state of everlasting woe, there to suffer the punishment of their sins to all eternity. But as to lesser crimes, their opinion was, that they were punished in the bodies which the souls of those that committed them were next sent into. And according to this notion was it, that Christ's disciples asked him in the case

of the man that was born blind, "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" For this plainly supposeth an antecedent state of being, otherwise it cannot be conceived that a man could sin before he was born. And when the disciples told Christ, that some said of him that he was Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets, this can be understood no otherwise, but that they thought, according to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, that he was come into the world with the soul of Elias, or of Jeremias, or of some other of the old prophets transmitted into him, and born with him. These two instances put together plainly prove what Josephus saith, that is, that the resurrection held by the Jews in those times was no other than a Pythagorean resurrection of the same soul in another body. But when Christ came, who brought life and immortality to light, he first taught the true resurrection of the same body and soul together, and soon after the Jews learned it from his followers, and ever since have taught it in the same manner as they did. For all their books now extant speak of the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment thereon to follow, no otherwise in the main particulars than as the Christians do.

2nd, Belief in predestination coëxistent with freewill. —As to what the Pharisees held of predestination and freewill, it is hard to say what their doctrine was as to this matter. For according to Josephus, they held absolute predestination with the Essenes, and freewill with the Sadducees, jumbled both together. For they ascribed to God and fate all that is done, and yet left to man the freedom of his will. But how they made these two apparent incompatibles consist together is nowhere sufficiently explained; perchance they meant no more, than that every man freely chooseth what he is unalterably predestinated to. But if he be predestinated to that choice, how freely soever he may seem to choose, certainly he hath no freewill, because he is, according to this scheme, unalterably necessitated to all that he doth, and cannot possibly choose otherwise.

3rd, Held the traditions to be of equal authority with the written word. —But the main distinguishing character of this sect was their zeal for the traditions of the elders, which they derived from the same fountain with the written word itself, pretending both to have been

delivered to Moses from Mount Sinai and therefore they ascribed equally to both the same authority. How these traditions had their rise after the time of Ezra, I have already shown. This sect of men (who made it their main business to propagate them, and promote their observance) had its birth at the same time with them; and they grew up together, till at length they came to such a maturity and ascendency, that the traditional law swallowed up the written law, and these who were the propagators of it the whole bulk of the Jewish nation. These men, by reason of their pretences to a more nice and rigorous observance of the law, according to their traditions, which they had superadded to it, looked on themselves as more holy than other men; and therefore separated themselves from those whom they thought sinners or profane, so as not to eat nor drink with them; and hence from the Hebrew word pharas, which signifieth to separate, they had the name of Pharisees, which is as much as to say separatists. And although their chiefest separation was from the common people, whom they called am haaretz, i. e. "the people of the earth," and reckoned them no other than as the dung thereof; yet by reason of their hypocritical pretences to greater righteousness than others in the observance of the law, they drew the common people after them, they being above all others in their high esteem and veneration. This hypocrisy our Saviour frequently chargeth them with; as also of their making of God of none effect by their traditions. Several of these traditions he particularly mentioned and condemned, as appears in the Gospels; but they had a vast number more. To go through them all would be to transcribe the Talmud, a book of twelve volumes in folio. For the whole subject of it is to dictate and explain all those traditions which this sect imposed to be received and observed. And although many of them are very absurd and foolish, and most of them very burdensome and heavy to be borne, yet this sect hath devoured all the rest, they having had for many ages none to oppose them among that people, saving only those few Karraites I have mentioned. For excepting them only, the whole nation of the Jews, from the destruction of the temple to this present time, have wholly gone in unto them, and received all their traditions for divine dictates, and to this day observe them with much greater regard and devotion than the written word itself. So that they have in a manner, for the sake of their traditions, annulled all the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, and set up the Talmud to be their Bible in its stead. For this they

now make to be the whole rule of their faith and manners; so that it is now only according to the traditions of the Pharisees, not according to the law and the prophets, that the present Jewish religion is wholly formed; whereby they have corrupted the old Jewish religion, just in the same manner as the Romanists have the Christian.

Scribes and Lawyers mostly Pharisees. —In conjunction with the Pharisees, the scribes are often mentioned in the Scriptures of the New

---

Testament. But they were not a sect, but a profession of men following literature; they were of divers sorts. For generally all that were any way learned among the Jews were in the time of our Saviour and his apostles called scribes; but especially those who, by reason of their skill in the law and divinity of the Jews, were advanced to sit in Moses's seat, and were either judges in their Sanhedrims or teachers in their schools or synagogues. They were mostly of the sect of the Pharisees, most of the learning of the Jews, in those times, lying in their pharisaical traditions, and their way of interpreting (or we may rather say, wresting) the Scriptures by them. And they being the men that dictated the law both of church and state, hence lawyers and scribes are convertible terms in the Gospels, and both of them do there signify the same sort of men. For the same person who in Matt. xxii. 35 is called a lawyer, is in Mark xii. 28 said to be one of the scribes.

V. The Essenes: a severer order of Pharisees. —But how rigorous soever the Pharisees pretended to be in their observances, the Essenes outdid them herein. For being originally of the same sect with them, they reformed upon them in the same manner as, among the Romanists, the Carthusians and the Cistercians have upon the Benedictines, and did set up for a much more severe and perchance for a much more unblamable rule of living than the other did.

Believed in absolute predestination. —As to fate and freewill, their opinion was for an absolute predestination, agreeable to what is held by the Supralapsarians of the present age, without allowing to man any freewill at all, or any liberty of choice in any of his actions.

Believed in the immortality of the soul, but denied the resurrection of the body. —And as to the other grand point of a future state, and the resurrection from the dead, the Essenes also differed from the Pharisees herein: for although they allowed the former, they denied the latter, their doctrine being that the souls of men after their death are transmitted into a state of immortality, therein to live in everlasting bliss or in everlasting woe, according as their actions have deserved, without ever any more returning either to their own or any other bodies for ever.

Never mentioned by the Saviour. —Although our Saviour very often censured all the other sects then among the Jews, yet he never spake of the Essenes; neither is there any mention of them through the whole Scriptures of the New Testament. This proceeded, some think, from their retired way of living; for their abode being mostly in the country, they seldom came into cities, nor were they, in our Saviour's time, ever seen at the temple or in any public assembly; and therefore not falling in the way of our Saviour's observation, for this reason, say they, he took no notice of them: but it is much more likely it was, that being a very honest and sincere sort of people, without guile or hypocrisy, they gave no reason for that reproof and censure which the others very justly deserved.

Accounts of Josephus, Philo, and Pliny, compared. —Their way of living was very peculiar and remarkable. To give the reader a thorough

---

view of it, the best way will be to lay it before him in the words of Josephus, Philo, and Pliny, who are the ancientest authors that speak of this sect, and from whom all else is taken that is said of it.

Josephus's account in his Wars of the Jews. —The words of Josephus concerning the Essenes are as follow: —

Aversion to marriage. —"The Essenes are Jews by nation, and a society of men friendly to each other, beyond what is to be found among any other people; they have an aversion to pleasure in the same manner as to that which is truly evil. To live continently, and keep their passions in subjection, they esteem a virtue of the first rate. Marriage they have in no

esteem, but taking other men's children while they are yet tender, and susceptible of any impression, they treat them as if they were of their own flesh and blood, and carefully breed them up in the institutions of their sect. However, they are not absolutely against marriage in others; for that would be to take away the succession and race of mankind; but being aware of the lasciviousness of women, they are persuaded that none of them can keep true faith to one man.

Community of goods. —"They have riches in great contempt; and community of goods is maintained among them in a very admirable manner: for not any one is to be found among them possessing more than another, it being a fixed rule of their sect, that every one who enters into it must give up all his goods into the public stock of the society; so that among the whole number, none may be found lower than another by reason of his poverty, or any on the other side elated above the rest by his riches. For every man's goods being cast into common, they are all enjoyed as one possession among brethren in the same family for each man's use.

Rejection of all anointing. —"They look on it as a disparagement to make use of oil; so that if any one of them should happen to be anointed against his will, they wipe it off immediately, and cleanse their body from it; for not to be nice in the care of themselves they esteem as a commendable thing; and they always go habited in white garments.

Appointment of stewards, and hospitality to each other. —"They have stewards chosen for the management of their common stock, who in common provide for all, according as every man hath need. They do not all live together in one city, but in every city several of them dwell. These give reception to all travellers of their sect, who eat and drink with them as freely as of their own going in unto them, though they never saw them before, in the same manner as if they had been of their long acquaintance; and therefore when they take a journey anywhere, they carry nothing with them but arms for their defence against thieves. In every city they have one principal person of their society appointed procurator, to take care of all strangers that come thither of that sect, who provideth them with clothes and all other necessaries that they shall be in want of. Their garb and gesture of body is always such as

resembles that of children under the fear and discipline of their masters. They never change their clothes or shoes till they be worn out, and made unfit by time for any further use. They neither sell nor buy anything among themselves, but every one gives of that which he hath to him that wanteth; and on like occasion again receives, in return hereto, whatsoever the other hath that he stands in need of; and although there be no such retribution, yet it is free for every one to take of whomsoever of the sect he shall think fit, all whatsoever he stands in want of.

Daily prayers, employments, and meals. —"They are in what pertaineth to God in an especial manner religious: for before the sun be risen, they speak of no common worldly matter, but till then offer up unto God their prayers in ancient forms, received from their predecessors, supplicating particularly in them, that he would make the sun to rise upon them. After this they are sent by their superiors each to work in the employments they are skilled in; wherein they having diligently laboured till the fifth hour (that is, till eleven in the morning), they then assemble again in one place together, and each having a linen garment to put about him, they wash themselves in cold water; after this lustration, they go into a private room, where no one that is not of their sect is permitted to enter. And being thus purified, they go into the refectory or dining-room, with the same behaviour as into a holy temple; where being set silence, the baker lays before every man his loaf of bread; and the cook, in like manner, serves up to each of them his dish, all of the same sort of food. The priest then says grace before meat; and it is not lawful for any to taste the least bit before grace be said, and after dinner they say grace again; and thus they always begin and end their meal with praise and thanksgiving to God, as the giver of their food. After this they quit the habits which they last put on, looking on them as in some measure sacred, and then again betake themselves each man to his work till the evening; when returning again to the same place, they take their supper in the same manner as they had their dinner, their guests sitting at meal with them, if so it happen that there are any such then present in the place. No noise or tumult ever disorders the house where they are; for when they are met together, they speak only as each is allowed his turn. This silence appears to others, who are not of their sect, as a thing of

venerable and sacred regard. All this is the effect of a constant course of sobriety, in their moderating their eating and drinking only to the end of sufficing nature.

Freedom of charity. —"Although, in all other matters, they do nothing without the allowance of their superiors, yet in two cases, that is, in offices of assistance and in offices of mercy, they are permitted to have free power each man to do as he shall see cause for it: for to yield assistance to those that are worthy of it whenever they stand in need thereof, and to be charitable in giving food to the poor that want it, is what is allowed to all of them with full liberty; but to give anything to their relations, without the consent and allowance of their governors, is utterly forbidden among them.

Moral conduct and studies. —"They dispense their anger with justice, and are great curbers of their passions, steady keepers of their faith, constant labourers for peace; and every word with them is of greater force than an oath with other men. They avoid taking any oath at all, looking on it as worse than perjury. They say, he is already condemned as a faithless person, who is not to be believed without calling God to witness. They are in an extraordinary manner studious of the writings of the ancients, selecting out of them such things especially as are beneficial either to the bodies or souls of men. Hence, in order to the cure of diseases, the nature of medicinal roots and property of stones are searched into by them.

Period of probation for novices. —"When any desire to enter into their sect, they are not immediately admitted, but are kept without a whole year, during which time they put all of them that are of this class of novices under the same discipline or rule of living, giving to each of them a small pick-axe, the linen garment above-mentioned, and a white suit of clothes. After they have during all this time given thorough proof of their continence and temperance, they are received into a nearer conversation and rule of life with them, and partake of their holier water for their purification. However, they are not admitted as yet to their common table and full fellowship with them; but after their having given this proof of their continence for one year, they make trial of their manners for two years

longer, and then, if they appear worthy, they give them full admission into their society.

Vows on the admission of members. —"But before they are admitted to eat at the common table, they strictly bind themselves by solemn vows, first, to worship and serve God; and next, in all things to do that which is just towards men; not willingly to wrong any one, no, not though he should be commanded so to do; always to detest wicked men, and to side with and help all those that are just and good; ever to keep faith inviolable with all men, especially with princes (for no one comes to have rule and government over us but by God's appointment). That if it shall happen that they be called to any station of government, they will not abuse their power to the wronging of any under them, nor distinguish themselves from them by their habit or more splendid dress or apparel; always to love truth, and to convince and reprove all that are liars; to keep their hands from stealing, and to keep their minds clear from the taint of any unjust gain; that they will not conceal from any of the society the mysteries of their sect, nor communicate them to any other, no, not though they should be forced to it for the saving of their lives. And, moreover, they further vow to deliver to none of their brethren any of their doctrines otherwise than as they have received them; to abstain from all theft, and to preserve with equal care the books containing the doctrines of their sect,

---

and the names of the messengers by whose hands they were written and conveyed to them. And by such vows do they bind and secure all those that enter into their society, to be ever steady and firm to all the laws and rules of it.

Expulsion of criminals from their society. —"Such as they find guilty of any enormous crime they expel out of the society. And those who fall under this sentence often perish by a most lamentable death; for they are so bound up by the laws of that society, and the vows which they have made to keep them, that they cannot receive any food but from those of their sect; so that they are forced, when thus expelled, to feed like beasts on the herbs of the field, till their bodies being consumed for want of

nourishment, they are famished to death: wherefore often, commiserating their case, they have received them again when ready to expire, thinking that they have suffered punishment enough for their crimes, when thus brought by it even to the gates of death.

Administration of justice. —"In their administration of justice they are most exact and just; they never give sentence but when there are a hundred at least present, and what is then by them decreed remains irrevocable. Next to God, they have the highest veneration for their legislators, making it no less than death to speak evil of them. To yield to the sentiments of their elders, and submit to what is determined by the major part of their people, they hold to be a thing commendable, and what ought to be done. When any ten of them sit together, no one of them speaks but with the consent of the other nine. When they are in any company, they are carefully to avoid spitting into the middle before them, or on the right hand.

Strict observance of the Sabbath. —"In abstaining from all manner of work on the sabbath-day they distinguish themselves above all other Jews; for they do not only make ready their sabbath-day's meal the eve before, that they may not do as much as kindle a fire on that day, but also tie themselves up so strictly to the observance of it, that they do not then dare move a vessel out of its place, or so much as go to stool for the ease of nature. On all other days, when they ease themselves, they dig a pit of a foot deep with an iron instrument, which they always carry about with them (that is, the small pick-axe, which is above mentioned, to be given to all their novices), and then, encompassing their lower parts carefully with their garment, that they may not offer any injury or offence to the divine splendour, they set themselves over the said pit, and so discharge themselves into it, and then cover it over with the earth afore digged out of it. And this they always do, choosing the secretest places for it. And although this be no more than the natural voiding of bodily excrements, yet it is their usage to wash themselves after it, as after some great pollution.

Division into classes. — "They are divided, according to the time that they have been in this ascetic manner of life, into four different classes,

one above another; and every one of a senior class thinks all of the inferior classes so much beneath him, that if he happen to touch any

---

one of them, he washeth after it, in the same manner as if he had touched one of another nation.

Longevity. — "They are long livers, so that many of them arrive to the age of one hundred years; which is to be ascribed to their simple and plain manner of feeding, and the temperance and good order which they observe in that and in all things else.

Extraordinary fortitude. — "They are contemners of adversity, and overcome all sufferings by the greatness of their mind; insomuch that they esteem death itself, when it is to be undergone on an honourable account, better than immortality. Of the firmness of their mind in all cases, the war which we had with the Romans hath given sufficient proof; in which, though they were tortured, racked, burned, had their bones broken, and were made to undergo the sufferings of all the instruments of torments, that they might thereby be brought to speak ill of their lawgiver, and eat of those meats that are prohibited, yet they always stood firmly out to do neither of them; neither did they ever endeavour to mollify or appease the rage of their tormentors towards them, or shed one tear in their sufferings; but laughed while under their torments, and mocking those who were the executioners of them, cheerfully yielded up their souls in death, as firmly believing that after that they should live in them for ever.

Belief in the mortality of the body and immortality of the soul. —"For this opinion is delivered among them, that the bodies of men are mortal, and that the substance of them is not permanent; but that their souls, being immortal, remain for ever; that coming out of the subtilest and purest air, they are enveloped and bound up in their bodies, as in so many prisons, being attracted to them by certain natural allurements; but that, after they get out of those corporal bonds, being, as it were, freed from a long servitude, do rejoice thereon, and are carried aloft. And they affirm, agreeable to the opinion of the Greeks, that for the souls of good men there is ordained a state of life in a region beyond the ocean, which is never

molested, either with showers, or snow, or raging heats, but is ever refreshed with gentle gales of wind constantly breathing from the ocean; but to the souls of the wicked they assign a dark and cold place for their abode, filled with punishments which will never cease. And it seems to be according to the same notion that the Greeks assign to their valiant men, whom they call heroes and demigods, the fortunate islands for their habitation; but to the souls of wicked men, the regions of the impious in hell. And hence it is that they have devised their fables of several there punished, as Sisyphus, and Tantalus, and Ixion, and Tityus; laying down, in the first place, that the souls of men do live for ever; and next, applying this doctrine for the encouragement of virtue, and the discouragement of vice and wickedness. For good men are made better in their lives by the hopes of honour for the reward of it after death, and evil men are restrained from the impetuosity of their course in wickedness by fear, while they expect, that though their evil deeds escape observation in this life, yet after death they must undergo everlasting punishments for them. This is the divinity which the Essenes teach concerning the soul, proposing thereby a bait of inevitable allurement to all that have tasted of their doctrine.

Prophetical powers. —"There are some of this sect who take upon them to foretell things to come, being bred up from their childhood in

---

the study of their sacred books, and the sayings of the prophets, and also in the use of various purifications to qualify them for it; and it is very seldom found that they fail in what they foretell.

Usages of the married Essenes. —"And there are another sort of Essenes, who in their way of living, and in the usages and rules of their orders, exactly agree with the others, excepting only that they differ from them in their opinion about marriage. For they reckon that those that do not marry cut off a great part from the number of the living, that is, out of the succession of the next generation, especially if all should be of their mind; for then the whole race of mankind would be soon extinguished. But of those women whom they marry, they make trial for the term of three years before they contract with them; and if, through all that time, they find, by

the constant regular order of their natural courses, that they are of health fit to bear children, they then marry them; but they never lie with them after they are found to be with child, showing thereby that they do not marry to gratify lust, but only for the sake of having children. When their women go to wash themselves, they have the like linen garment to put about them, which is above mentioned to be given to the men for the same purpose. And such are the usages and manners of this sect."

Josephus's further account in his Antiquities. —Thus far Josephus, in his book of the Wars of the Jews. In his book of their Antiquities, which he wrote some years after the former, he says further of them as followeth: "Among the Jews there have been three sorts of sects from times of old; the Essenes, and the Sadducees, and the third sect, which are called Pharisees. The doctrine of the Essenes ascribes to God the ordering and governing of all things. They teach that the souls of men are immortal. They hold that the attainment of righteousness and justice is to be endeavoured after above all things. They send their gifts to the temple, but they offer no sacrifices there, by reason of the different rules of purity which they have instituted among themselves; and therefore, being excluded the common temple, they sacrifice apart by themselves; otherwise they are, in their manners and course of life, the best of men. They employ themselves wholly in the labour of agriculture. Their righteousness is worthy of admiration, above all others that pretend to virtue, in which they do by no means give place to any, whether Greeks or Barbarians, no, not in the least. They have been long under engagements never to be hindered by anything in their diligent study and pursuit after it. Their goods are all in common, and he that is rich hath not the enjoyment of the things of his house any more than he that hath nothing at all. And they that live after this manner are in number about four thousand men. They neither marry wives, nor endeavour after the possession of servants; their opinion of the latter being, that it leads to injustice, by invading the common liberty of mankind; and of the other, that it gives matter for trouble and disturbance. Wherefore, living by themselves, they mutually make use of the service of each other. They choose good men out of the number of their priests to be the receivers of their incomes, and the managers of the fruits which their lands produce, for the providing of them with meat and drink."

There is also mention made of them by Josephus in another place,

that is, in the ninth chapter of the thirteenth book of his Antiquities; but there he speaks only of their opinion about fate. His words in that place are, "That they hold that fate governs all things, and that nothing happens to man but by its appointment."

Philo's account of the Essenes. —Philo the Jew is the next, or indeed the first, that speaks of them. For he wrote before Josephus, being by much the older of the two. For Josephus was not born till the first year of the reign of Caligula the Roman emperor, A. D. 37, whereas Philo was at that time advanced in years: for it was not much above two years after, that Philo was sent as head of an embassy to that emperor from the Alexandrian Jews, as a person that, by his age and experience, was best qualified for that difficult undertaking. But Josephus being best acquainted with their sect, as having lived in Judæa, and been there for some time conversant among them and under their discipline, was best qualified to write a true and exact account of them; and therefore I have begun with that which he hath given us. For Philo, being a Jew of Alexandria, knew nothing of the Essenes of Judæa but what he had by hearsay: but with the Essenes of Egypt he was indeed much better acquainted. For although the principal seat of them was in Judæa, yet there were also of them in Egypt, and in all other places where the Jews were dispersed; and therefore Philo distinguished this sect into the Essenes of Judæa and Syria, and the Essenes of Egypt and other parts. The first he called practical Essenes, and the others he calls therapeutic or contemplative; and of each he gives the accounts that follow.

1st, The Practical Essenes: mode of life. —" Among the Jews who inhabit Palestine and Syria, there are some whom they call Essæans, being in number about four thousand men, according to my opinion. They have their name by reason of their piety, from the Greek word ὅσιος, which signifieth holy, though the derivation from thence be not made according to the exact rule of grammar. And whereas they are most religious servers and worshippers of God, they do not sacrifice unto him any living creature, but rather choose to form their minds to be holy, thereby to make them a fit

offering unto him. They chiefly live in country villages, avoiding cities, by reason of the vices that are familiar among citizens; being sensible, that as the breathing in a corrupted air doth breed diseases, so the conversing with evil company often makes an incurable impression upon the souls of men. Some of them labour in husbandry; others follow trades of manufacture, confining themselves only to the making of such things as are the utensils of peace, endeavouring thereby to benefit both themselves and their neighbours. They do not treasure up either silver or gold, neither do they provide themselves with large portions of land out of a desire of plentiful revenues, but seek only after such things as are requisite for the supplying of the necessaries of life. They are in a manner the only persons of all mankind, who being without money, and without possessions (and this by their own choice rather than by the want of good fortune), yet reckon themselves most rich, judging their needing little, and their being contented with anything, to be (as really it

---

is) a great abundance. You shall not find any among their handicraftsmen that ever put a hand to the making of arrows, or darts, or swords, or head-pieces, or corslets, or shields; neither do any among them make any armour, or engines, or any other instruments whatsoever, that are made use of in war; nay, they will not make such utensils of peace as are apt to be employed to do mischief. Merchandising, trafficking, and navigation they never as much as dream of, rejecting them utterly as incitements to covetousness. There is no such thing as a servant among them, but they all mutually help and serve each other. They condemn the domination of masters over servants, not only as unjust and prejudicial to holiness, but also as impious and destructive of the law of nature, which bringing forth, say they, and nourishing all men alike in the same condition of life, as a common mother to all, hath made them all as brothers to each other, and this not only in word, but really and in deed; but that treacherous covetousness, overthrowing their kindred, hath produced strangeness instead of familiarity, and enmity instead of friendship.

Studies in ethics, moral philosophy, &c. —" As to philosophy, logic they utterly relinquish to such as quarrel about words, reckoning it as

useless for the attainment of virtue. And natural philosophy, and all the points thereof (excepting only so much as concerns the being of God and the original production of all things), they leave to those who have time to spare to treat of such matters, reckoning it to be above the power of man to attain to a true knowledge of them. But about ethics, or moral philosophy, they are much conversant, using therein the guidance and direction of their country laws, which are such as could never have come from the mind of man without a divine inspiration. Herein they instruct men, as at other times, so especially on the seventh day. For the seventh day is held holy by them, on which they desist from all other work, going on that day to their sacred places, which they call synagogues, where they sit in order, according to their seniority or standing in the society, the juniors taking place below their seniors, and all composing themselves with decency for the hearing of the word. Then one taking the Bible reads out of it; and then another, being one of the most skilful, doth expound upon what hath been so read, passing over what is above his knowledge. Their manner of expounding is mostly by parables, according to the way that hath been anciently in use among them. They are instructed in holiness, righteousness, justice, economy, politics, in the knowledge of what is truly good, and what is evil, and what is indifferent, what is proper for them to choose, and what on the contrary they ought to avoid. In which course they make use of three rules, judging of all things according as they accord, 1. with the love of God; 2. with the love of virtue; or, 3. with the love of their neighbour. Of their love to God they give a multitude of demonstrations; as, for instance, their constant and unalterable course of chastity their whole life through, their abstaining from all swearing, their never speaking a lie, and their always ascribing to God the cause of all good, and never making him the author of that which is evil. Of their love to virtue they give instances, in their not being covetous, in their not being ambitious, in their renouncing of pleasures, in their continence, in their patience, in their plainness, in their needing little, in their being content with anything, in their modesty

---

in their reverence for the laws, in their stability of mind, and other such like virtues. And, lastly, of their love to their neighbour they give instances, in

their benevolence, in their equal carriage to all, which is greater than can be well expressed, and in their holding all that they have in common; of which it will not be unseasonable here to speak a little.

Distribution into sodalities. —" First, therefore, no man's house is properly his own, but every man of the sect that shall come to it hath an equal interest therein. For as they live together in sodalities, eating and drinking at the same common table, so they there provide entertainment for all of the fraternity that shall come thither to them from any other place. There is one common treasury belonging to them all, from whence the expenses of clothes and provisions are furnished in common for all of the community, according to the several sodalities into which they are distributed. Their way of cohabiting together under the same roof, of eating together of the same victuals, and sitting together at the same table, is such as is nowhere else to be found thus established, or anything like it. What they gain by their daily labour they keep not to themselves, but bring it all into the common stock, from whence provision is made for the use and common utility of all the sect. And if any among them fall sick, they do not neglect them, as such that can get nothing, but have all things that are necessary for the recovering of them again to their health always ready provided for them out of the common stock; so that they take hereof, with all freedom, as plentifully as they shall think fit. Great honour and reverence is paid to the elder men of the society by the juniors, who take care of them in such manner as truly begotten children do of their parents, administering unto them, both with their hands and their counsels, with all plentifulness, whatsoever may be necessary for their comfortable support in their old age."

2nd, The Therapeutæ, or contemplative Essenes: origin of the name. —Thus far Philo concerning those whom he calls practical Essenes. Of those whom he calls the contemplative he saith as followeth : "Having spoken of the Essæans that lead a practical life, I come next to treat of those who embrace the contemplative. The men among them are called Therapeute, and the women Therapeutides, agreeable to their profession, either as they profess the art of physic (not that commonly practised, whereby the bodies of men are cured, but a much more valuable physic, whereby they cure the souls of men of diseases much more obstinate,

difficult, and harder to be removed, those which they have brought upon themselves by voluptuousness, concupiscence, grief, fears, covetousness, follies, injustice, and by an innumerable company of other passions and vices), or else they have this name, because they have learned from the law of nature, and the sacred laws of the Holy Scriptures, to worship and serve that Being which is better than good, more uncompounded than the number of one, and more ancient than unity itself.

Actuated by enthusiastic impulses.—"They that enter into this Therapeutic profession do not do it as led thereto by any prevailing custom, or by the persuasion of others, but being wholly drawn to it by a heavenly love, are under an enthusiastic impulse, in the same manner as the Bacchanals and Corybantes in the celebration of their festivals, till they have attained to this their desired state of contemplation; and thereon, as if they had done with this mortal life, through their desire after that which is immortal and ever blessed, they relinquish all their worldly goods and possessions to their sons, or their daughters, or their other relations, delivering to them the inheritance thereof by a voluntary choice; and if they have no relations, then they give them to their friends and acquaintance. And when they have thus divested themselves of all their worldly substance, as being now no longer withheld by any enticement, they flee from their homes without any more looking back, leaving their brothers, their children, their wives, their parents, and all their kindred, how numerous soever, as also the society of their friends and countrymen, among whom they have been born and bred, because their conversation, should they still stay with them, would be a strong and powerful allurement to draw them away from this purpose.

Retired mode of life.—"They do not leave one city to go to another, like miserable or wicked servants, who, having obtained of those that own them to be sold to some other person, gain thereby only the change of masters, not the recovery of their liberty. For all cities, even those that are governed by the best laws, are full of tumult and trouble, which no one that hath addicted himself to this way of philosophy can afterwards bear. And therefore they rather choose to make their abode without the walls of cities,

in gardens and villages, and lone country habitations, seeking solitude, not out of an affected hatred to mankind, but for the avoiding of the mixing with men of different manners, knowing it to be unprofitable and hurtful.

Dwelling-houses.—"This sort of men are dispersed throughout many parts of the world (for it is requisite that both Greeks and Barbarians should partake of so excellent a benefit), but Egypt abounds most with them throughout all its provinces, but most of all about Alexandria. But from all places the principal men of them retire, as into their own proper country, into a place which they have near the lake Maria, situated upon a gentle rising hill, very commodious for them, both for its convenience in affording them there a safe dwelling, and also for the wholesomeness of its air. The houses of those who there come together are built in a very frugal and mean manner, they having their covering fitted only for two necessary things, that is, to keep them from the heat of the sun in summer, and from the cold of the air in winter: neither are they built near each other, as in cities; for this would be irksome and displeasing to men desiring and seeking after solitude: neither are they far asunder, because they love at times to converse together, and also that they may the easier unite for their mutual defence, if they should happen at any time to be invaded by thieves.

Little chapels.—"Each of them hath in his cottage a little chapel, which they call Semneum, or Monasterium, in which every one of them doth, alone by himself, perform all the mysteries of a holy life, bringing in thither, at no time, either drink or meat, or any other of the necessaries used for the support of the body, but only the law and the divine oracles of the prophets, and hymns, and such other like things, whereby knowledge and piety are increased and perfected. They have God in perpetual remembrance, so that even in their dreams nothing else but the beauties and excellencies of divine powers run in their fancies, insomuch that several of them, while they sleep, do in their dreams deliver many excellent sayings of divine philosophy.

Daily prayers and contemplations.—"Their constant usage is to pray twice every day, that is, in the morning and in the evening. At the

rising of the sun, they pray that God would give his blessing upon the day, that true blessing whereby their minds may be filled with heavenly light; and at the setting of the sun, that their minds, being wholly disburdened of their senses and all sensible things, may, in its retirements into itself, find out truth. All the interval of time, from morning to evening, they spend in the study and contemplation of divine things. For exercising themselves in the most Holy Scriptures, they philosophize upon them after their country manner, expounding them allegorically. For they suppose that the words are only notes and marks of some things of mystical nature, which are to be explained figuratively.

Religious books.—"They have among them the writings of some ancients, who, being principal leaders of their sect, have left them many monuments of that learning, which consists in dark and secret expressions, which they using as original patterns, do imitate that way of study. And they do not only spend their time in contemplation, but they also compose songs and hymns in the praise of God, of all sorts of metre, and musical verses, which they write in grave and seemly rhymes.

Assemblies on the seventh day.—"Six days of the week they thus continue apart by themselves in the little chapel above mentioned, and there give themselves wholly up to the contemplation of divine philosophy, without going out of doors, or as much as looking abroad all that time. On the seventh day, they meet together in a public solemn assembly, and there sit down together, according to their seniority, in a decent manner, with both their hands under their garment, that is, the right hand upon the part between their chin and their breast, and their left let down by their side. Then one of the best learned of them, standing forth, discourseth to them with a grave composed countenance and a grave serious voice, speaking with reason and prudence, and not making ostentation of eloquence, as the Rhetoricians and Sophists now do, but searching into and expounding all things with that exactness of thought, as that it doth not only for the present captivate the ears, but by being thus heard enters into the soul, and there makes lasting impressions upon it. While this person thus speaks, all the rest give attention with silence, expressing their approbation only with the motions of their eyes and their head.

Arrangements of their synagogues.—"The synagogue, or common place of assembly, where they meet every seventh day, hath two distinct enclosures and apartments in it, the one assigned for the men, and the other for the women; for it is their custom, that the women that are of the same sect and institution should also be auditors in these assemblies. The partition-wall, which separates these two enclosures, is built up three or four cubits high from the ground, after the manner of a parapet, the rest lies open to the top of the room. All which is thus contrived for the sake of two conveniences: the first, to protect that decent modesty which is naturally belonging to the female sex; the other, that while they sit in that auditory, they may easily hear what is there discoursed, nothing coming between to hinder the voice of him that speaketh from reaching to them.

Temperance in eating and drinking.—"Having laid temperance as a certain foundation in their souls, they build thereupon all other virtues. They take neither meat nor drink before sun be set: for they hold it requisite to employ the day in the study of philosophy, and the night in the making of necessary provision for the body: so that they allot the whole day for the former, and only a small part of the night for the latter. Some of them, in whom is a more than ordinary thirst after knowledge, forget to take any sustenance for three days together; and others there are who are so delighted and fed with feasting on wisdom, which gives to them of its doctrine richly and plentifully, that they sometimes hold out double the time, and, for six days together, scarce taste of any necessary food, being nourished, as they say a sort of grasshoppers are, by the air in which they live, the melody of their hymns, as I suppose, rendering the want of food easy and supportable unto them. They looking on the seventh day to be all holy and all festival, do think it worthy of extraordinary honour. On that day, after having first taken due care of their souls, they refresh and nourish their bodies, then relaxing to themselves their daily labour, as they do their working cattle. They eat not anything that is sumptuous or dainty, but only coarse bread; their sauce is only salt, and they that are of a nicer stomach mingle some hyssop with it; their drink is only water from the river. And thus they appease the two domineering mistresses which nature hath subjected all mankind to, that is, hunger and thirst, offering nothing to

gratify them but only what is necessary for the support of life: for they eat only to assuage hunger, and drink only to quench their thirst, avoiding fulness of stomach, as that which is hurtful both to soul and body.

Clothes.—"And whereas there are two sorts of coverings for the body, that is, house and clothes; as to their houses, it hath been spoken to before, that they are mean, and built without art, as made only to serve the present necessary uses: so likewise as to their clothes, they have only such as are most commodious to keep out cold and heat, they using for this purpose a thick coarse garment instead of furs in the winter, and a short coat without sleeves, or a linen vestment, in the summer. They universally exercise themselves in modesty; and looking

---

on falsity to be the mother of arrogance, and truth to be the mother of modesty, they hold each of them to have the nature of a fountain; for there flow from falsity, say they, many various sorts of evils, and from truth abundance of good, both human and divine."

Mode of celebrating their festivals.—Thus far Philo of his contemplative Essæans. He hath afterwards a description of their behaviour at their great festivals; which being very long, should I give the whole of it I should be too tedious to the reader; and I fear I have been too much so already concerning this matter. I shall therefore here only add an abstract of it, as followeth. These Therapeutæ, or contemplative Essæans, celebrate every seventh sabbath as a great festival, when, being called together by an officer appointed for this purpose, all of each congregation meet together in a common hall: for they being divided into several distinct congregations, each congregation hath its distinct hall, in which they meet together on all such occasions. When they are come together on this call, being all in white garments, they range themselves in order with great gravity; and after having said grace, sit down, taking their place each after other, according to the seniority of their admission into the sect. The men sit on the right-hand side of the hall by themselves, and the women by themselves on the other side: for these Essenes have women also among them, most of them of the elder sort, and such only as have been virgins from their youth. They are not

attended on at their feasts by servants: for they have none such, looking on servitude to be against the law of nature; according to which, they say, all men are born free; and therefore they are ministered to in all things by freemen, such as are of the juniors of their society. Of these some being chosen for every ministration, administer therein to the rest all manner of help and service, with the same care and affection as children do to their parents. These serve at the tables with their garments let down at their full length, and not girded up about them after the manner of servants, that so they may appear to minister as freemen, and not as slaves. At these feasts they drink no wine, but only pure water; those of the elder sort, who have weak stomachs, drink it warm, all the rest drink it cold. They eat no flesh, their repast being, as on other days, only bread, salt, and hyssop. They abstain from wine, as reckoning it to be a sort of poison that leads men into madness, and from all plentiful fare, as that which breeds and irritates inordinate and beastly appetites in the mind. While they thus sit at meal, there is observed a most exact silence, none making the least noise; and when they have done eating, one of them proposeth a question out of the holy writ, which another answers, imparting what he knows plainly, without affectation, or aiming at praise. All the rest are attentive to what is said, signifying only by signs, expressed by the motions of the head or the hand, their approbation or disapprobation of what is delivered. All these discourses are allegorical: for their notion is, that the Scriptures have the similitude of a living man, which consists

---

of body and soul; the literal sense, they say, resembles the body, and the mystical sense, which lies under it, the soul; and in that the life of the whole consists: and therefore their study is to find out a mystical sense for every text delivered in the Holy Scriptures. The president determines when enough is said, and whether the question be fully answered or not, adding what he thinks proper further to discourse of on the point. Whereon all applauding what he saith, he riseth up, and begins a hymn in the praise of God, composed either by himself or some of the ancients before him; and all the rest join with him herein. And thus they spend the afternoon in discoursing of divine things, and in singing of psalms and hymns till supper

time, and then the waiters bring in for their supper, bread, and salt, and hyssop, as before. After supper is over, they arise from table, and then dividing themselves into two companies, one of the men, and the other of the women, each chooseth their precentor, and then spend the whole night following in singing of hymns in all sorts of metre and music to the praise of God, sometimes alternatively in parts, and sometimes as in a chorus all together. And thus they continue doing till the morning light; on the appearance of which, turning their faces toward the rising sun, they pray unto God to give them a happy day, and the light of truth. After which, breaking up the assembly, they all return, each to his particular apartment, there to employ themselves either in contemplation or in the work of husbandry, in the same manner as before.

Pliny's account of the Essenes.—What Pliny saith of this sect is what I am next to lay before the reader. The account which he gives of them is as followeth: "On the western side of the lake Asphaltites dwell the Essenes, seating themselves inwardly from it to avoid the shore as hurtful to them. They are the alone sort of men, and herein above all others in the world, to be admired, that live without women, without the use of copulation, without money, feeding upon the fruit of the palm tree. They are daily recruited by the resort of new comers to them, in a number equal to those they lose, many flocking to them whom the surges of ill fortune, having made weary of the world, do drive to them to take shelter in their institution and manner of life. And thus for several thousands of years (it is incredible to be said) this people is perpetually propagated without any being born among them, so fruitful and prolific unto them is the repentance of others as to their lives past."

Erroneous deductions of the Romanists and Deists in reference to the Essenes. —Thus far I have given the several accounts of the three authors above mentioned concerning this sect, as far as I can make them plainly speak in the English language. Porphyry, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and several others of the ancients have also spoken of them; but all that they have said on this subject being taken out of one of these three authors, who are the ancientest that have written hereof, in giving these three I give all the rest. And I have inserted at large what these three authors say of this sect, not only that a full view may hereby be given the reader of this very

extraordinary order of men, but especially to obviate the wrong use that is made of their relations concerning them, first by the Romanists, and secondly by the Deists.

1st, **Argument of the Romanists that the Therapeutæ were an order of Christian monks instituted by St. Mark.—**For, first, the Romanists, laying hold of a handle offered them by Eusebius, from the account given by Philo of the contemplative Essenes, whom he calls Therapeutæ, argue from thence that they were Christian monks, formed into that order by St. Mark, who was the first founder of the Christian church at Alexandria, and from hence drew an argument for the divine institution of monkism; and Bellarmin and Baronius, two of the greatest champions that have written in their cause, go in hereto. It is true Eusebius hath said that these Therapeutæ were Christian monks instituted by St. Mark; and so he hath said many other things without judgment or truth. And had these two great men been free from the interest and the influence of the party they were of, they would never have said this after him. In other particulars they are forward enough to condemn him, especially Baronius, but for the sake of their beloved monkery they follow him in this, which is the absurdest of all. What they or their followers say of this matter is all built upon what Philo hath written of his Therapeutæ (for no one else hath said anything of this sort of Essenes, but he only). And what can be a greater confutation of the whole of it than the very words of Philo concerning them, which are all above recited? For they manifestly prove, first, that these Therapeutæ could not be Christians; and, secondly, that they were most certainly Jews.

Error of the Romanists proved: (1.) The Therapeutæ could not have been Christians.—And, first, the words of Philo manifestly prove that the Essenes could not be Christians; for they speak of these Therapeutæ as a sect of long standing in Egypt, and tell us that they had hymns and writings among them of ancient date, composed in times of old by such as were principal leaders of their sect; that they were dispersed, not only through all the provinces of Egypt, but also among the Greeks and barbarians all the world over. But nothing of all this could be said of the Christian monks when Philo wrote that book wherein he treats of this sect.

For Philo being an elderly man when he went on an embassy to Rome from the Jews of Alexandria, in the year of our Lord 39, which was but six years after Christ's death, it is most likely this book was written before the Christian church was erected, or at most within ten years after; but supposing it twenty, yea, forty, if you please, this would be too short a time for such societies of Christians to be formed and settled in such regular manner as Philo describes, not only through all Egypt, but also among the Greeks and barbarians all the world over, that is, wherever the Jews were settled in their dispersions among the nations (for this is all that can be meant by Philo). But supposing this possible, how could they be said to have hymns and writings composed by ancient leaders of their sect, when their sect itself was not above ten or twenty, or at most forty years' standing? And their rigorous observance of the seventh day further proved that they

---

could not be Christians; for the Christian weekly day of worship is the first day of the week, and not the seventh. And the Christian doctrine enjoineth no such superstitious rigour as that therewith these men observed that day. For Christ himself condemned it, telling us that man was not made for the sabbath, but the sabbath for man, that is, for his benefit, first, in easing him on that day from his labour and toil after the things of this world; and, secondly, in giving him a fit time thereby to take care of his interest in the world to come, in worshipping his God, and performing all the other duties of religion towards him, which may recommend him to his mercy and favour.

(2.) **The Therapeutæ must have been Jews.—**And therefore, secondly, that these Therapeutæ observed the seventh day, and with such superstitious rigour as Philo describes, this manifestly proves that they were of the Jewish religion; and Philo plainly tells us as much, in that he saith of them, that they were the disciples of Moses (for so he calls them in his introduction to those words of his, of which I have above given an abstract); and there also he saith of them, that they observed their festivals, and formed their rules for the celebrating of them according to Moses's institution.

(3.) **Christian monasticism was not established until several centuries afterwards.—**This therefore was none other than a Jewish sort of monkism; for Christian monkism had not its being till many years after. For it had its first beginning about A. D. 250: then Paul, a young gentleman of the country of Thebais in Egypt, to avoid the Decian persecution, fled into the adjoining desert: and fixing his abode in a cave, there first of all Christians began the practice of an ascetic life, in which he continued ninety years, being of the age of one hundred and thirteen at the time of his death. About twenty years after his thus retiring to this place (he being by that time grown very famous for the religious and heremitical sort of life which he had thus addicted himself to), Antony, another young gentleman of the same province, being excited by the fame hereof to follow his example, retired into the same desert, and there devoted himself to the like course of life. And many others after a while, out of the like zeal of devotion, retiring to him, he formed them into a body; and becoming their abbot, he prescribed them a rule, and governed them by it many years: for he lived to a very great age; and from this beginning all the monkism of the Christian world had its original. For Christ and his apostles never prescribed any such thing, neither is it consistent with the religion they taught. God never made any of us for lazy and useless contemplation only. His providence is over all his works, and every one of us is bound, as far as we are able, to be the instruments thereof in bearing each his part for the support of the whole in that station of life, whatever it be, which God hath called us unto. And for every man to do his duty in this station of life, with the best of his power, for the honour of God and the good of his neighbour, with faith in Christ for the reward of his faithfulness and diligence herein, is the sum of Christian religion. And whoever is thus diligent and faithful in his honest calling, how mean soever it be, is by so doing as much serving God as when at his prayers, provided that while he doth the one he do not leave the other undone.

2nd, **Argument of the Deists that Christ and his followers were merely a sect of the Essenes.—**Another wrong use of the words of those three authors above recited is made by the infidel Deists of our time. They

pretend to find in them an agreement between the Christian religion and the documents of the Essenes; and therefore would infer that Christ and his followers were no other than a sect branched out from that of the Essenes. And for these chiefly is it that I have given at large all that these three authors have written of that sect; which is all that is authentically said of them.

Error of the Deists proved: doctrines of the Essenes were ante-Christian, and were condemned by Christ and his apostles.—And let these infidels make the most of it that they can. Though they search all these accounts of this sect through to the utmost, can any of the proper doctrines of Christianity be found in any part of them? Is there anything in them of the two Christian sacraments? Is there anything of the redemption of the world by the Messiah, or of the erecting of his spiritual kingdom here on earth? Or were any of the peculiar documents or usages of that sect ever ingrafted into Christianity? The common tables, I confess, which were at first set up by the apostles, bear some resemblance to those of the Essenes. But this was never made a law of the Christian religion, as it was of the sect of the Essenes, or ever as much as recommended by it; only it was practised for a short while in the first gatherings of the Christian church; but when it increased and grew up, this usage was dropped and wholly discontinued, as being no longer practicable. In those moral duties which the Essenes practised and taught, they there indeed agree with Christians, and so do all other religions, as far as they agree with the law of nature. Many of the heathens carried the observance of all the moral duties which Christianity prescribes much higher than the Essenes did, and this not only in speculation and precept, but also in practice, and thereby made a much nearer agreement with Christianity than any of that sect ever did. And who therefore will ever say that Christianity is a religion made out of heathenism? Our holy Christian profession is so far from having any of the documents or institutions of the Essenes in it, that almost all that is peculiar in that sect is condemned by Christ and his apostles. For almost all that is peculiar in them being only in a higher degree the same things which they condemned in the Pharisees, who practised them in a lower degree; in that they were condemned where they were in a lower degree, they are certainly much more so where they were in a higher. Such were their superstitious

washings, their over-rigorous observance of the sabbath, their abstaining from meats, which God hath created for man's use; their touch not, taste not, handle not; their will-worship in their neglecting and voluntary afflicting the body, and other like superstitious usages which God never required of them. Moreover, contrary to the law of Christianity, they forbade marriage, which God had ordained from the beginning, and absolutely condemned servitude, which the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament as well as the Old allow. And they denied

---

the resurrection of the body, in which the main of the Christian hope consists; and absurdly place the felicity of a future life in the corporal enjoyments of a temperate air in regions beyond the western ocean, where they allow the soul no body at all to be clothed with for the partaking of them. And further, they pin down all men, both good and bad, to a fatal necessity in all their actions: which digs up the very foundations of all religion and righteousness among mankind. For if all men be necessarily predetermined to all their actions, whether good or evil, by an unalterable and irresistible fate, there can then be no merit nor demerit, nor reason for any endeavour at all either after religion or righteousness among mankind. And when the institutions of this sect carry with them so great a distance and disparity from those of Christ and his apostles, what argument of similitude between them can possibly be framed for the proving of the one to be the parent of the other?

Another account of Philo's not worth insertion.—I must not omit to acknowledge that there is another piece of Philo's concerning those Essenes. It is part of his apology for the Jews, which he composed with intent to have delivered it at his audience of Caligula, on his embassy to him from the Jews of Alexandria, would he have heard him. This tract of Philo's is not now among his works, it being all lost excepting one fragment of it, preserved by Eusebius, in his eighth book de Præparatione Evangelica, cap. 11. And this is that piece which I mean; but it containing nothing but what is to be found in the other accounts of this sect above recited, I have avoided the inserting of it, that I might not tire the reader with an

unnecessary repetition, to whom I fear I have already been too tiresome in this matter.

VI. The Herodians: their origin from Herod the Great. —There was another sect among the Jews, called the Herodians. This indeed had its date long after the times which I am now upon, as having its rise from Herod, king of Judæa, called Herod the Great; but having been more than once made mention of in the Gospels, it is not to be omitted. And since I have here undertaken to give an account of all the other sects of the Jews, I think it proper here to place an account of this also. It is not to be doubted but that they had this name from Herod the Great, but for what reason, that is a question. Some say it was because they held Herod to be the Messiah; so Tertullian, so Epiphanius, so Jerome, so Chrysostom, so Theophylact, and so several others of the ancients held. But it is very improbable that any Jew should in the time of our Saviour's ministry, above thirty years after the death of Herod, hold him to have been the Messiah, when they had found no one of those particulars which they expected from the Messiah performed by him, but rather everything quite the contrary. Others hold that they were called Herodians, because they constituted a sodality erected in the honour of Herod, in the same manner as there were sodalities at Rome, called Augustales, Adrianales, Antonini, constituted in the honour of Augustus, Adrian, and Antoninus, and the like of other Roman emperors after their death. And this is the opinion of Scaliger, and those that follow him; but none of these sodalities

---

at Rome having been instituted till long after the death of Herod, none such could have been instituted in honour of Herod in imitation of them. The earliest of these sodalities, and the first of this kind that we anywhere meet with, were the Sodales Augustales. But these not being instituted till after Augustus's death, which happened several years after Herod's, this could give no pattern nor foundation for the like to be instituted in honour of Herod, either in his lifetime or upon his death, since he died many years before. By what is mentioned of these Herodians in the Gospels, they seem plainly to have been a sect among the Jews, differing from the rest in some points of their law and religion. For they are there named with the

Pharisees, and in contradistinction from them; and therefore must have been a sect in the same manner as the Pharisees were. And they are also said to have a peculiar leaven as the Pharisees had, that is, some false and evil tenets, which soured and corrupted the whole lump with which it was mingled; and therefore Christ equally warned his disciples against both: And since he calleth it the leaven of Herod, this argues that Herod was the author of it; that is, of those evil tenets which constituted this sect, and distinguished it from the other sects of the Jews; and that his followers, imbibing those tenets from him, were for this reason called Herodians. And these being chiefly of his courtiers, and the officers and servants of his palace, and those that were descended from them, hence the Syriac version, wherever the word Herodians occurs in the original, renders it the domestics of Herod. And that version having been made very early for the use of the church of Antioch, the authors of it were the nearest those times in which this sect had its beginning; and therefore had the best means of knowing who they were.

Romanizing tendency of their opinions. —Thus far therefore having shown that these Herodians were a sect of the Jews that had its original from Herod the Great, it is next to be inquired into, what were the tenets whereby it was distinguished. The only way to find this out is to examine in what particulars the founder of it differed from the rest of the Jews. For no doubt the same were the particulars in which these his followers differed from them also, and thereby constituted this sect; and they will appear to have been these two following. The first, in subjecting himself and his people to the dominion of the Romans; and secondly, in complying with them in many of their heathen usages; for both these particulars Herod held lawful, and accordingly practised them. And therefore these I take to have been the tenets and opinions in which these Herodians, his followers, differed from the other Jews, and thereby constituted this sect, which from him was called by that name. It being said (Deut. xvii. 15), "One from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee; thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother;" hence an opinion

arose, which was generally embraced by the Pharisees, that it was not lawful to submit to the Roman emperor, or pay taxes unto him: but Herod and his followers, understanding the text to exclude only a voluntary choice, and not a necessary submission, where force hath overpowered choice, were of a contrary opinion, and held it lawful in this case both to submit to the Roman emperor and also pay taxes to him.

And therefore the Pharisees and the Herodians being of opinion in this matter quite contrary to each other, those that laid snares for Christ, and sought an occasion against him, sent the disciples of both these sects at the same time together to propose this captious question to him, "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar, or no?" thinking, which way soever he should answer, to bring him into danger. For should he answer in the negative, the Herodians were there ready to accuse him of being an enemy to Cæsar; and should he answer in the affirmative, the Pharisees were as ready, on the other hand, to accuse him to the people, and excite them against him, as an enemy to their rights, they having possessed them with their notion against paying taxes to any foreign power: but Christ, knowing their wicked intentions, gave such an answer as baffled the malice of both of them. However, the answer then given implying a justification of the doctrine of the Herodians in that point, that could not be the leaven of Herod which Christ warned his disciples against; and therefore that must be their second tenet, that it was lawful, when forced and overpowered by superiors, to comply with them in idolatrous and wrong practices of religion.

This Herod did, and he seems to have framed this sect of purpose to justify him herein. For Josephus tells us, that to ingratiate himself with Augustus and the great men of Rome, he in many things acted contrary to the law and the religion of the Jews, building temples, and erecting images in them for idolatrous worship; and for this he excused himself to the Jews, telling them that he did not do it willingly, but as commanded and forced to it by powers whom he was necessitated to obey, thinking this sufficient to excuse him from guilt. And for this reason we find him sometimes called a half Jew; and such half Jews, I conceive, were the Herodians, his followers, professing the Jewish religion, and at the same time, on occasions, complying with the idolatrous heathens, and becoming occasional conformists to them.

The Sadducees, who denied a future state, did mostly come into the opinions of this sect; and therefore they are reckoned one and the same with them. For the same persons who in one of the Gospels are called Herodians, are called Sadducees in another. But this sect, after our Saviour's time, vanished and were no more heard of. And thus far having given this long account of all the sects of the Jews, I shall here with it conclude this book.

BOOK VI.

DECLINE OF THE ASMONDEAN POWER, FROM THE DEATH OF HYRCANUS I. TILL THE ROMAN INTERVENTION UNDER POMPEY, B. C. 107 TO 60.

I. REIGNS OF ARISTOBULUS I., B. C. 107, 106; ALEXANDER JANNEUS, 105-79.

Kings of Syria—Antiochus Grypus, 123;

Seleucus, 96; Philip, 92;

Tigranes, 83.

Kings of Damascus—Antiochus Cyzicenus, 114;

Antiochus Eusebes, 93;

Demetrius Euchærus, 91;

Antiochus Dionysius, 87.

Kings of Egypt—Ptolemy VIII. Lathyrus sive Soter, 116;

Ptolemy IX. Alexander, 80.

Aristobulus assumes the title of king: starves his mother to death, and imprisons all his brothers, excepting Antigonus, 107.—HYRCANUS at his death left five sons behind him, the first Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alexander, and the fifth Absolom; what was the name of the fourth is nowhere said. Aristobulus, as being the eldest, succeeded his father both in the office of high priest, and also in that of supreme governor of the country; and as soon as he was settled in them, he

put a diadem upon his head, and assumed the title of king; and he was the first that did so in that land since the Babylonish captivity.

His mother, by virtue of Hyrcanus's will, claimed a right to the sovereignty after his death; but Aristobulus, having overpowered her, cast her into prison, and there starved her to death. As to his brothers, Antigonus the eldest of them being much in his favour and affection, he at first shared the government with him, but afterwards did put him to death in the manner as will by and by be related; the other three he shut up in prison, and there kept them as long as he lived.

Egyptian history: Ptolemy Lathyrus flies to Cyprus, and leaves Egypt to Alexander.—Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt, having incurred his mother's displeasure for sending an army into Palestine against the Jews contrary to her mind, as hath been above related, she carried it on so far against him, for this and some other like attempts which he had made of reigning without her, that having first taken Selene his wife from him (by whom he had now two sons), she drove him out of the kingdom. For the accomplishing of this she caused some of her favourite eunuchs to be wounded, and then bringing them out into the public assembly of the Alexandrians, there pretended that they had suffered this from Lathyrus in defence of her person against him, and thereon accused him of having made an attempt upon her life; whereby she so far incensed the people that they rose in a general uproar against him, and would have torn him in pieces, but that he fled for his life, and having gotten on board a ship in the harbour, therein made his escape from their fury. Hereon Cleopatra called to her Alexander her younger

---

son, who for some years past had reigned in Cyprus; and having made him king of Egypt in the room of Lathyrus, forced Lathyrus to be content with Cyprus on Alexander's leaving of it.

Aristobulus conquers the Ituræans, and incorporates them into the Jewish church and state, 106.—Aristobulus, as soon as he had settled himself at home in the full possession of his father's authority, made war upon the Ituræans, and, having subdued the greatest part of them, forced

them to become proselytes to the Jewish religion, in like manner as Hyrcanus some time before had forced the Idumæans to do the same thing. For he left them no other choice, but either to be circumcised and embrace the Jewish religion, or else leave their country, and seek out for themselves new habitations elsewhere; whereon, having chosen the former, they became ingrafted at the same time into the Jewish religion, as well as the Jewish state; and in this manner the Asmonæan princes dealt with all those whom they conquered.

Ituræa, the country where these people dwelt, was part of Cœle-Syria, bordering upon the north-eastern part of the land of Israel, as lying between the inheritance of the half-tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan, and the territories of Damascus. It was called Ituræa from Itur, one of the sons of Ishmael, who, in our English version, is wrongly called Jetur. This country is the same which is sometimes called Auronitis. As Idumæa lay at one end of the land of Israel, so Ituræa lay at the other; and thus much it is necessary to say, because by reason of some similitude of the names the one hath been mistaken for the other. Philip, one of the sons of Herod, was tetrarch or prince of this country when John the Baptist first entered on his ministry.

Murder of Antigonus and miserable death of Aristobulus.—Aristobulus, returning sick to Jerusalem from Ituræa, left Antigonus his brother there with the army to finish the war which he had begun in that country. While he lay ill, his queen and the courtiers of her party, envying the interest which Antigonus had with him, were continually buzzing into his ears stories for the exciting in him a jealousy of this his favourite brother. Not long after, Antigonus, having finished the war in Ituræa with success, returned in triumph to Jerusalem; and the feast of tabernacles being then celebrating, he went immediately up to the temple, there to perform his devotions at that holy time, with his armour on, and his armed guards about him, in the same manner as he entered the city, without stopping anywhere to alter his dress.

Aristobulus then lying sick in his palace Baris, adjoining to the temple, had immediately an account given him hereof, for the firing of his jealousy against his brother, and it was warmly represented to him that it was time for him to look to himself: for certainly, they said, Antigonus would not

have come in this manner armed, and with his armed guards about him, had he not some ill designs to execute against him. Aristobulus, being moved hereby, sent orders to Antigonus to put off his armour, and immediately come to him, concluding that if he came unarmed, according to his orders, there was no hurt intended, but if otherwise, he had certainly some design of mischief against him. And therefore placing his guards in the passage through which his brother was

---

to pass into the palace to come to him, gave them orders, that if he came unarmed, they should let him safely pass, but if otherwise, they should fall upon him and slay him. This passage through which he was to pass was a subterraneous gallery, which Hyrcanus had caused to be made when he built that palace, leading from thence into the temple, that thereby he might always have, on all occasions, a ready communication with it.

The messenger that was sent to Antigonus, instead of bidding him come unarmed as directed, delivered quite a contrary message; for, being corrupted by the queen and her party, he told Antigonus, that the king, hearing that he had a very fine suit of armour on, desired he would come to him as then armed with it, that he might see how it became him. Antigonus, on his receiving this message, immediately passed through the gallery above mentioned to go to the king, and when he came to the place where the guards were posted, they, finding him armed, fell upon him according to their orders, and slew him.

This fact was no sooner done, but Aristobulus most grievously repented of it. And this murder bringing into his mind the murder of his mother, his conscience flew him in the face at the same time for both; and the anxiety of his thoughts hereon increasing his disease, brought him to the vomiting of blood. While a servant was carrying away the vomited blood in a basin, he happened to stumble and spill it upon the place where Antigonus's blood had been shed. At this all that were present made an outcry, apprehending it to be done on purpose. Aristobulus, hearing the noise, inquired what was the matter: and finding all about him shy of telling him, the more they were so the more earnest he was to know it, till at length they were forced to

acquaint him with the whole that had happened: whereon a grievous remorse seized him all over, and his conscience extorted from him bitter accusations against himself for both these facts; and in the agony which he suffered herefrom, he gave up the ghost and died, having reigned only one whole year. And such miserable exits do mostly such wicked men make, which are terrible enough to deter all such from their iniquities, though there were no such things as the torments of hell to punish them afterwards for ever for the guilt of them.

Extraordinary fulfilment of the prediction of Judas an Essene.—Josephus tells us a very remarkable story of one Judas an Essene, relating to the murder of Antigonus. This man seeing Antigonus come into the temple, as above mentioned, fell into a great passion thereat, and made more than ordinary expressions of it, both in word and behaviour: for he had foretold that Antigonus should be slain that day at Straton's Tower. Now, taking Straton's Tower to be the town on the sea-coast then so named, but afterwards called Cæsarea, which was full two days' journey from Jerusalem, he thought his prophecy was defeated, and could not possibly be fulfilled that day, the major part of it being then past, and the place at so great a distance; and therefore he expressed hereon the like impatience as Jonah did on the failing of his prophecy against Nineveh. But while he was in this agony and perplexity of mind, exclaiming against truth itself in his being thus deceived, and wishing his death because hereof, came news that Antigonus

---

was slain in that part of the subterraneous gallery above mentioned, which was just under that turret or tower of the palace which was called Straton's Tower. Whereon the Essene, finding his prediction fulfilled in the lamentable murder of this prince, both as to the time and place, rejoiced in the comfort and satisfaction of having his prophecy verified, at the same time when all else were grieved at it.

Popularity of Aristobulus amongst the Greeks.—Aristobulus was a great favourer of the Greeks, for which reason he was called Philellen, and the Greeks as much favoured him. For Timagenes, an historian of theirs,

wrote of him, as Josephus tells us out of Strabo, "that he was a prince of equity, and had in many things been very beneficial to the Jews, in that he augmented their territories, and ingrafted into the Jewish state part of the nation of the Ituræans, binding them to it by the bond of circumcision." But his actions above described give him another sort of character.

Accession of Alexander Jannæus, the eldest surviving son of Hyrcanus I., 106.—As soon as Aristobulus was dead, Salome his wife discharged the three brothers out of prison, and Alexander, surnamed Jannæus, who was the eldest of them, took the kingdom. His next brother having made some attempt to supplant him, he caused him to be put to death; but the other, named Absolom, being contented to live quietly a private life under him, had his favour and protection as long as he lived, so that after this we hear no more of him, save only that, having married his daughter to Aristobulus, the younger son of Alexander, his brother, he engaged in his cause against the Romans, and was made a prisoner by them on their taking the temple, under the command of Pompey, forty-two years after this time.

Contemporary state of affairs in Syria and Egypt.—At this time, in Syria, the two brothers Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus, one reigning at Antioch and the other at Damascus, harassed each other with continual wars; of which advantage being taken by some cities which had formerly been parts of the Syrian empire, they asserted themselves into liberty, as Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, Gaza, and others; and tyrants took possession of some others of them, as Theodorus of Gadara and Amathus beyond Jordan, Zoilus of Dora and Straton's Tower, and others of other places. At the same time Cleopatra and Alexander her youngest son were in possession of Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus her eldest son held Cyprus; and in this state were the affairs of the neighbouring countries, when Alexander Jannæus first became king of Judæa.

Birth of Pompey and Cicero.—This year was famous for the birth of two noble Romans, Cneius Pompeius Magnus, and Marcus Tullius Cicero, who, the one for war and the other for letters, were two of the most eminent persons which that city ever brought forth.

Alexander Jannæus besieges Ptolemais: craftily treats with Ptolemy Lathyrus on one hand and Cleopatra on the other, 105.—After Alexander had settled all matters at home, he led forth his forces to make war

---

with the people of Ptolemais; and, having vanquished them in battle, shut them up within the walls of their city, and there besieged them; whereon they sent to Ptolemy Lathyrus, then reigning in Cyprus, to come to their relief; but afterwards, having it suggested to them that they might suffer as much from Ptolemy coming to them as a friend, as they should from Alexander as an enemy, and that, as soon as they should be joined with Ptolemy, they would draw Cleopatra with all the forces of Egypt upon them, they on these considerations altered their mind, resolving to stand upon their own strength alone for their defence, without admitting any auxiliaries at all; and took care that Ptolemy should be informed as much.

However, he having made ready an army of thirty thousand men, and equipped a fleet of proportionable power for the transporting of them, made use of this pretence to land them in Phoenicia, and march towards Ptolemais. But they taking no notice of him, nor answering any of his messages, he was in great difficulty what course to take. While he was in this perplexity, there came messengers to him from Zoilus, prince of Dora, and from the Gazæans, which delivered him from it. For while Alexander with one part of his forces besieged Ptolemais, he sent the other to waste the territories of Zoilus and those of Gaza; and therefore these messengers were sent to pray his assistance against them, which he readily consented to.

Whereon Alexander was forced to raise the siege of Ptolemais, and lead back his army from thence, to watch the steps of Lathyrus. And finding that he could not prevail by his arms, he betook himself to his politics, thinking by craft and deceit to carry his point; and therefore courting the friendship of Lathyrus, he entered into a treaty with him, and engaged to pay him four hundred talents of silver, on the condition that he would deliver Zoilus into his hands, with the places which he held. Lathyrus accepted the terms, and accordingly seized Zoilus and all his territories, with intention to have

delivered both into Alexander's hands. But when he was ready so to have done, he found that Alexander was at the same time treating underhand with Cleopatra, to bring her upon him with all her forces, for the driving of him out of Palestine; whereon, detesting his double-dealing, he broke off all friendship and alliance with him, and resolved to do him all the mischief that should be in his power.

Ptolemy Lathyrus invades Palestine and obtains a complete victory over Alexander Jannæus, 104.—And this he accordingly executed the next year after. For being bent to have his revenge on the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and also upon Alexander, for the false dealings and ill usage he had received from both, he first laid siege to Ptolemais; and leaving one part of his army there for the carrying of it on, under the conduct of some of the chief commanders, he marched in person with the other part, to invade the territories of Alexander. At first he took Asochis, a city of Galilee, and in it ten thousand captives, with much plunder. After this he laid siege to Sepphoris, another city of Galilee; whereon Alexander marched an army of fifty thousand men against him for the defence of his country. This brought on a fierce battle between them, near the banks of the river Jordan, in which Alexander being vanquished, lost thirty thousand of his men, besides those which

---

were taken prisoners. For Lathyrus, having gotten the victory, pursued it to the utmost. And there is a very cruel and barbarous act which is related to have been done by him at this time, that is, that coming with his army in the evening after the victory, to take up his quarters in the adjoining villages, and finding them full of women and children, he caused them to be all slaughtered, and their bodies to be cut in pieces and put into cauldrons over the fire, to be boiled, as if for supper, that so he might leave an opinion in that country, that his men fed upon human flesh, and thereby create the greater dread and terror of his army through all those parts. After this, Lathyrus ranged at liberty all over the country, ravaging, plundering, and destroying it in a very lamentable manner.

Cleopatra sends an army to check the progress of Lathyrus, 103.—For Alexander, after this battle and the cutting off of so many of his men as fell in it, was in no condition to resist him, but must have been absolutely undone, had not Cleopatra come the next year, B. C. 103, into those parts to relieve him. For she, apprehending that in case Lathyrus should make himself master of Judæa and Phoenicia, he would thereby grow strong enough to invade Egypt, and there again recover his kingdom from her, thought it time to put a stop to his progress in those parts; and therefore she forthwith prepared an army, under the command of Chelkias and Ananias, the two Jews above mentioned, and, having equipped a fleet, put them on board of it, and sailed with them to Phœnicia.

Lathyrus retires to Cæle-Syria and makes an unsuccessful attempt on Egypt, 102.—Cleopatra having landed this army, and by the terror of it made Lathyrus quit the siege of Ptolemais (which he had till now continued), and retire into Cæle-Syria, she sent Chelkias with one part of the army after him, and, putting the other under the leading of Ananias, marched with it to Ptolemais, expecting they would have opened their gates to her; but finding the contrary, she invested the place to take it by force. In the interim Chelkias, while he was pursuing Lathyrus in Cœle-Syria, lost his life in that expedition; which defeating the further progress of it, Lathyrus took the advantage hereof to march with all his forces into Egypt, hoping that on his mother's absence with the best of her forces in Phoenicia, he might find that kingdom so unprovided to resist him, that he might make himself master of it: but he failed of his expectations herein. For those forces left there by Cleopatra for the security of the country, made good their ground so long, till being joined by that part of the army which, on this attempt of Lathyrus, she sent back out of Phœnicia to reinforce them, they drove him out of the country, and forced him to return again into Palestine, and there take up his winter quarters at Gaza.

Cleopatra captures Ptolemais and gives a favourable reception to Alexander Jannæus.—But while this was a doing Cleopatra still carried on the siege of Ptolemais, till at length she took the place. As soon as she was mistress of it, Alexander came thither to her, bringing with him many valuable gifts, to present to her for the gaining of her favour. But that which

most ingratiated him with her, was his enmity with Lathyrus her son, and on this account he was very kindly received.

But some about her thinking she had now a fair opportunity, by seizing Alexander, to make herself mistress of Judæa, and all other his dominions, earnestly pressed her to it. And this had been done, but that Ananias prevailed with her to the contrary; for having represented unto her how base and dishonourable a thing it would be thus to treat an ally engaged with her in the same cause, that it would be contrary to all the rules of faith and common honesty that are observed among mankind, and would, to the prejudice of her interest, set all the Jews in the world against her, and make them her enemies, he hereby wrought with her so effectually, that partly on these considerations, and partly to gratify the intercessor, who pleaded hard in this case for his countryman and kinsman (for Alexander was both), she dropped the design, and Alexander returned safe to Jerusalem; where, having recruited his broken forces, and made them up again, to the number of a powerful army, he marched with them over Jordan, and besieged Gadara.

Lathyrus returns to Cyprus, 101.—Ptolemy Lathyrus having spent his winter at Gaza, after his retreat out of Egypt, and finding that it would be in vain for him to attempt anything more in Palestine, by reason of the opposition there made against him by his mother, he left that country and returned again to Cyprus; whereon she also sailed back again into Egypt, and the country became freed of both of them.

Cruel and unnatural intrigues of Cleopatra against Ptolemy Lathyrus: Ptolemy Alexander frightened by her tyranny.—Cleopatra on her return to Alexandria, understanding that Lathyrus was carrying on a treaty at Damascus with Antiochus Cyzicenus, for the obtaining of his assistance in order to another expedition into Egypt, for his recovering of that kingdom again from her, she gave Selene her daughter, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus to wife, and with her sent to him a great number of auxiliaries and large sums of money, to enable him to renew the war upon Cyzicenus his brother; whereon civil broils between

them again breaking out, Cyzicenus was diverted thereby from giving any assistance to Lathyrus, and so the whole project became abortive.

Ptolemy Alexander, her other son, then reigning with her, being much terrified with the unnatural and cruel usage with which she persecuted her other son, especially in thus taking from him his wife, and giving her to his enemy, and observing also that she stuck at nothing that stood in the way of her ambition, and the vehement desire which she had of still reigning, thought himself not safe any longer with her, and therefore withdrew and left the kingdom, choosing rather to live in banishment with safety, than to reign with so wicked and cruel a mother in the continual danger of his life. And it was not without great solicitation that he was persuaded to return to her again; and she was forced thus to persuade him, because the people would not permit her to reign at all without one of her sons with the name of king reigning with her, and this name was all she allowed to either of them as long as she lived; for after the death of Physcon, she usurped the whole regal power to herself, and that Lathyrus presumed to make use of some part of it without her, was the only cause that she drove him from her, took away his wife, and expelled him the kingdom.

---

319 ASMONEΛN KINGS—ALEXANDER JANNEUS.

Roman history: conclusion of the Cimbrian war by Marius.—This year Marius, in his fifth consulship, finished the Cimbrian war, with the total destruction of that people, who threatened Rome and all Italy with no less than utter ruin. Marius commanded the Roman armies through the last three years of this war, and having finished it with success, and thereby delivered Rome from that terrible invasion, and the great danger which it lay under from it, he was reckoned as the third founder of that city, Romulus and Camillus being the two former.

Marius, while he carried on this war, first consecrated the eagle to be the sole Roman standard at the head of every legion; and hence it became the ensign of the Roman empire ever after. The country from whence these Cimbrians came was the Cimbrica Chersonesus, the same which now contains Jutland, Sleswick, and Holstein. On their deserting this country, the Asse, coming from between the Euxine and the Caspian Seas, took

possession of it; and from them came those Angli, who with the Saxons, after having expelled the Britons, possessed themselves of that part of Great Britain which is now called England.

Jewish history: Alexander Jannæus prosecutes the war eastward of the Jordan, but is utterly vanquished.—Alexander Jannæus having, after a siege of ten months, taken Gadara, marched from thence to Amathus, another fortress beyond Jordan; and it being the strongest in all those parts, Theodorus, the son of Zeno Cotylas, prince of Philadelphia, there laid up his treasure. Alexander took this place in a much less time than he had Gadara, and with it made himself master of all that treasure. But Theodorus, having by that time gotten together a powerful army, fell suddenly upon him as he was returning from this conquest, and having on this surprise overthrew him, with the slaughter of ten thousand of his men, he not only recovered all his treasure again, but also took all Alexander's baggage with it.

This sent Alexander back to Jerusalem with loss and disgrace, which was pleasing enough to many there. For the Pharisees ever since Hyrcanus's quarrel with them became enemies to all of his family, and to none more than to this Alexander; and these drawing the greatest part of the people after them, they infected the generality of them with disaffection and hatred to him, which was the cause of all those intestine troubles and difficulties which he fell into during his reign.

Alexander Jannæus prosecutes the war on his south-western frontier, 100.—However this loss and disgrace did not hinder him, but that understanding that on Lathyrus's departure from Gaza all that coast was left naked of defence, he marched thither with his army, and made himself master of Raphia and Anthedon, which being both within the distance of a few miles from Gaza, he in a manner blocked up that city hereby; and to do this was the main end of his seizing these two places. For the Gazæans, having called in Lathyrus to their assistance against him, and helped him with auxiliaries in that fatal battle near

Jordan, where he received so great an overthrow, he bore in his mind ever since a bitter grudge against them, and resolved, when opportunity should serve, to have his revenge on them for it. And therefore,

Siege of Gaza, 98.—As soon as his other affairs allowed him this opportunity, he marched with a great army against them for this purpose, and laid close siege to their city. They having for their chief commander a very valiant man named Apollodotus, he defended the place against him a whole year and in one sally which he made upon him in the night, with twelve thousand of his men, he had like to have ruined him and all his army. For the assault then made upon his camp being pushed on with great briskness and resolution, a bruit ran through the Jewish army, that Ptolemy Lathyrus and all his forces were come to the assistance of the enemy, which damped their courage, and created a panic fear among them. But when the daylight appeared, and made them see the contrary, they again rallied, and beat the Gazæans into their city with the slaughter of one thousand of their men.

Capture and devastation of Gaza, 97.—But notwithstanding this loss, they still held out, and Apollodotus was in great credit and reputation among them for his wise and steady conduct in the defence of the place; which being envied by Lysimachus, his own brother, the wretch treacherously slew him, and then, getting a company together, delivered up the city to Alexander, who, on his first entering into it, behaved himself as if he intended to have used his victory with moderation and clemency. But when he was gotten into full possession of the place, he let loose his soldiers upon it, with a thorough licence to kill, plunder, and destroy, which produced a scene of horrid barbarity.

This Alexander did to have his revenge of these people for the reason mentioned, and he suffered not a little himself in the executing of it. For the Gazæans hereon standing to their defence, he lost almost as many of his own men in this carnage and sackage of the place as he slew of the enemy. However, he had his mind so far, as to leave this ancient and famous city in utter ruin and desolation, and then returned again to Jerusalem, after having spent a full year in this war.

Syrian history: death of Antiochus Grypus, and attempt of Antiochus Cyzicenus to master the whole kingdom.—In this same year happened the death of Antiochus Grypus, being slain by the treachery of Heracleon, one of his own dependants, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, and the forty-fifth of his life. He left behind him five sons: 1. Seleucus, who was the eldest, succeeded him the others were, 2. Antiochus, and 3. Philip, two twins; 4. Demetrius Eucærus; and, 5. Antiochus Dionysius. All these reigned, or attempted to reign, in their turns. Antiochus Cyzicenus on the death of Grypus seized Antioch, and endeavoured to make himself master of the whole kingdom, to the exclusion of the sons of Grypus; but Seleucus, having gotten possession of many other cities, drew great forces after him, to make good his right to his father's dominions.

Troubles in Cyrene, 96.—Ptolemy Apion, the son of Physcon king of Egypt, to whom his father left the kingdom of Cyrene, dying without

---

issue, gave that kingdom by his last will and testament to the Romans, who, instead of accepting it to themselves, gave all the cities their liberties, which immediately filled the countries with tyrants; those who were the potentest in every district endeavouring hereon to make themselves sovereigns of it, which brought upon that country great troubles and confusions. These were in some measure composed by Lucullus, on his coming thither in the first Mithridatic war, but could not finally be removed till that country was at length reduced into the form of a Roman province.

Jewish history: marriage of Anna the prophetess, 95.—Anna the prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser, of whom mention is made in the Gospel of St. Luke (ch. ii. ver. 36), was married to her husband, and from this time lived with him seven years, till on his death she became a widow.

Armenian history: Tigranes restored by the Parthians and settled in the kingdom. —Tigranes, the son of Tigranes king of Armenia, being a hostage with the Parthians at the time of his father's death, was by them restored to his liberty, and settled in the succession of that kingdom, on his resigning to them some of the territories of it. This was done twenty-five

years before his making war with the Romans in the cause of Mithridates; for so long, Plutarch tells us, he had reigned in Armenia when that war began.

Jewish history: Pharisees excite the nation against Alexander Jannæus.—King Alexander, entering into the temple at Jerusalem, there to officiate as high priest in the feast of tabernacles, had a great affront and indignity there offered him by the people. For they, joining in a sort of mutiny against him, pelted him with citrons while he was offering the festival sacrifices on the great altar, calling him slave, and adding other opprobrious language, which implied him unworthy of being either high priest or king; which enraged him to that degree, that he fell upon them with his soldiers, and slew of them six thousand men. And to secure him from suffering any more from them the like affront, he surrounded the court of the priests, within which were the altar and the temple, with a wooden partition, thereby to hinder the people from doing this any more to him. In calling him slave, they harped upon the old story of Eleazar, as if Hyrcanus's mother had been a slave taken in war. The truth of the matter was, Hyrcanus having quarrelled with the Pharisees on that occasion, and abolished all their traditional constitutions, this whole sect hated him and all his family a long while after, and none of them more than Alexander. For he followed his father's steps in this matter, and would never readmit those constitutions, or give that party any favour as long as he reigned; but, on the contrary, sat hard upon them on all occasions; which embittered them so much against him, that, having a great influence over the people, they made use of it to set them against him, and render them disaffected to him to the utmost they were able; which created great troubles to Alexander during all his reign, and much greater mischief to the whole nation of the Jews, as will be seen in the future series of this history.

Alexander Jannæus forms a body-guard of 6000 foreign mercenaries.—The first instance hereof was, that Alexander, seeing the Jews in this temper, durst no more trust them with the safety of his person, but instead of them called in foreign mercenaries to be of his guard, choosing them out of the Pisidians and Cilicians, and not of the Syrians,

whom he did not like; and of these he had six thousand always about him. This instance shows how dangerous a thing it is for any prince to have a powerful faction either in church or state disgusted against him; and the ill success which Alexander had in his endeavours to quiet this faction shows the mistake which he made in his means of effecting it; for he made use only of rigour and severity, which operate in the body politic no otherwise than as opiates do in the body natural, which put a short stop to the disease, but never remove the cause; the truest method of cure in this case is, to join severity and clemency together, that both may have their effect.

Alexander renews the war eastward of the Jordan, 94.—When Alexander had, by the terror of his executions, in some measure laid the storm which was raised against him at home, he marched out against his enemies abroad; and, having passed over Jordan, made war upon the Arabians, and having gotten the better of them in several conflicts, made the inhabitants of the land of Moab and of the land of Gilead to become tributaries to him.

Syrian history: Seleucus, son of Antiochus Grypus, by the death of Antiochus Cyzicenus, obtains the whole Syrian empire.—Seleucus growing powerful in Syria, Cyzicenus marched out of Antioch against him, but, being vanquished in battle, he was taken prisoner and put to death; whereon Seleucus made himself master of Antioch and of the whole Syrian empire, but could not keep it long.

Antiochus Eusebes, son of Cyzicenus, defeats Seleucus and obtains the kingdom, 93.—Antiochus Eusebes, the son of Cyzicenus, having on Seleucus's taking Antioch made his escape out of that place by the assistance of a courtesan that was in love with him, came to Aradus, and was there crowned king. And having there gotten his father's soldiers about him, and joined others to them that were attached to his interest, he made up a considerable army, and marched forth with it against Seleucus; and, having gotten a great victory over him, forced him to flee to Mopsuestia, a city in Cilicia, there to take refuge; where, having oppressed the inhabitants with great exactions, he provoked them so far hereby, that they rose in a general mutiny against him, and, besetting the house where he was, put fire to it, and there burnt to death him and all there with him. Antiochus and

Philip, the two twin sons of Grypus, for the revenging of this, forthwith marched with all the forces they could get together towards Mopsuestia; and, having taken the place, razed it to the ground, and sacrificed all that they found in it to the ghost of their slain brother. But in their return from this exploit, being fallen upon by Eusebes near the Orontes, they were put to the rout;

---

whereon Antiochus, endeavouring to swim the river with his horse, for the making of his escape, was drowned in it. But Philip, making a safe retreat, kept many of his forces together, and soon recruited them again with others; so that being enabled thereby still to keep the field, the whole contest was now between him and Eusebes for the whole Syrian empire; and each of them having great armies on foot miserably harassed and wasted that country in their wars about it.

Alexander Jannæus successfully prosecutes the war eastward of the Jordan. —In the interim, Alexander, pursuing the good success which he had in the last year's expedition beyond Jordan, carried on the war farther on that side, and invaded the territories of Theodorus, the son of Zeno Cotylas, prince of Philadelphia. His chief design in this war was to take from him the strong fortress of Amathus, and his treasure there deposited; both which Alexander had taken eight years before, and Theodorus recovered again, as hath been above related. But at this time Alexander's name was grown so terrible, by reason of his many late successes in those parts, that Theodorus durst not stand his coming, but, carrying off his treasure, withdrew his garrison, and deserted the place; whereon Alexander took it without opposition, and razed it to the ground.

Struggle between Eusebes and Philip for the Syrian kingdom terminated by the establishment of Philip and Demetrius, 92.—Eusebes, the more to strengthen himself in the kingdom, had married Selene, the relict of Grypus. She, being an active woman, had taken possession of some part of the Syrian empire on her husband's death, and had gotten forces about her to maintain her in it. Eusebes, to join this interest of hers to his own, married her; which offending Lathyrus (whose wife she had first been,

till his mother took her from him and gave her in marriage to Grypus), he sent to Cnidus, where Demetrius Eucærus, the fourth son of Grypus, had been placed for his education, and having fetched him from thence made him king of Damascus. Eusebes and Philip being engaged against each other, neither of them could be at liberty to hinder this; for although Eusebes received great accession to his strength by marrying Selene, yet Philip made good his part against him, and at length, having drawn him to a decisive battle, gave him a total overthrow, which forced him to flee into Parthia for his safety; whereon Philip and Demetrius became possessed of the whole Syrian empire between them.

Ill success of Alexander Jannæus in Gaulonitis, followed by a war with his own subjects. —In the interim, Alexander, king of Judæa, making an expedition into Gaulonitis, a country lying on the east side of the lake of Gennesareth, and there engaging in a war against Obedas an Arabian king, was drawn by him into an ambush; wherein he lost most of his army, and hardly himself escaped. On his return to Jerusalem in this case, the Jews, who were before too much embittered against him, being now further exasperated by this loss, rose in a rebellion against him, hoping in this his weak condition soon to compass his destruction, which they had long earnestly desired; but Alexander

---

being a man of application and courage, and of more than a common understanding, soon got together forces sufficient to oppose them. This produced a civil war between Alexander and his people, which lasted six years, and brought great calamities upon both.

Pontus: Mithridates Eupator dispossessed of Cappadocia by the Romans, 91.—Mithridates Eupator, king of Pontus, on the death of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, having murdered his sons which that prince left behind him (though both born of Laodice his own sister), and usurped Cappadocia to himself, placed a minor son of his own (whom he called Ariarathes) over that kingdom, with one Gordius for a tutor, to manage the government for him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, fearing lest Mithridates, with his accession to his dominions, should grow too powerful for him, and

swallow him next, suborned a youth to take upon him to be the third son of Ariarathes: and having gained Laodice to own him, sent them both to Rome, there to lay claim to the kingdom of his pretended father for him. This having brought the cause before the senate, they condemned the claims of both, that of Mithridates as well as that of the pretender, and decreed that the Cappadocians should become a free people: but they refusing this grant, and declaring that they could not subsist without a king, the senate ordered them to choose whom they liked best; whereon they having elected Ariobarzanes, a noble Cappadocian, Sylla was sent with a commission to put him in possession, which he accordingly executed this year. Mithridates did not oppose him herein; but this excited in him that disgust against the Romans, which being afterwards heightened by other provocations, mutually given and retorted, at length produced the Mithridatic war, which, next that against the Carthaginians, was the longest and the most dangerous war that ever the Roman state was engaged in.

Mithridates allies with Tigranes king of Armenia and prepares for a war with Rome, 90.—For although Mithridates on this procedure suppressed his resentments for the present, yet from this time he resolved to make war upon the Romans for the revenging of it. In order hereto, having contracted an alliance with Tigranes king of Armenia, by giving him Cleopatra his daughter to wife, he drew him into a confederacy with him for the making of this war, whereby it was agreed between them, that Mithridates should have all the cities and countries, and Tigranes all the persons, treasure, and moveable goods, that should be taken in it. The first effect of this confederacy was, Tigranes, expelling Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia, whom the Romans had put in possession of that kingdom, brought back Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, there again to reign. And at the same time Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, dying, Mithridates seized that kingdom, to the exclusion of Nicomedes, the son of the deceased. This sent both the deprived kings to the Romans for their relief, who, having decreed their restoration, sent Manius Aquilius and Marcus Altinus to see it executed.

Commencement of the first war between Mithridates and the Romans, 89.—But Mithridates permitting neither of them to enjoy quiet possession

when restored, all the Roman forces then dispersed through the several parts of Lesser Asia, gathering together, formed themselves into three armies; the first under the command of L. Cassius, who had the government of the Pergamenian province of Asia; the second under Manius Aquilius; and the third under Quintus Oppius, pro-consul of Pamphylia, having in each body forty thousand men, horse and foot; and with these they began the war, without tarrying for any orders from Rome for it. But managing it with bad conduct and much neglect, they had the ill success to be all vanquished and broken: and Aquilius and Oppius being made prisoners, were first treated with the utmost indignity, and afterwards with equal cruelty tortured to death. Hereon all the cities and provinces of Lesser Asia, and also several of the cities of Greece, and all the islands of the Ægean Sea, excepting only Rhodes, revolted from the Romans, and declared for Mithridates.

Egyptian history: murder of Cleopatra by Ptolemy Alexander, and restoration of Ptolemy Lathyrus to the throne of Egypt. — Cleopatra queen of Egypt, being weary of her son Alexander, and the joint authority which he held with her in the government of the kingdom, laid designs against his life, that so being rid of him she might reign alone, and have the whole regal power in her own hands. But Alexander, having notice of it, prevented the plot, and, by cutting her off first, made it turn all upon her own head. She was a monstrous wicked woman, as her actions above related sufficiently show, and well deserved this death, had it come from any other hands than those of her own son. As soon as the Alexandrians found that the mother died by the parricide of the son, they could no longer bear him; but having driven him into banishment, sent to Cyprus for Ptolemy Lathyrus, and restored to him the kingdom, which he held afterwards without interruption to the end of his life. Alexander the next year after, having gotten some ships together to attempt a return in them, was encountered at sea by Tyrrhus, Ptolemy's admiral, and, being vanquished by him, escaped to Myra in Lysia; from whence afterwards sailing towards Cyprus, for the executing of some design which he had

upon that island, he was met by Chæreas, another sea-commander of Ptolemy's, and being overborne by him perished in the fight.

Jewish history: continuation of the bloody civil war between Alexander Jannæus and the nation.—While these things were a doing in Lesser Asia and Egypt, the civil war went on in Judæa between Alexander and his people. And although he had the better of them in all encounters, yet he could not bring them to submit, or put any stop to these intestine troubles, so much were they enraged against him. Being weary of punishing and destroying them, he made earnest applications to them for the composing of the differences that were between them. In order hereto, he offered to grant them anything that they

---

should in reason desire; and therefore bade them ask what they would have. To this they answered all with one voice, that he should cut his throat; that they would on no other terms be at peace with him; and it were well, they said, if they could then be reconciled to him after he was in his grave, considering the great mischiefs he had done them. And therefore having their minds to so high a degree thus exasperated against him, they resolved to go on with the war without hearkening to any terms of reconciliation whatsoever.

Syrian intervention, followed by the utter defeat of Alexander. — And because the Jewish people wanted sufficient forces of their own to act up to the anger and rage which in their answer to Alexander thoy had expressed against him, they sent to Damascus to call Demetrius Eucerus (who then reigned there) to their assistance; who thereon came into Judæa with an army consisting of three thousand horse and forty thousand foot, Syrians and Jews. Alexander, encountering him with six thousand Greek mercenaries and twenty thousand Jews, was overthrown with so great a slaughter, that he lost all his Greek mercenaries to a man, and the greatest part of his other forces; whereon he was driven with the poor remnant of his broken army that survived this terrible blow to flee to the mountains, where he might, by the advantage of the situation, best protect himself in this shattered case. And now he had been utterly ruined, but that he was relieved

by a very extraordinary and unexpected turn of fortune: for those very men who were before so much embittered against him, that they had called in a foreign enemy upon him, and had joined with that enemy in battle against him, when they saw him reduced to this distressed condition, took such compassion of him, that six thousand of them immediately went over to him.

Syrian history: death of Demetrius Eucærus and establishment of Philip over the entire kingdom. —Whereon Demetrius, fearing the like revolt of the rest, departed out of Judea, and shortly after marched into Syria against his brother Philip, and having driven him out of Antioch, and taken that city from him, he pursued him to Berœa, now called Aleppo, and there besieged him. Whereon Straton, prince of the place, and friend to Philip, called thither Zizus, an Arabian king, and Mithridates Sinaces, a Parthian commander, to his assistance; who having vanquished Demetrius, and taken him prisoner, sent him for a present to Mithridates king of Parthia, where a little after he fell sick and died. Philip, after this victory, releasing all the Antiochians that were taken prisoners in this defeat, and sending them home without ransom, this so far ingratiated him with that city, that on his return again thither, he was received with the general acclamation of the people, and for some time he reigned there over all Syria without a competitor.

Jewish history: Alexander Jannæus renews the war against his subjects with success, 88.—Alexander, after the retreat of Demetrius, having gotten together another army, made good his part against the

---

rebel Jews, notwithstanding his late loss, and vanquished them in all conflicts. However, he could bring them to no terms of peace; but they still carried on the war with the same rage and fury against him, without being in the least discouraged by any loss, baffle, or defeat that happened to them.

Anna the prophetess becomes a widow. —Anna the prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, becoming a widow on the death of her husband, without marrying any more, devoted herself wholly to the service of God, and exercised herself constantly in it, for the space of eighty-four years,

during all which time she departed not from the temple, but there served God with fasting and prayers night and day.

Asia Minor: massacre of the Romans and Italians, by order of Mithridates. —Mithridates, finding that the Romans and Italians, who were then on several occasions in Lesser Asia, and there dispersed through all the provinces and cities of that country, did underhand carry on the Roman interest in the places where they resided, to the great obstruction of his designs, sent secret orders to all the governors of provinces and magistrates of cities through all Lesser Asia, to put them all to death in one and the same day that he had appointed for it; which was accordingly executed with that rigour, that no less than eighty thousand say some, near double that number say others, of Romans and Italians were then massacred in that country.

Mithridates seizes the treasure at Coos. —After this Mithridates, hearing that there was a great treasure at Coos, sent thither and laid his hand upon it. Cleopatra queen of Egypt, when she went with an army into Phoenicia against Lathyrus her son, sent to this place her grandson Alexander, the son of Alexander, who then reigned with her in Egypt, and with him a great sum of money, with her jewels and all her most precious things, there to be deposited as a reserve against all events. All this Mithridates seized, and with it the sum of eight hundred talents more, which the Jews of Lesser Asia had there deposited, in order to be sent to Jerusalem, for the securing of it from the rapines of the war which they saw was coming upon that country. The treasure of Cleopatra there deposited truly belonging to young Alexander her grandson, Mithridates, on his seizing of it, did not wholly neglect him, but took him into his care, and gave him a princely education, and we shall ere long again hear of him.

War between Mithridates and the Romans carried into Greece.— Mithridates, having thus made himself master of all Lesser Asia, sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men into Greece, who having seized Athens, made that the chief

seat of his residence, for the carrying on of the war in those parts; and while he lay there, he drew over to him most of the cities and states of Greece for the embracing of the interest of Mithridates.

Sylla takes Athens, 87. —And in this state Sylla, now sent from Rome to carry on this war against Mithridates, found matters on his arrival in Greece; and therefore, in the first place, he laid siege to Athens, and after having spent several months in it, at last took the place about the end of the year.

Syrian history: Antiochus Eusebes restored by the Parthians, but is opposed by Philip.—The Parthians seem this year, on the death of Demetrius Eucærus, to have brought back Antiochus Eusebes into Syria, and to have there put him again in possession of some part of his former dominions. For first, that he came back from Parthia (whither he had fled when vanquished by Philip) and reigned again in Syria, is certain. For it was to be delivered from the calamities of the civil war, with which the Seleucidæ afflicted Syria in their contentions for the crown, that the Syrians called in Tigranes, as will be hereafter shown. But at that time there were no other of them to make this contention but Philip and Eusebes only, all the rest being then dead and that Tigranes found Eusebes in possession of some part of Syria, on his coming thither, appears from Appian; for he tells us more than once, that this Eusebes, being then expelled out of Syria, fled into an obscure corner of Cilicia, and there lay hid, till after Lucullus's victory over Tigranes he returned again into Syria. And, secondly, that it was by the assistance of the Parthians that he came back again into Syria seems most probable; because he having fled to them as friends, they are the most likely, as friends, to have given him this assistance; and they lay the most convenient to afford it, the kingdom of Syria being bounded by the banks of the Euphrates on the one side of that river, and the territories of the Parthians reaching to those of the other side, and without some such powerful assistance he could not again have recovered any part of his former dominions. But by what assistance soever he returned, Philip seems at this time to be engaged to oppose him.

Antiochus Dionysius makes himself king of Cæle-Syria. —But while Philip was thus employed in the northern parts of Syria, for the

keeping out of one rival, another started up against him in the southern. For Antiochus Dionysius his brother, the youngest of the five sons of Grypus, taking the advantage of his being thus otherwise engaged, seized on Damascus, and there making himself king of Cœle-Syria, reigned over it in that place for the space of about three years.

Jewish history: Alexander Jannæus obtains a complete victory over his opponents, and exacts a terrible revenge, 86.—While these wars were thus carrying on in Greece and Syria, Alexander Jannæus was as deeply engaged in war with his own people. But having now driven it to a decisive battle [B. C. 87], he gave them such a terrible blow, as soon brought those troubles to a conclusion: for having cut off the major part of them in the rout, and driven the chief of those that survived

---

into Bethome, he shut up that place all round, and there closely besieged them. And the next year after [B. C. 86] having succeeded in this siege, and taken the city, and all those in it that had fled thither for refuge, he carried eight hundred of them to Jerusalem, and there caused them to be crucified all together in one day, and their wives and children to be there slain before their faces, while they hung dying on the crosses on which they were crucified; which was a severity never to be justified, had there been any other way whereby to have brought that rebellious faction to reason. While this was a doing, Alexander made a treat for his wives and concubines, near the place where this scene of terror was acting, and to feast himself and them with the sight hereof was the main part of the entertainment. From hence Alexander had the name of Thracidas, that is, the Thracian, those people being then above all others infamous for their bloody and barbarous cruelties. And indeed there could no name be invented for him bad enough to express so inhuman a procedure. However, it had its effect; for all the remainder of the rebel party, being terrified with the horror hereof, fled the country and after this Alexander had no more disturbance at home to the day of his death. And thus ended this furious rebellion, after it had lasted six years, and had cost the lives of above fifty thousand men of the rebel faction.

War between Mithridates and the Romans: armies of Mithridates compelled by Sylla to retire from Greece. —And this same year was no less fatal to the cause and armies of Mithridates than it was to the rebel Jews; for though he had sent into Greece, under the command of Archelaus, one hundred and twenty thousand men, and under the command of Taxiles, another of his generals, and brother of Archelaus, one hundred and ten thousand, and after that eighty thousand more under the command of Dorylaus, in all three hundred and ten thousand men, numbers enough to have borne all before them, would numbers alone have carried the cause; yet Sylla, with a Roman army only of one thousand five hundred horse and fifteen thousand foot, vanquished them all in three several battles; the first of which was fought at Chæronea, and the other two at Orchomenus, in which battles he is said to have slain one hundred and sixty thousand of them; and thereby he forced all the rest of them to flee out of Greece.

Mithridates defeated in Asia Minor by Fimbria, 85.—And the next year after, Mithridates was as much distressed in Asia; for Fimbria, who there commanded another Roman army, having vanquished the best remainder of his forces, pursued those that fled as far as Pergamus, where Mithridates himself then resided, and having driven him from thence to Patana, a maritime city of Æolia, followed him thither, and laying siege to the place, blocked it closely up by land; but not having any ships to shut it up by sea, a passage there still lay open; whereon Fimbria sent to Lucullus, who was then in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, to come thither, and would he have done so, Mithridates must necessarily have been taken; but Fimbria, being of a contrary faction in the state, he would have nothing to do with him, and so

---

Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and from thence got clear out of their hands, to the great damage of the Roman interest. And the like often happens, wherever the ministers and officers of the government are divided into different factions: for such frequently study, in their several stations, more to gratify their envy, their piques, and their malice against each other, than to serve the public interest of their country, and thereby often make the best projects miscarry, that so they may obstruct the honour or work the

disgrace of those that are intrusted with the executing of them. And there is scarce any state now in being which cannot give many instances hereof, and none more than our own.

Treaty of peace between Mithridates and Sylla.—But although Mithridates thus made his escape, yet it conduced to the putting an end to this war: for being terrified with the danger he had so narrowly got clear of, and the many losses he had suffered, he sent to Archelaus on any terms to make peace with Sylla: whereon Sylla and Archelaus, meetting in the isle of Delos, agreed that Mithridates should restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and all else to the Romans which he had taken from them since the war began, and be content only with his paternal kingdom of Pontus; and that he should pay three thousand talents to the Romans for the charges of the war, and yield to them seventy of his ships; and that on these terms peace should be granted; and all past acts of hostility being forgotten, Mithridates should be received into the number of the friends and allies of the Roman state. And Sylla and Mithridates, having afterwards had a meeting at Troas in Asia, there ratified and confirmed these articles on both sides; and thereon the peace was published and declared. Sylla would never have consented to make this peace, but that the divisions of the Romans at home, and the civil wars there commenced, made his return into Italy then absolutely necessary for the appeasing of them. This made Sylla as desirous of ending the war as Mithridates himself, who had suffered most by it. And therefore Sylla, having received the seventy ships and the three thousand talents above mentioned, and mulcted the states and cities of Asia in the sum of twenty thousand talents, to be paid in five years' time, returned into Italy to make war with the Marian faction, which was there at this time predominant: but what he did therein doth not belong to my purpose to relate.

Preservation of the works of Aristotle by Sylla. —But one thing I cannot here omit, that is, that it was by his means that the works of Aristotle were preserved, and afterwards made public, for the benefit of the learned world. Aristotle, at his death, left them to Theophrastus: he, on his death, bequeathed them to Neleus of Scepsis, a city near Pergamus in Asia; and on Neleus's death they fell to his heirs; who being men of no learning only kept them locked up in a chest. But when the Pergamenian kings, under whose

jurisdiction Scepsis was, made diligent search for all sorts of books, for the filling up of their library at Pergamus, they fearing that those books might be taken from them, for the preventing of it hid them in a vault under ground, where they lay buried for about a hundred and thirty years, till at length Apellico, a

---

rich citizen of Athens, being on the hunt after all sorts of books for the making him a library, the heirs of Neleus, to whom through several generations these books were then descended, being reduced to poverty, took them up out of the place where they had been hid, and sold them to him.

But these books, by the length of time and the moisture of the place where they lay, being so damnified and rotten that they could scarce hang together, Apellico caused copies of them to be written out; and in the writing out of them, many chasms being found in the original (in some places letters, and in some others whole words, and sometimes several of them together, being either eaten out by worms, or rotted out by time and wet), these chasms were in many places supplied by conjecture, and sometimes very unskilfully, which hath caused difficulties in those books ever since. Apellico being dead a little before Sylla came to Athens, he seized his library, and with it these works of Aristotle, and carrying it to Rome, there added it to his own library. One Tyrannion, a famous grammarian of those times, then residing at Rome, being desirous to have these works of Aristotle, obtained leave of Sylla's library-keeper to write them out. This copy he communicated to Andronicus Rhodius, who, from that copy, first made these works of Aristotle public: and to him it is that the learned world is beholden, that it hath ever since enjoyed the very valuable writings of this great philosopher.

Syrian history: Antiochus Dionysius slain in a war with Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa.—While Antiochus Dionysius, king of Damascus, was making war upon Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, Philip his brother took the advantage of it to seize Damascus, which he got into by the help of Milesius, the captain of the castle. But Philip not rewarding him as he

expected, he took the opportunity of his next going abroad for his diversion to shut the gates against him, and kept the city for Antiochus; and on his return out of Arabia (from whence he immediately hastened on his hearing of this invasion), restored it to him again. Hereon Philip retreating, Antiochus made another expedition against Aretas, taking his way through Judæa and that part of the country that lay between Joppa and Antipatris, being the only passage which he could have for his army that way. Alexander, being jealous of his intentions, drew lines between those two places of the length of twenty of our miles to obstruct him, and fortified them with a wall and wooden towers, placed at a convenient distance from each other. But this proved of no effect for the end proposed: for Antiochus, on his approach, set fire to these towers, and burning them down, broke through the lines and passed on into Arabia; but being there surprised and taken at a disadvantage by Aretas, he was slain in the battle, and most of his forces were cut off with him; and the rest that escaped had no

---

better fate: for having after their flight gotten into a village called Cana, they there all perished for want of bread.

Aretas becomes king of Cœle-Syria.—Whereon Aretas became king of Cœle-Syria, not by conquest after this victory, but by the election and call of the people of Damascus, in opposition to Ptolemy the son of Mennæus prince of Chalcis in their neighbourhood. It seems he would have served himself of the opportunity offered by the death of Antiochus to have seized that government; but the people of Damascus having an utter aversion to him, rather than have him, chose to call in Aretas, and made him their king: and as soon as he was settled in that sovereignty, he made an expedition into Judæa against Alexander, and had the better of him in a battle near Addida; but afterwards a treaty being commenced between them, all further hostilities were superseded by an agreement of peace.

Jewish history: Alexander Jannæus reduces the rebels eastward of the Jordan, 84.—Many places on the borders of Arabia having revolted from Alexander, while he was engaged in his wars with his rebel subjects, he being now at leisure from all other embarrassments, marched over

Jordan again to reduce them, and after having taken Pella and Dia, he sat down before Gerasa, to which place Theodorus the son of Zeno had removed his treasure, on his deserting Amathus, as hath been above related; and after a strict siege, made himself master of it and of all that was therein. When Alexander took Pella, he destroyed the place, and drove the inhabitants into banishment, because they refused to embrace the Jewish religion: it being the usage of the Asmonean princes to impose their religion upon all their conquests, leaving to the conquered no other choice but either to turn Jews, or else to have their habitations demolished, and be forced to go seek new dwellings elsewhere.

Second war between Mithridates and the Romans.—On Sylla's departure for Italy, Murena, whom he left in the government of Asia, renewed the war again with Mithridates without a sufficient cause for it, which lasted three years; at the end whereof, Sylla (being then dictator of Rome), disliking the proceedings of Murena, recalled him, and settled again with Mithridates the same articles of peace which he had formerly made with him; and so ended the second Mithridatic war. However, Murena on his return triumphed for his exploits in it.

Syrian history: Tigranes king of Armenia takes possession of the empire, and thus terminates the wars of the Seleucidæ, 83.—The Syrians being weary of the continual wars made in their country between the princes of the race of Seleucus for the sovereignty of it, and not being able any longer to bear the devastations, slaughters, and other calamities which they suffered hereby, resolved to fling them all off at once, and call in some foreign prince to rule over them, who might deliver them from these miseries, and settle the country in peace. And accordingly they fixed their choice on Tigranes king of Armenia, and sent ambassadors to notify it unto him; whereon, coming into Syria on this call, he took possession of that kingdom, and there reigned

---

eighteen years, the first fourteen of which he governed it by Megadates his lieutenant, till at length he recalled him to his assistance against the Romans. On Tigranes thus taking possession of the kingdom of Syria,

Eusebes fled into Cilicia, and there lay hid in an obscure place of that country (among the fastnesses, it may be supposed, of Mount Taurus), till he died. What became of Philip is nowhere said. It is most likely he was slain by Tigranes in some opposition he made against him on his first coming into that country. Porphyry, indeed, makes mention of both these princes as in being near thirty years after; but that Porphyry was mistaken herein will be hereafter shown in its proper place. But Selene, the wife of Eusebes, still retained Ptolemais, with some parts of Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, and there reigned for many years after, and was thereby enabled to give a royal education to her two sons, the eldest of which was called Antiochus Asiaticus, and the other Seleucus Cybiosactes.

Conquests of Alexander Jannæus, and his triumphant return to Jerusalem.—Alexander Jannæus, enlarging his conquests beyond Jordan, took Gaulana, Seleucia, and several other places in those parts. And the next year [B. C. 82] after he made himself master of the valley of Antiochus and the strong fortress of Gamala. One Demetrius was till then master of these places: but there being many grievous misdemeanours laid to his charge, Alexander deprived him of his principality, and carried him prisoner with him to Jerusalem, where he returned at the end of this year, after having been absent from it three years on this expedition; and by reason of his successes in it, he was there received with great acclamations. After this, enjoying full ease, he gave himself up to luxury and drunkenness, whereby he contracted a quartan ague, which he could never get rid of as long as he lived, but died of it three years after.

Egyptian history: death of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and succession of his only daughter Cleopatra, 81.—Ptolemy Lathyrus having for three years laid siege to Thebes in the Upper Egypt, at length took the place: for they had rebelled against him, and being beaten out of the field, were shut up within their walls, and there forced to bear this siege, till they were thereby now again reduced. Lathyrus, on his taking the place, handled it so severely for this rebellion, that from being the greatest and wealthiest city in Egypt, he reduced it to so low a condition that it never after any more made a figure. And not long after this he died, having reigned from the time of the death of his father thirty-six years, of which he reigned eleven with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt after his

mother's death. He was succeeded by Cleopatra, his daughter, and only legitimate child. Her proper name was Berenice, and so Pausanias calls her; for it is to be noted, that as all the males of this family had the common name of Ptolemy, so all the females of it had that of Cleopatra, and

---

besides had other proper names to distinguish them from each other; thus, Selene was called Cleopatra, and so were also two other of her sisters. And in like manner this daughter of Lathyrus, whose proper name was Berenice, bore also that of Cleopatra, according to the usage of her family. The observing of this will remove many obscurities and difficulties in the Egyptian history.

Egyptian history: Ptolemy Alexander marries Cleopatra, obtains the kingdom, and puts her to death, 80.—Alexander, the son of that Alexander king of Egypt who murdered his mother, being sent into Egypt by Sylla, to succeed in the kingdom after the death of Lathyrus his uncle, as next heir to him of the male line, there claimed the crown. But the Alexandrians having put Cleopatra on the throne, and she having now sat on it six months before his arrival; to compromise the matter, and avoid displeasing Sylla, who, as perpetual dictator, at this time absolutely governed the Roman state, it was agreed that Cleopatra should be given to him to wife, and that they should both reign jointly together. But Alexander, either not liking the lady, or else not liking to have a partner in the government, at nineteen days' end after the marriage put her to death, and then reigned alone fifteen years. I have before related, how this Alexander had been sent by queen Cleopatra, his grandmother, to Coos, there to be educated; and how Mithridates there took him with all the treasure which his grandmother sent thither with him. After this, having made his escape from Mithridates, he fled to Sylla; who, receiving him kindly, took him into his protection, and carried him with him to Rome, and from thence, on this occasion, sent him to take possession of the kingdom of Egypt; and there, for fear of Sylla, he was accordingly received into it.

Death of Alexander Jannæus: bequeaths the kingdom to his queen Alexandra, 79.—Alexander Jannæus, being still afflicted with the

quartan ague, and hoping that by stirring and exercise he might wear it off, marched with his army over Jordan, and besieged Ragaba, a castle in the country of the Gerasenes; but by his labouring herein, having, instead of alleviating the distemper, exasperated it to a greater height, he died of it in the camp. At his death he left two sons behind him, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, but bequeathed the government of the kingdom to Alexandra his wife, during her life, and afterwards to which of these her two sons she should think fit to dispose of it to.

II. REIGN OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA, B. C. 79—70.

Kings of Syria—Tigranes, 83.

Kings of Egypt—Ptolemy IX. Alexander, 80.

Alexandra, by confiding the administration to the Pharisees, secures an honourable funeral for her husband and her own succession. —Alexandra, being with her husband at the siege of Ragaba, was exceedingly

---

troubled, on her finding him in a dying condition, at the ill state which she feared she and her children should be left in at his death. She knew how much he had exasperated the Pharisees, then a powerful sect and party in the Jewish nation, and how great hatred, at their instigation, the generality of the people had contracted against them; and therefore saw nothing else that she had to expect on Alexander's death but that they would, for the wreaking of their revenge against him, fall upon her and his children by her, and destroy the whole family; and hereon she made great lamentation to him as she sat by his bed-side, where he lay a-dying. To ease her mind from these dismal apprehensions he gave her those directions which he assured her, if duly followed, would extricate her out of all this danger, and secure both safety and tranquillity to her and her family. For his advice was, that she should conceal his death till the castle should be taken, and then lead

back the army to Jerusalem in triumph for this success, carrying thither with her his dead corpse; and that as soon as she should be there arrived, she should call together to her the chief of the Pharisaic sect, and acquainting them of her husband's death, should lay the dead corpse before them, and tell them that she resigned it wholly to their pleasure, either to be cast forth with ignominy in revenge for what they had suffered from him, or otherwise to be disposed of as they should think fit; and that then she should promise them that she would follow their advice in all matters of the government, and do nothing therein but what should be agreeable to their sentiments, and according to their directions. Do, said he, but follow this advice, and you shall not only gain me an honourable funeral, but also both for you and your children a safe settlement in the government; and so it accordingly happened. For on having taken the castle, she returned to Jerusalem in the manner as directed, and then calling together to her the leading men of the Pharisaic sect, she did and said to them as her dying husband had advised, taking especial care to assure them, that she would put the administration of the government, and the prime direction of all the affairs of it, again into their hands; which promise sweetened them to such a degree, that immediately laying aside all that hatred to the dead king which they had to the utmost contracted against him while living, they turned it into veneration and respect for his memory; and instead of those invectives which formerly their mouths had been full of against him, they made encomiums upon him, magnifying his great exploits in enlarging their dominions, and increasing thereby the power, honour, and interest of the nation; whereby they so far reconciled the people to him, whom before, on all occasions, they had exasperated against him, that hereupon he was buried with a more sumptuous and honourable funeral than had been made before for any of his predecessors; and Alexandra, according to his will, was safely settled in the supreme government of the nation.

Alexandra appoints her son Hyrcanus to the high priesthood: revocation of the decree of Hyrcanus I. against the Pharisees, 78.—As soon as matters were thus composed, and Alexandra thoroughly fixed on the throne, she made her eldest son Hyrcanus high priest, he being then about thirty-three years old, and according to her promise did put the

prime management and administration of her affairs into the hands of the Pharisees. The first thing they did, was to procure that decree of John Hyrcanus to be revoked, whereby, in the latter end of his government, he had caused all their traditionary constitutions to be abolished, and which till now had been ever since severely executed, to the great grief and mortification of this sect. But by this revocation, the traditions being again restored to their former credit, and the Pharisees to their full liberty again to impose and propagate them, they grew to that bulk which I have already mentioned; and that people have ever since been so enslaved to them, that they have for their sake even abolished and made of none effect the very written word itself, of which they are pretended to contain the explication. Next this they released all out of prison who had been committed thither for being concerned with them in the late civil wars, and called home from banishment all such who, for the same cause, had been forced to flee their country, and restored to them again their former possessions; and hereby much increased both the number and strength of their party.

Armenian history: Tigranocerta founded and peopled by Tigranes.—Tigranes having built a large new city in Armenia, which, from his own name, he called Tigranocerta, i. e. the city of Tigranes, he, by the instigation of Mithridates, invaded Cappadocia, and carried thence three hundred thousand of the inhabitants of that country to people with them this city and other parts of his dominions, which wanted inhabitants; and in most other places, where he made any conquests, he practised the same thing, carrying away the inhabitants into his own country, to make it the more populous, and assigning them lands there for their cultivation, sufficient for each man's support. And he is said to have demolished twelve Grecian cities in Lesser Asia for the peopling of Tigranocerta only, besides what he did elsewhere for the same purpose. For he transplanted thither great numbers from Assyria, Adiabene, Gordiana, and other places, as well as from the Grecian cities mentioned, for the making of this place a great and populous city.

Pharisees in Judea increase in power, 77.—The Pharisees in Judæa, having strengthened themselves by releasing all the prisoners and calling

home all the exiles of their party, as hath been mentioned, proceeded to demand justice against all those at whose instigation, and by whose advice, Alexander had crucified the eight hundred rebels above mentioned: which was in effect against all those that had stood by him in that war; for all those they involved in this guilt. And first they began with Diogenes, a noted confidant of the late king's, and having cut him off, they proceeded to others, laying against them the same accusation, and this was made a pretence for their destroying all else of the adverse party whom they most misliked; and Alexandra was, much against her will, forced to allow them thus to proceed, because they having gotten all the people on their side, she could no otherwise keep peace at home, though she had two powerful armies on foot, on the borders of her kingdom, which made her a terror to all her

---

neighbours. She dreaded a civil war, having seen so much of the calamities of it in her husband's time, and finding she could no otherwise prevent it than by yielding in some measure to the vindictive humour of those men, she permitted one evil, in order to prevent another that was worse.

Bithynia becomes a Roman province, 76.—Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, dying, left the Roman people his heirs, by virtue whereof that country thenceforth became a Roman province; which occasion Mithridates laying hold of for his reviving of the war again with the Romans, spent the most part of this year in making preparations for it.

Cyrene becomes a Roman province: condition of the Jews there.—This year Cyrene also was reduced into the like form of a Roman province: Ptolemy Apion, the last king of that country, having on his death given it by his will to the Romans, they, instead of accepting of it, declared all the cities free, and left them to be governed by their own laws. This was done twenty years before this time, as hath been above related. But this causing seditions among them, and afterwards tyrannies, to the great vexation of the inhabitants, the Romans found it necessary to resume their grant, and make it a Roman province, the peace of the country being no otherwise to be provided for. To these disturbances the Jews of the country

are said to have much contributed. They were first planted in it by the first Ptolemy that reigned in Egypt, as hath been above related, where they grew and multiplied so fast, that in a short time they became a great part of the bulk of the people in that country, and are said often to have disturbed it by their seditions, to which, no doubt, they were sufficiently provoked by the other inhabitants. For being, by reason of their different religion and different way of living, much hated by the heathen nations, wherever they lived among them, they often suffered indignities, wrongs, and other provocations from them; which when answered with suitable resentments sometimes produced disturbances, and whenever they did so, the Jews bore the blame of the whole; and this often happened to be their case in Alexandria.

Third war between Mithridates and the Romans, 75.—Mithridates seized Paphlagonia and Bithynia. And the province of Asia, being much exhausted by the Roman publicans and Roman usurers, to be delivered from these oppressions again revolted to him; and hereon began the third Mithridatic war, which lasted near twelve years.

Mithridates defeats Cotta at Calcedon, 74.—For the managing of this war against him, the consuls of this year, Lucius Lucullus and Marcus Cotta, were sent from Rome with two armies; the first having Asia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, and the other Bithynia and the Propontis, assigned them for their provinces. But M. Cotta, being a person not skilled in war, on his arrival in his province was vanquished by Mithridates at Calcedon, with the slaughter of a great number of

---

his men, and at the same time lost the best part of his fleet, which he had there for the defending of that coast.

Mithridates compelled by Lucullus to raise the seige of Cyzicus, 73.—Mithridates, animated with this success, laid siege to Cyzicus, a city on the Propontis, which strenuously adhered to the Roman interest during this war. Could Mithridates have made himself master of this place, it would have opened to him a clear and safe passage from Bithynia into the province of Proper Asia; and in this respect it would have been of great

advantage to him for the carrying of the war into that country; and it was with this view that he made this attempt upon it; and to make his success, as he thought, the surer, he begirt it with three hundred thousand men in ten camps by land, and with four hundred ships of war by sea. But he was no sooner sat down before it with his army, but Lucullus sat down by him with another; and there without coming to a battle, by obstructing his supplies of provisions, by falling on his foragers, by cutting off detachments sent out on several occasions, and by taking all other advantages as they were offered, he so wasted and distressed him, that at length he forced him to raise the siege with disgrace, after having lost the greatest part of his numerous army in it.

Egyptian history: Ptolemy Alexander confirmed in the kingdom by the Romans.—There being some confusions in Egypt on the dislike which the people had of Alexander, Selene, as sister to Lathyrus, put in her claim for that crown, and sent her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus (whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes), to Rome, to solicit the senate for the putting of her in possession of it. But after two years spent in soliciting this matter, they were forced to return without success, and had also the misfortune to be robbed in their way home by Verres, prætor of Sicily, as they passed through that island. The Roman senators held them so long in hand with hopes at Rome, only to get the more money out of Alexander for the confirming of him in that kingdom. And when they had thus squeezed out of him all that could be had, they declared for him whom they had got most by, and sent home the two young princes to their mother with baffle and disappointment.

Jewish history distribution of the old adherents of Alexander Jannæus distributed amongst the fortresses.—In Judæa the Pharisees went on still to oppress those that had sided with the late king against them, accusing them of being the advisers and promoters of all the cruelties and misdemeanours which they thought fit to load the memory of the late king with: on which pretence they had cut off several of the party adverse to them, and were still framing new accusations of the same nature against such others of them as they most disliked, in order to subject them to the same fatal ruin. Whereon the friends and adherents of the late king, seeing

no end of these prosecutions, at length gathered together and went in a full body to the queen, with Aristobulus

---

her younger son at the head of them, to remonstrate against these proceedings. On which occasion, having set forth their services to the late king, and their faithful adhering to him in all his wars and difficulties, and shown how hard a thing it was, that now under her government they should, for this very reason, be subjected to punishment, and be thus sacrificed to the malice of their enemies, for no other guilt but for having, in opposition to them, been friends to her and her family, they earnestly prayed of her that a stop might be put to these proceedings for the future; or, if this could not be done, that they might have leave to depart the land, and seek their safety elsewhere; or else that they might be dispersed through the garrisons of the kingdom, that so by this means at least they might be put out of the reach of their enemies. The queen heartily commiserated their cause, as being sensible of the hardship of it, but was not able to help them as far as she could wish. For she was got so far into the hands and power of the Pharisees, that she could do nothing but what they liked. To stop all further proceedings against those men, they cried, would be to put a stop to the course of justice, which was in no government to be endured; and therefore they would not permit her to do it. And for her to give so many of the true and faithful friends of her family leave to depart the land would be to leave herself utterly naked and helpless, in the absolute power of a turbulent faction, and thereby deprive herself of all refuge whereto to flee in case of need. And therefore she chose to gratify them in their third demand, and placed them in the several garrisons of the kingdom, which answered a double end. For when they were thus settled in these fortresses with their swords in their hands, their enemies could no more approach them to do them any hurt; and they were there a certain reserve for the service of the queen, whenever occasion should require.

Birth and family of Herod the Great.—This year was born Herod the Great, who was afterwards king of Judæa (for he was twenty-five years old when he was first made governor of Galilee in the year B. C. 47). His father was Antipas, a noble Idumæan, and his mother Cyprus, of an

illustrious family among the Arabians. This Antipas, to bring his name to the Greek form, called himself Antipater, and under that name we shall have frequent occasions to speak of him in the future series of this history. Nicolas Damascenus, who wrote a general history consisting of one hundred and twenty-four books saith Josephus, of one hundred and forty-four saith Athenæus, having therein given an account of the actions of Herod, as far as they fell within the time where he concludes this work, and published the whole while Herod was living, therein to flatter him, as being a great favourite of his, derives the pedigree of Antipater his father from one of the principal Jews that returned to Jerusalem from the Babylonish captivity. And others, to blast him as much on the other side, relate that this Antipater was no other than the son of one Herod, who was sexton of the temple of

---

Apollo at Askalon, and that being taken captive by some thieves of Idumæa while a child, and his father being so poor as not to be able to redeem him, he was made a slave in that country, and, as such, there bred up in the religion of the Idumæans (which was then the same with that of the Jews), and from this mean original grew up to that figure which he afterwards made in the world. But Josephus, who best knew the truth, and is the likeliest to relate it without disguise on either side, tells us of this Antipas, or Antipater, that he was of a noble family in Idumæa; that his father, being called also Antipas, was governor of Idumæa, under king Alexander Jannæus and Alexandra his queen. By country therefore he was an Idumean, but by religion a Jew, as all other Idumæans were from the time that Hyrcanus brought them all to embrace the Jewish religion, of which I have above given an account.

Third Mithridatic war: continued success of Lucullus.—In the interim the Mithridatic war still went on in Lesser Asia. Mithridates, being forced to raise the siege of Cyzicus with the loss of so great a part of his army, as hath been mentioned, fled to Nicomedia, and from thence by sea into Pontus, leaving some part of his fleet, with ten thousand of his choicest men, behind him in the Hellespont, under the command of three of his prime generals. These Lucullus falling on with the Roman fleet, cut most of

them off in two naval victories which he gained over them, the first at Tenedos, and the other near Lemnos; in the last of which he took the three generals above mentioned, of which one was Marcus Marius, a Roman senator, sent to the assistance of Mithridates by Sertorius out of Spain; him Lucullus did put to death of the other two, one poisoned himself, and the other he reserved for his triumph. Having by these two victories quite cleared all those coasts of the enemy, he turned his arms on the continent, and having reduced first Bithynia, and next Paphlagonia, from thence marched into Pontus, to carry the war home to Mithridates's own doors; where he found him almost as much broken by tempests, in his return through the Euxine Sea, as he had been by the war: for therein he had lost almost all the remainder of his fleet and the army which he was carrying home for the defence of his own country: and therefore, on Lucullus's arrival, he was very busy in raising new forces for the opposing of him; and to strengthen himself the better, he had sent ambassadors to Tigranes king of Armenia, to the Parthians, to the Scythians, and to other neighbouring nations, to solicit their assistance. In the mean time Lucullus marched into his country and laid siege to Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the chief cities of his kingdom; the latter of which stood nigh the other, and being newly built by him, was called Eupatoria, from Eupator, his own surname, and made by him the chief seat of his residence, and the metropolis of his whole kingdom; and at the same time Lucullus sent another part of his army to besiege Themiscyra, a city on the river Thermodon, as considerable as either of the other two.

Mithridates flies to Tigranes for assistance, 71.—While these sieges were carrying on by the Romans, Mithridates, having gotten another

army together early in the next spring, took the field with it. Whereon Lucullus, leaving Murena to carry on the siege of Amisus and Eupatoria, marched out against him with the rest of his army. In two conflicts Mithridates had the better of him, but in the third, being utterly broken, he was forced to flee into Armenia, there to pray the protection and assistance of Tigranes his son-in-law; but he was so far from finding such a reception from him as he desired, that he was there a year and eight months ere

Tigranes would take any notice of him, or as much as admit him to speak with him. After this victory, all places in Pontus yielded to the conqueror, excepting Amisus (which held out till the beginning of the next spring) and some few other fortresses; for the Romans were forced to spend two winters before Amisus ere they could make themselves masters of that important place.

Jewish history: scheming of Aristobulus to obtain the kingdom on the death of Alexandra.—Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, prince of Chalcis, at the foot of Mount Libanus, being very vexatious to his neighbours, and especially to those of Damascus, Alexandra sent Aristobulus, her younger son, with an army, to suppress him, and under that pretence, as it seems, to seize Damascus. But Aristobulus, being more intent to make an interest for the crown against the time that his mother should die, than to execute his commission, made use of this opportunity only to secure the army for him. And therefore, having seized Damascus, he returned without suppressing the oppressor, against whom he was sent, or doing anything else that was memorable in this expedition.

Syrian history: Selene put to death by Tigranes, 70.—Selene, after the return of her sons from Rome, finding that her pretences to the kingdom of Egypt could not succeed, endeavoured to enlarge herself in Syria, where having drawn over several cities to revolt to her, and attempted to do the same as to all the rest, she hereby brought Tigranes upon her with all his power. For having received an account of these defections from him in that country, he came thither with an army of five hundred thousand men for the suppressing of them, and having shut up Selene in Ptolemais, and laid siege to the place, on his taking of it he there took her prisoner, and on his return, having carried her with him as far as Seleucia in Mesopotamia, he there caused her to be put to death. She was the daughter of Ptolemy Physcon king of Egypt, and had at first been the wife of Ptolemy Lathyrus her brother, but being taken from him by her mother, was given in marriage to Antiochus Grypus, and after his death she married Antiochus Eusebes, the son of Antiochus Cyzicenus, by whom she had her two sons. Appian tells us, that she married Cyzicenus himself, and after his death Eusebes his son, and makes this remark upon it, that all the misfortunes that afterwards befell Eusebes was a just judgment of Heaven upon him for this incest. But this

cannot be true: for the series of the Syrian history, after the death of Grypus, doth not allow a place for any such marriage of hers with Cyzicenus, neither doth any other historian say it.

Tigranes gives a favourable reception to an embassy from Queen Alexandra.—While Tigranes lay at the siege of Ptolemais, queen Alexandra, fearing his power, sent ambassadors thither to him with large presents, to court his favour and desire his friendship, whom he received with all seeming kindness, accepting the presents, and granting the friendship that was desired, but not so much out of favour to the queen, as to comply with the exigency of his own affairs. For the progress of the Romans in Pontus and Cappadocia making his presence in Armenia then necessary for the defence of those parts of his dominions, he was making all the haste he could to return thither, and therefore was not at leisure to enlarge his dominions any further in Palestine; otherwise Jerusalem and all Judæa must have fallen for a prey into his hands, as well as Ptolemais, there being no power there sufficient to resist so great a force as this king then brought with him into those parts.

Tigranes refuses to deliver up Mithridates to Lucullus.—On his return from Ptolemais to Antioch, he there met with Publius Clodius, who was sent thither in an embassy from Lucullus to demand Mithridates to be delivered to him, with order, in case of refusal, to declare war against him. Clodius, in executing his commission, having expressed himself with a freedom which Tigranes had never met with before (absolute will and pleasure having hitherto governed all his actions, without admitting the least contradiction or control), he was very much offended at it, but much more at the letter of Lucullus then delivered to him on this occasion. For he had directed it to king Tigranes, without styling him king of kings, which was a title he had assumed, and out of his pride much affected; and to make his claim to it the better appear, on his having taken several petty kings prisoners in his wars against them, he had the vanity to make them wait on him as his servants in all offices of service about his person. He never went abroad but he had four of them to attend him, two running by him on one side of his horse and two on the other; and thus in like manner was he

served by some or other of them at his table, in his bed-chamber, and on all other occasions, but most especially when he gave audience to ambassadors: for then, to make the greater ostentation of his glory and greatness to foreign nations, he made all these captive kings, in the posture and habits of servants, to range themselves on each side of him. To express his resentment against Lucullus for not giving him this title, on his writing back again to him, he directed his letter to him by the name of plain Lucullus, without the addition of Imperator, or any other title usually given to Roman generals. On his refusal to deliver Mithridates to Lucullus, which was the subject of this embassy to him, Clodius declared war from the Romans against him, and returned to Lucullus to acquaint him of it.

Proceedings of Lucullus in Asia Minor.—At this time Lucullus was in the province of the Proper Asia. For after having driven Mithridates out of Pontus, taken Amisus and Eupatoria, and reduced most of the rest of that kingdom, he was returned thither, and finding that this province had fallen under great disorders and oppressions from the iniquity of usurers and publicans, he employed a great part of this year

---

in reforming them; and he took such wise order herein, as effectually removed all these mischiefs, and wrought a thorough cure of them: whereby he gained to so great a degree the esteem and affection of the provincials, that they instituted games in his honour, called *Lucullia*, which they annually celebrated for several years after; and he gained at the same time no less honour and reputation among the neighbouring nations, both to himself and all the Roman people, for his justice in this proceeding. But the Roman usurers and publicans, whose lucre was much abridged hereby, hastening to Rome with accusations against him on this account, there clamoured so loud against him among the people, as first to beget in them that mislike of him, which being afterwards improved by other false rumours, became the cause that he was at length recalled much sooner than otherwise he would have been, and another sent in his stead to reap the laurels of his victories.

Lucullus invades Armenia against Tigranes.—War being declared against Tigranes, Lucullus hastened back again into Pontus for the prosecuting of it; and having there made himself master of Synope, he restored both that and Amisus to their liberties, and made them free cities. After this having left Sornatius, one of his generals, with six thousand men to keep Pontus in order, with the rest of his army, consisting of twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse, he marched through Cappadocia to the Euphrates; and having passed that river in the midst of winter, he continued his course to the Tigris, and having passed that river also, marched directly to Tigranocerta, which lay a little beyond it, there to fall upon Tigranes in his metropolis, whither he was newly returned from Syria. For he having put one to death for telling him of Lucullus's first march towards him, no one durst tell him any more of it, till he was now arrived almost to the very doors of his palace. And hence it was that Lucullus had passed through so great a length of Armenia without any opposition to hinder his progress, till he arrived so nigh to the royal city.

Jewish history: death of Queen Alexandra.—A little before this invasion of Armenia by the Romans, Alexandra queen of Judæa fell sick and died, being then seventy-three years old. She was a princess of great wisdom; and had she not gone in too much to the Pharisees, or could she possibly have avoided doing so, no exceptions could have been made to her government. Salome the widow of Aristobulus, the elder brother of Alexander, having, according to Josephus, been called also Alexandra by the Greeks, this hath made some think that this Alexandra and she were one and the same person, and that Alexander, after Aristobulus's death, married her, according to the Jewish law, to raise up seed to his brother: but the birth of Hyrcanus, who is everywhere owned to be her son by Alexander, proves the contrary; for he was born of her at least five years before the death of Aristobulus, and therefore she could not have been Aristobulus's widow, and afterwards married to Alexander, but must have been his wife at least six years before, if not longer. That Hyrcanus was born of her five years before

the death of Aristobulus is proved from the age which he was of at the time of his death: for that happening in the thirtieth year before Christ, he was then, according to Josephus, above eighty; supposing him to have been eighty-one, this will carry up the time of his birth to the year B. C. 111, which was just five years before Aristobulus died.

III. REIGNS OF HYRCANUS II., B. C. 70; ARISTOBULUS II., 69—63.

Kings of Syria—Tigranes, 83.

Kings of Egypt—Ptolemy IX. Alexander, 80;

Ptolemy X. Auletes, 65.

Aristobulus attempts to obtain the kingdom from Hyrcanus and the Pharisees.—As soon as Aristobulus the younger son of Alexandra saw his mother was past recovery, having long resolved to seize the crown on her death, he privately in the night left Jerusalem, taking only one servant with him, and repaired to the castles in which by his procurement his father's friends had been placed in garrison, by whom he was gladly received; and in fifteen days' time, twenty-two of these fortresses, one after another, put themselves into his hands, and thereby they made him in a manner master of all the rest of the strength of the kingdom. And at the same time the army and the people were ready to declare for him, as being weary of the oppressive administration of the Pharisees, who had the government of all public affairs under queen Alexandra: for they had managed it with much severity and insolence, and with so great an aim of revenge against their enemies of the contrary faction, as was scarce any longer tolerable. And therefore, on this occasion, Aristobulus was flocked to on all sides, as one who they knew would put an end to these men's tyranny, which they could have no hope of from Hyrcanus, who was bred up by his mother in a thorough devotion to that sect, to which she had been always addicted. And besides, had he been otherwise, he had neither spirit nor

capacity for the attempting of their relief, as being a dull, indolent man, of no activity or application, and of little understanding. However, when the Pharisees saw how Aristobulus prevailed, they, being greatly disturbed at it, got Hyrcanus at the head of them, and went to the dying queen to acquaint her how the case stood, and to pray her direction and assistance in it. Her answer to them was, that she was not in a condition any more to charge herself with such affairs, and therefore remitted all to their management, and soon after died, leaving Hyrcanus her eldest son heir of all she had; who accordingly on her death took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees did their utmost to secure him in it. As soon as Aristobulus had left Jerusalem, they had procured that his wife and children, whom he had left there behind him, were shut up in the castle of Baris, there to be reserved as hostages against him.

Aristobulus obtains a decisive victory over Hyrcanus: resignation of Hyrcanus and end of the tyranny of the Pharisees.—But these proceedings on the part of the Pharisees would not stop the course of Aristobulus. Accordingly, they got ready an army, and he as soon got ready another:

---

and near Jericho it came to a decisive battle between them, in which most of the forces of Hyrcanus going over to his brother, he was forced to flee to Jerusalem, and there shut himself up in the castle of Baris, where the wife and children of Aristobulus were kept as his prisoners, and those that adhered to him took sanctuary within the verge of the temple. But they soon after going over to Aristobulus also, this forced Hyrcanus to come to terms with him; by which it was agreed that Aristobulus should have the crown and the high priesthood, and that Hyrcanus, making full resignation of both, should be contented to live a private life, under the protection of his brother, upon his own private fortunes; which he willingly enough submitted to, as being a man that loved his own ease and quiet more than anything else. And thus he quitted the government, after he had held it only three months. And with it ended the tyranny of the Pharisees, which, from the death of king Alexander Jannæus, they had exercised over that nation.

Error of Josephus concerning the duration of the reigns of Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus II.—Josephus tells us, that it was the third year of the 177th Olympiad, Q. Hortensius and Q. Metellus Creticus being then consuls at Rome, that Hyrcanus began his reign; and in another place, that it was in the 179th Olympiad, Caius Antonius and M. Tullius Cicero being then consuls, that Jerusalem was taken by Pompey, and Aristobulus deposed; according to which account, from the death of Alexandra, where Hyrcanus begun his reign, to the time when Aristobulus ended his, there must have intervened six years, so much time having elapsed from the first of these two consulates to the other: and therefore these two brothers, taking the times of their reigns both together, must have reigned at least six years. But Josephus assigning no more than three months to Hyrcanus, and no more than three years and six months to Aristobulus, both these put together make no more than three years and nine months; and therefore in one of these two particulars there must be an error; that is, either in that which assigns no more than three months to Hyrcanus, or else in that which assigns no more than three years and six months to Aristobulus: for either the one or the other of them must have reigned longer to make up the time, which, according to the interval of the consulates above mentioned, must be assigned to both. Archbishop Usher's opinion is, that the error is in the former of these particulars, that is, that in the place in Josephus, where we read that Hyrcanus reigned only three months, it ought to be three years, and that it was so in the original, but that there the Greek word for months crept in instead of that which is for years, by the error of some scribe that wrote out the copy. Another learned man, to solve this difficulty, thinks that Hyrcanus, though outed of the kingdom, yet held the high priesthood till his flight to Aretas, which will be hereafter mentioned; and that the three years and six months which Josephus assigns to Aristobulus are to be understood only of the time after his flight, when Aristobulus, according to this author, first added the pontifical tiara to his crown, and took the high priesthood also; so that by the three years and six months assigned to Aristobulus, we are to understand, according to this author, only the time in which he held the high priesthood, and not the whole of his reign. But neither of

these suppositions can hold good: not the former, because Josephus, from whom alone we have this relation of Hyrcanus's quitting the crown to his brother, sets forth that matter as transacted immediately after the death of Alexandra; and therefore the putting of it at three years' distance seems utterly inconsistent with that history. And as to the other supposition, it is plain from the same Josephus, that when Hyrcanus resigned the kingdom, he resigned the high priesthood also; and that all the while Aristobulus held the one, he held the other together with it. It seems most likely, therefore, that the error was in the second particular, which assigns to Aristobulus only three years and six months, and that here the scribe made the mistake, by writing three years instead of six: for that six years at least must have intervened between the death of Alexandra and the deposing of Aristobulus, and that Hyrcanus reigned only three months hath been already shown; and therefore the remainder must belong to the reign of Aristobulus.

Explanation of the matter.—The whole of the matter I take to have been thus:—In the beginning of the consulate of Q. Hortensius and Q. Metellus Creticus, who entered that office at Rome about the middle of our October, Hyrcanus, on the death of Alexandra, took the crown, and held it three months, that is, till about the middle of our January, and from that time Aristobulus reigned six years and six months, that is, till about the time of our Midsummer in the seventh year, and then, M. Tullius Cicero and Caius Antonius being consuls, he was deposed by Pompey, and Hyrcanus was again restored; and this seventh year is the first of those twenty-four years during which Hyrcanus is said, after that restoration, to have held the government of the kingdom and the pontificate together. And therefore the error of the scribe must have been in putting three years and six months, instead of six years and six months, for the reign of Aristobulus; and not in putting of three months, instead of three years, for the reign of Hyrcanus. And it is an argument for this opinion, that a mistake in putting three months for three years must be made by the change of words, that is, of months for years; but a mistake in putting three years for six years is made by the change of a numerical letter only. For a mistake by the change of a numerical letter may easily be made, but not so by the change of one word for another, especially when the words have no similitude the one with the other, as in the present case. But in objection hereto it may be said, that

Josephus doth not in one place alone (that is, the fourteenth book of his Antiquities, ch. 1) assign three years only to Aristobulus, but after that in another place (that is, in the twentieth book of the said Antiquities, ch. 8) doth the same, and that therefore what is said in the former place is confirmed by what is said in the latter. In answer hereto, I acknowledge it would be so, did both places agree with each other, which they do not: for in the first of these two places it is three years and six months; and in the latter, three years and an equal number of months, that is, three months. But three years and six months, and three years and three months, do not agree; and therefore these two places cannot be said by their agreement to confirm each other. It is not to be doubted but that they did both agree in the original copy of the author; and the true way again to restore this agreement is to find out where the error is, which will be best discovered by comparing these two places

---

together; and this will afford another argument to prove, that in both places it ought to be six years, and not three: for if six months in the first place be the true reading (as I think it certainly is), then these words in the second place, "and an equal number of months," must imply just as many months in this place as are expressed in the other, that is, six months; and then, as in this place, the months must be six, so must the years be six also (otherwise their numbers will not be equal to each other); and if this proves the years in the second place to be six, it will prove them to be six also in the first, and hereby the errors will be corrected in both; and each of them being made by this correction six years and six months, each will be made to agree with each other, and both best to accord with the series of the history that is related concerning this matter. It may be said in opposition hereto, that three years, in the last place, is expressed by words at length, and not by a numerical letter as in the first, and herein I have allowed a mistake is not so easily made. The answer hereto is, that the alteration in this last place seems not to be made by casual mistake, but by design. I take the whole to have been done in manner as followeth:—The numerical letter for six before the word years in the first place of Josephus above mentioned, being by the casual mistake of some transcriber changed into the numerical letter for

three, when it had gone so for some time in other copies transcribed from it, some critic, to make Josephus agree with himself in both places, instead of mending the first place, where the error was, by the second, altered the second, where there was no error, to make it accord with the first, and thereby brought error into both: although in that very place, when he had there made it three years, by leaving in these words that followed, "and an equal number of months," he made by that alteration the same disagreement in the months which he mended in the years, and by this blunder discovered the error of his emendation; and thereby also left sufficient light whereby to guide us for the setting of the whole again at rights. For if both places must be made to agree with each other (as it is not to be doubted but that at first both did), then as six months are expressed in the first place, so six months must be implied by the expression above mentioned in the second place; and if six months were there originally implied in it, it must infer the words immediately preceding to have been originally six years also, and not three, as in our present copy. For as six years can have none but six months, so six months can have none but six years in that place, of equal number with them: and therefore as it must be read six years and six months in the first place, so also must it be read six years and an equal number of months in the second place; and this will make all agree in both places, that is, each with the other, and both with what is written in the history mentioned concerning the reign of these two brothers.

Commencement of the war between Tigranes and the Romans, 69.—Tigranes having found by the declaration of Clodius that war was intended against him by Lucullus, on his return into Armenia from his Syrian expedition, admitted Mithridates into conference with him,

that consulting together about the operations of the ensuing war, they might agree on such methods as they should judge properest for the prosecuting of it with the best advantage for the common interest of both. The result hereof was, Mithridates was sent back into Pontus with ten thousand horse, in order there to get together more forces, and return again with them to the assistance of Tigranes, in case Lucullus should invade Armenia. And in the interim Tigranes, remaining at Tigranocerta, there gave out his orders, and

sent them through all his dominions, for the raising of a very numerous army for this war; but before they could all come together, Lucullus was advanced near upon him, as hath been above mentioned. The first that durst tell him of this, after his putting to death the first messenger of this invasion, was Mithrobarzanes, one of his chief favourites, who had for his reward the commission of opposing the invader, in the execution of which he perished. For he, being immediately, on his giving the king this intelligence, sent forth with an army, and commanded to take Lucullus alive, and bring him prisoner to him, as if the thing were as easily to be done as said, was cut off in the attempt, and most of his forces with him.

Lucullus advances to the siege of Tigranocerta: obtains a complete victory over Tigranes.—Hereon Tigranes left Tigranocerta, and fled to Mount Taurus, ordering all his forces there to rendezvous to him. In the interim Lucullus laid siege to Tigranocerta, and, by his lieutenants sent abroad with detachments from the main army, did cut off several parties of Tigranes's forces, as they were marching from their several quarters to the place of general rendezvous. As soon as Tigranes had gotten all his army together, to the number of about three hundred and sixty thousand men of all sorts, he marched with it to the relief of Tigranocerta: whereon Lucullus, leaving Murena with six thousand men to continue the siege, marched with the rest of his forces to meet the enemy, and although he scarce reached the twentieth part of their number, yet with these only he fought this numerous army, and got an absolute victory over them, slaying great numbers of them, and putting the rest to flight, and Tigranes himself hardly escaped. So that it is remarked of this battle, that the Romans never at any other time fought an enemy with a force so much inferior in number, or ever was there a more glorious victory obtained by them.

Tigranes confides the future direction of the war to Mithridates.—Tigranes in his flight met with Mithridates coming out of Pontus to his relief. He had heard of his march toward him before the battle, but making sure of vanquishing the enemy, hastened to fight before his arrival, that he might not share with him in the glory of the victory; but instead of this he came only to take his part in the grief and regret for the loss of it. However, finding Tigranes much dejected under this misfortune, he comforted him as much as he could, and gave him the best advice for the repairing of his

shattered fortunes that they were capable of. Whereon Tigranes, as a man utterly confounded under the sense of the calamity he was fallen into by the late overthrow,

---

remitted all to the direction and management of Mithridates, as one better experienced in the affairs of war, and better acquainted with the Roman way of managing it. The resolutions taken in their consultations were, to get together another army with all the speed and by all the means they were able. In order hereto, they went round the country to raise more forces, and at the same time sent to all the neighbouring nations to pray their assistance, especially to the Parthians, who lay nearest to them, and, by the greatness of their power, were best able to help them in this distress. And the letter which Mithridates, on this occasion, wrote to Arsaces king of Parthia is still extant in the fourth book of the fragments of the general history of Sallust.

Lucullus captures Tigranocerta.—In the interim, Lucullus made himself master of Tigranocerta, where he found vast treasures, among which were eight thousand talents of coined money. And whereas this city had been planted with colonies forcibly brought thither out of Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other places, as hath been above related, Lucullus, on his taking of it, gave all these liberty again to return to their former habitations; which all gladly accepting of, Tigranocerta, from a great city, was on a sudden reduced to a small village, and no more made any figure in that country. Had Lucullus immediately after this pursued Tigranes, and not given him the opportunity of raising new forces, he must either have taken him prisoner, or driven him out of the country, and thereby put an end to the war. His omitting to do this displeased the Romans, as well in the camp as in the city at home, as if his neglect herein had been out of design to draw out the war for the continuing of himself the longer in command; and the discontent which was hereby created against him gave the justest reason for that resolution which was taken hereupon, of sending him a successor, though it was not executed till two years after.

Antiochus Asiaticus seizes a part of Syria.—Among other methods taken by Tigranes for the bringing of another army into the field against

Lucullus, one was, he recalled Megadates out of Syria, ordering him to come, with all the forces he had in that country, for his assistance at this pinch. Whereon Syria being left naked, Antiochus Asiaticus, the son of Antiochus Eusebes, to whom of right the inheritance of that country belonged, as being the next surviving heir of the Seleucian family, took possession of some parts of it, and there quietly reigned four years, without the least contradiction or disturbance from Lucullus or any one else. But when Pompey came into Syria, he took from him what Lucullus had allowed him to enjoy, and reduced that country into the form of a Roman province.

Lucullus advances towards Artaxata and completely defeats Tigranes, 68.—By these means Tigranes and Mithridates, having gotten together an army of seventy thousand choice men, and exercised them in the

---

Roman way of fighting, about the middle of the summer took the field with them. But strongly encamping themselves on all their movements in advantageous places, where they could not be attacked, and not being to be drawn by Lucullus to hazard another battle by all the means he made use of for this purpose, they must at length have worn him out of the country for want of provisions; which being what they aimed at by this delay, Lucullus found it necessary to break their measures herein, and at length resolved on an expedient which effectually accomplished it. For Tigranes having left his wives and children at Artaxata, the old metropolis of Armenia, and there deposited the most and best of his effects and treasures, Lucullus set himself and all his army on a march thither, for the taking of that place, concluding that Tigranes would not bear this, but forthwith march after him for the preventing of it, and thereby give him the opportunity of forcing him to a battle; and so it accordingly happened. For as soon as Tigranes knew of Lucullus's design, he immediately made after him with all his army to hinder the execution of it, and in four days' time, having by long marches gotten before him, took post on the farther side of the river Arsamia, over which Lucullus was to pass in his way to Artaxata, resolving there to oppose his further progress, which brought it to a battle between them, in

which the Romans again obtained a very signal victory. There were three kings present in this battle in the Armenian army, of which Mithridates behaved himself the worst. For not being able to bear the sight of the Roman legions, as soon as they came on to the assault, he turned his back and fled, which did cast such a damp upon the whole army, that they all lost their courage hereon, and this became the cause that they lost the battle also. Lucullus, after this victory, would have continued his march to Artaxata, the taking of which would have put an end to the war; but it lying at the distance of many days' march to the north, and winter coming on, with snowy and tempestuous weather, his soldiers, weary of the fatigues of so incommodious a campaign, would follow him no further into those cold regions; whereon being forced to yield to this necessity, he marched back to the southward, and passing Mount Taurus, entered into Mesopotamia, and having taken the strong city of Nisibis, there put his army into winter quarters.

Mutinous spirit appears in the army of Lucullus: successes of Tigranes and Mithridates, 67.—In these quarters that spirit of mutiny first began to appear in Lucullus's army, which hindered him from doing any further service with it after that time. Publius Clodius, brother of Lucullus's wife, was the prime incendiary of this disorder, for reasons which will be hereafter mentioned. In the interim Mithridates, with four thousand men of his own, and four thousand more which he received from Tigranes, was returned into Pontus, and had there vanquished Fabius, and distressed Triarius and Sornatius, Lucullus's lieutenants, in those parts. Hereon Lucullus, with some difficulty, at length prevailed with his mutinous army to march out of their quarters for their relief. But they came too late for it; for Triarius, before their arrival, having rashly engaged in battle with Mithridates,

---

dates, was vanquished with the loss of seven thousand of his men, among whom were a hundred and fifty centurions and twenty-four military tribunes, which made this overthrow one of the most considerable blows that the Romans had in many years received. On Lucullus's arrival, he

found the dead bodies lying on the field of battle, but neglecting to bury them, this further exasperated his soldiers against him.

Army of Lucullus refuse to obey him.—After this the spirit of mutiny prevailed so much among them, that thenceforth retaining no more regard to him as their general, they treated him only with insolence and contempt on all occasions, although he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to entreat them to march out against Mithridates and Tigranes (who taking the advantage of this disorder, the former of them had recovered Pontus, and the other was then harassing Cappadocia), yet he could not get them to stir. All that he could obtain of them was, that they would stay with him all the ensuing summer, but would not move out of the camp for any military action under his command; and they had received accounts from Rome of some votes there passed to the disadvantage of Lucullus, which encouraged them herein. So that he was forced to lie still in his camp, and suffer the enemy to range over the country, without being able to do anything to oppose them.

Lucullus returns to Rome, and is succeeded by Pompey, 66.—And thus the case stood with Lucullus till Pompey, being sent by the people of Rome to succeed him in the management of this war, arrived to take it out of his hands. This happened in the beginning of the next year; for then Pompey coming into Galatia with his commission from the Romans, Lucullus there delivered over the army to him, and returned to Rome, leaving his successor to reap the laurels of his victories. He carried with him a great number of books, which he had gathered together out of the spoils of this war, and with them he erected a great library at Rome, which he made free for the use of all learned men, who in great numbers after this resorted to his house for it, and there they always found a kind and generous entertainment.

Pompey concludes an alliance with Phraates, king of Parthia.—Pompey, on his first entering on this war, drew into alliance and confederacy with him Phraates, who had the year before succeeded in the kingdom of Parthia; and also made an offer of peace to Mithridates: but he, reckoning himself as sure of the friendship and assistance of Phraates, would not hearken to the proposal. But when he heard Pompey had been

beforehand with him as to Phraates, he sent ambassadors to Pompey to treat about it. But Pompey's preliminaries being that he should forthwith lay down his arms, and deliver up to him all deserters, this had liked to have raised a mutiny in his army. For there being in it a great number of deserters, they could not bear the mention of their being delivered up to Pompey, nor the rest of the army to be deprived of their assistance in the war. Whereupon to quiet this matter,

---

Mithridates was forced to pretend to them, that his ambassadors were sent with no other intention than to spy out the strength and state of the Roman army, and also at the same time to swear to them that he would never make peace with the Romans, either on these or any other terms whatsoever.

And indeed he was now better furnished for the war than he had been for many years before. For the mutiny of Lucullus's soldiers having hindered him from entering on any action of war all the last year, Mithridates took the advantage hereof to recover most of his lost kingdom, and there had gotten together another well-appointed army for the further prosecution of the war; and thinking that the wearing out of the Romans by delays, and distressing them in obstructing their supplies of provisions, was the readiest way to vanquish them, he for some time followed this method, wasting the country before them, and refusing to fight.

Defeat of Mithridates.—And Mithridates had, in part, the success he proposed; for Pompey was hereby so far distressed, that he was forced to remove out of Pontus in Cappadocia into the Lesser Armenia, for the better furnishing of his army with provisions and other necessaries for their subsistence; and Mithridates followed after him thither for the carrying on there also of the same methods of distressing him. But while he was thus endeavouring it in that country, he was there surprised by Pompey in a night-march, and utterly vanquished, with the loss of the major part of his army, and himself hardly escaping, was forced to flee northward beyond the springs of the Euphrates, for the seeking of his safety. Whereon Pompey, having ordered the building of a new city in the place where this victory was gained, which in commemoration of it he called Nicopolis, i. e. the City

of Victory, left there for the inhabiting of it such of his soldiers as were wounded, sick, aged, or otherwise disabled for the fatigues of war; and then marched with the rest into the Greater Armenia against Tigranes, as being a confederate of Mithridates in this war against the Roman people.

Tigranes submits to Pompey: retains his paternal kingdom only, and pays tribute.—At this time Tigranes was at war with his son of the same name. It hath been before mentioned, that he married Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. By her he had three sons, two of which he had on light occasions put to death; whereon Tigranes, the third of them, not thinking his life safe within the power of so cruel a father, fled to Phraates king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married, who brought him back into Armenia with an army, and laid siege to Artaxata, the capital of the kingdom. But finding the place strong and well provided with all necessaries long to hold out, he left his son-in-law there with one part of the army to carry on the siege, and returned into Parthia with the other whereon Tigranes the father, falling on his son with all his power, got a thorough victory over him, and drove him out of the country. In this distress, he purposed to betake himself to Mithridates his grandfather; but meeting, in his way to him, the news

---

of his defeat, and that therefore no help was to be had from him, he fled to the Roman camp, and there, by way of a supplicant, cast himself into the hands of Pompey, who received him very kindly, and was glad of his coming: for being then on his march into Armenia, he needed one that knew the country to be his guide in it; and therefore, making use of him for this purpose, marched under his guidance directly towards Artaxata.

At the news whereof Tigranes being much terrified, as not being sufficiently provided to resist the power that was coming against him, resolved to cast himself upon the generosity and clemency of the Roman general, and to make way for it, sent to him the ambassadors of Mithridates. For Mithridates, on his late defeat, sent ambassadors to him to desire refuge in his country, and his help for the repairing of his loss. But Tigranes not only denied him his help, and all admission in his country, but also seized his

ambassadors, and cast them into prison, and did set a price of one hundred talents upon the head of Mithridates himself, should he be anywhere found within his dominions, pretending for all this that it was by his instigation that his son was in rebellion against him; but the true reason was, to make way for his reconciliation with the Romans and therefore he delivered these ambassadors unto them, and soon after followed himself, without any precaution taken, and entering the Roman camp, resigned both himself and kingdom to the pleasure and disposal of Pompey and the Romans; and in the doing hereof, debased himself to so mean and abject an humiliation, that as soon as he appeared in the presence of Pompey, he plucked his crown or royal tiara from off his head, and cast himself prostrate on the ground before him.

Pompey hereon, much commiserating his case, leaped from his seat, and kindly taking him by the hand lifted him up, put his crown again upon his head, and placed him on a seat at his right hand, and his son on another at his left; and having appointed the next day for the hearing of his cause, invited him and his son that night to sup with him. But the son refusing to come, out of displeasure to his father, and neglecting to show him any respect, or to take the least notice of him at the interview, he much offended Pompey by this conduct.

However, on having heard the cause, he did not wholly neglect his interest. For after having decreed that king Tigranes should pay the Romans six thousand talents for making war upon them without cause, and yield up to them all his conquests on this side the Euphrates, he ordered that he should still reign in his paternal kingdom of Armenia the Greater, and his son in Gordena and Sophena (two provinces bordering on Armenia) during his father's lifetime, and succeed him in all the rest of his dominions after his death, reserving to the father out of Sophena the treasure which he had there deposited, without which he would not have been able to pay the mulct of six thousand talents imposed on him.

Tigranes the father joyfully accepted these terms, being glad even thus to be again admitted to reign. But the son, having entertained expectations that were not answered by this decree, was highly displeased at it, and made an attempt to have fled for the raising of new disturbances: whereon Pompey

put a guard upon him, and on his refusal to permit his father to take away his treasure in Sophena, cast him into prison; and afterwards, on his being

detected to have solicited the nobility of Armenia to renew the war, and also the Parthians to join in it, Pompey put him among those whom he reserved for his triumph, and after that triumph left him in prison; whereas most of the other captives, after they had borne their part in that show, were released and again sent home into their own countries.

Tigranes the father, after the receipt of his treasure out of Sophena, paid the six thousand talents in which Pompey had mulcted him, and added over and above a donative to the Roman army, giving every common soldier fifty drachms, each centurion one thousand, and each military tribune ten thousand, whereby he obtained to be declared a friend and an ally of the Roman people.

Pompey pursues Mithridates: subdues the Albanians, Iberians, and Colchians, 66, 65.—Pompey, having thus composed matters in Armenia, marched northward after Mithridates. On his coming to the river Cyrus he was opposed by the Albanians and the Iberians, two potent nations dwelling between the Caspian and the Euxine Seas, and confederates of Mithridates; but having overcome them in battle, he forced the Albanians to sue for peace, and having granted it to them, wintered among them. Early the next year after, **B. C. 65**, he marched against the Iberians, a warlike nation, which had never yet yielded to any superior, but had always held out against the Medians, Persians, and Macedonians, and submitted to neither of them during all the time that they, in succession one after the other, held the empire of Asia. Pompey, although he found some difficulties in this war, yet soon mastered them, and forced the Iberians to terms of peace. After his having reduced the people of Colchius also to a submission to him, and taken Olthaces their king prisoner (whom he afterwards caused to be led before him in his triumph), he marched back again upon the Albanians, who, while he was engaged with the Iberians and Colchians, had renewed the war; but having overthrown them in battle with a great slaughter, and slain therein Cosis, the brother of Orodes their king, who commanded the

army, he thereby forced Orodes to purchase the renewal of the last year's peace by large gifts, and also to send his sons to him as hostages for the keeping of it.

Mithridates retires towards the Crimea: death of his son Machares.—In the interim Mithridates, having wintered at Dioscurias (a place upon the Euxine Sea, and there situated in the farthest part of the isthmus which lies between that sea and the Caspian), early the next spring did set out from thence for the country of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, making his way thither through several Scythian nations that lay between, obtaining his passage of some of them by fair means, and of others by force. This kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same which is now the country of the Crim Tartars, and was then a province of the empire of Mithridates. He had placed one of his sons, called Machares, there to reign; but this young prince having been hard pressed upon

---

by the Romans while they lay at the siege of Sinope, and had then by their fleet the mastery of the Euxine Sea (which lay between that city and the kingdom of Machares), he made peace with them, and had ever since maintained the terms of it; by which having much angered his father, he dreaded his approach, and therefore while he was on the way, he sent ambassadors to him to make his peace with him, urging for his excuse, that what he did was by the necessity of his affairs driving him to it, and not by choice: but finding that his father was implacable, he endeavoured to make his escape by sea, but being intercepted by such ships as Mithridates had sent out for this purpose, he slew himself to avoid falling into his hands.

Pompey reduces the whole Syrian empire to a Roman province.—Pompey having finished his war in the north, and finding it impracticable to pursue Mithridates any farther that way, led back his army again into the southern parts, and in his way thither having subdued Darius king of Media, and Antiochus king of Commagena, he came into Syria, and having by Scaurus reduced Cæle-Syria and Damascus, and by Gabinius all the rest of those parts as far as the Tigris, he made himself master of all the Syrian empire; whereon Antiochus Asiaticus, the son of Antiochus Eusebes, the

remaining heir of the Seleucian family, who, by the permission of Lucullus, had now for four years reigned in some part of that country, after Tigranes had been forced to withdraw his forces from it, applied to him to desire to be re-established in the kingdom of his forefathers. But Pompey refusing to hearken to him, stripped him of all his dominions, and reduced them into the form of a Roman province. And thus at the same time when Tigranes was permitted to reign in Armenia, who had much damaged the Roman interest by a long war, Antiochus was stripped of all, who never did them any hurt, or ever deserved any ill from them. The reasons given for it were, that the Romans had taken this country by conquest from Tigranes, and therefore were not to lose the fruits of their victory; and that Antiochus was a weak prince, of no courage or capacity to protect that country, and that therefore the putting of it into his hands would be to betray it to the ravages and depredations of the Jews and Arabs, which Pompey could not consent to: and therefore Antiochus, being thus deprived of his crown, was reduced to a private condition of life. And here ended the empire of the Seleucidæ in Asia, after it had there lasted two hundred and fifty-eight years.

Egyptian history: Ptolemy Alexander driven from the kingdom, and Ptolemy Auletes placed upon the throne.—While these things were a doing by the Romans, there happened great disturbances and revolutions in Egypt and Judæa: for in Egypt the Alexandrians, being weary of Alexander their king, rose in mutiny against him, and drove

---

him out of the kingdom, and called Ptolemy Auletes to the crown. He was the bastard son of Ptolemy Lathyrus: for Lathyrus had no male issue by his wife that survived him, but he had several by his concubines: one of which was that Ptolemy who had the kingdom of Cyprus after his father's death, and there reigned till injuriously deprived of it by the Romans, as will be hereafter related. Another was this Auletes; he was also called Dionysius Neos, or the new Bacchus; both which names he had from infamous causes: for he had much used himself to play on the pipe, and valued himself so much upon his skill herein, that he would expose himself to contend for victory in the public shows; hence he had the name of Auletes, that is, the piper; and he would often imitate the effeminacies of the Bacchanals, and in

the same manner as they dance their measures in a female dress; and hence it was that he was called Dionysius Neos, or the new Bacchus. He is reckoned to have as much exceeded all that reigned before him of his race in the effeminacy of his manners, as his grandfather Physcon did in the wickedness of them. Alexander on his expulsion fled to Pompey to pray his assistance for his restoration, and offered him great gifts, and promised him more, to induce him hereto; but Pompey refused to meddle with this matter, as being without the limits of his commission: whereon Alexander retired to Tyre, there to wait a more favourable juncture, and soon after died in that city. It is here to be remarked, that Ptolemy the astronomer, in his Chronological Canon, names not Alexander at all among the kings of Egypt, but begins the reign of Auletes from the death of Lathyrus, although it appears, both from Cicero and Suetonius, that Alexander reigned fifteen years between. Perchance as Ptolemy king of Cyprus had that island immediately on his father's death, so likewise Auletes had at the same time some other part of the Egyptian empire for his share of it, and for this reason Ptolemy the astronomer makes him the immediate successor of Lathyrus, though he had not the whole kingdom of Egypt till fifteen years after.

Jewish history: Antipater obtains the assistance of Aretas, and persuades Hyrcanus to attempt the recovery of the kingdom.—The disturbances which were at this time in Judæa, and the revolution which happened thereon, had their original from the ambition and aspiring spirit of Antipater, the father of Herod of his original I have spoken before. He having his education in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and Alexandra his queen, who reigned after him, there wrought himself into the good liking of Hyrcanus, the eldest of their sons, hoping to rise by his favour when he should come to the crown after his mother. But when Hyrcanus was deposed, and Aristobulus made king in his place, these measures which he had taken for his advancement were all broken; and his engagements in them having rendered him so obnoxious to Aristobulus as to exclude him all prospect of favour from him, he set himself, with all the craft which he was

signally endowed with, to repair the fortunes of Hyrcanus, and restore him again to his crown: in order whereto he treated with Aretas king of Arabia Petræa, and engaged him to help Hyrcanus with an army for the accomplishing of this design, and had by clandestine applications drawn in great numbers of the Jews for the promoting of the same purpose. But his greatest difficulty was to excite Hyrcanus himself to the undertaking: for being a quiet, indolent man, who loved ease more than anything else, he had no ambition for reigning, and therefore had no inclination to stir a foot for the obtaining of it. But at length being made believe that his life was in danger, and that he had nothing to choose between reigning and dying if he staid in Judæa, he was roused up by this argument to flee for his safety, and put himself into the hands of Aretas, who, according to his agreement with Antipater, brought him back into Judæa, with an army of fifty thousand men.

Defeat of Aristobulus, and siege of Jerusalem.—On entering Judæa, the invaders were joined by the Jews of Hyrcanus's party, and gave battle to Aristobulus, and, gaining an absolute victory over him, pursued him to Jerusalem, and, entering it without opposition, drove him with all his party to take refuge in the mountain of the temple, and there besieged him, where all the priests stood by him, but the generality of the people declared for Hyrcanus. This happened in the time of their passover, whereon Aristobulus, wanting lambs and beasts for the sacrifices of that holy solemnity, agreed with the Jews that were among the besiegers to furnish him with them for a sum contracted: but when they had the money let down to them over the wall, they refused to deliver the sacrifices, and thereby impiously and sacrilegiously robbed God of that part of his worship which was then to have been performed to him and at the same time they added another very heinous wickedness to this guilt: for there being then at Jerusalem one Onias, a man of great reputation for the sanctity of his life, who had been thought by his prayers to have obtained rain from heaven in a time of drought, they brought him forth into the army; and, concluding his curses would be as prevalent as his prayers, pressed him to curse Aristobulus and all that were with him. He long resisted to hearken to them; but at length finding no rest from their importunities, he lifted up his hands toward heaven, as standing in the midst of them, and prayed thus: "O Lord

God, rector of the universe, since those that are with us are thy people, and they that are besieged in the temple are thy priests, I pray that thou wouldest hear the prayers of neither of them against the other." Hereon they that brought him thither were so enraged against the good man, that they fell upon him with stones, and stoned him to death.

Roman intervention: Scaurus decides in favour of Aristobulus.—But the death of Onias was soon revenged upon the invaders; for Scaurus being by this time come to Damascus with a Roman army, Aristobulus sent thither to him, and by the promise of four hundred talents engaged him on his side. Hyrcanus offered him the like sum, but Scaurus, looking on Aristobulus as the more solvent of the two, and for other reasons taking the better liking to him, chose to embrace his cause before the other's; and Gabinius, by a present of three hundred

---

talents more out of Aristobulus's purse, was induced to do the same; and therefore they both sent to Aretas to withdraw, threatening him with the Roman arms in case of refusal. Whereon Aretas raising the siege, and marching off towards his own country, Aristobulus got together all the forces he could, and pursued after him; and having overtaken him at a place called Papyrion, overthrew him in battle with a great slaughter, in which perished many of the Jews of Hyrcanus's party, and among them Cephalion the brother of Antipater.

Pompey arrives at Damascus, and receives ambassadors from Egypt and Judæa.—About this time Pompey himself came to Damascus, where resorted to him ambassadors from all the neighbouring countries, especially from Egypt and Judæa: for the kings of both these countries reigning in them by the expulsion of their immediate predecessors, thought it their interest to get the Roman power on their side for the maintaining of their usurpations. For this reason the ambassadors from Egypt presented Pompey with a crown of gold of the value of four thousand pieces of gold money, and those from Judæa with a vine of gold of the value of four hundred talents, which was afterwards deposited in the temple of Jupiter in the capitol at Rome, and there inscribed as the gift of Alexander king of the

Jews. It seems they would not own Aristobulus to be king, and therefore did put his father's name upon it instead of his. While Pompey was in these parts, there came to him no fewer than twelve kings to make their court to him, and were all seen at the same time attending upon him.

Reduction of Pontus and Cappadocia: discovery of the Memoirs and Medicinal Commentaries of Mithridates.—But many fortresses and strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia still holding out for Mithridates, Pompey found it necessary to march again into those parts to reduce them, which having on his arrival in a great measure accomplished, he took up his winter-quarters at Aspis, in Pontus. Among the places which he reduced, one called Καινή, i. e. Newcastle, was the strongest. There Mithridates had laid a great part of his treasure, and the best of his other effects, as reckoning the place impregnable; but it was not so against the Romans. Pompey took the place, and in it all that was there deposited. Among other things there found, were the private Memoirs of Mithridates, which made discovery of many of his transactions and secret designs. And there also were found his Medicinal Commentaries, which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Lenæus a learned grammarian, that was a freed man of his, and they were afterwards published by him in that language; for among many other extraordinary endowments with which this prince had accomplished himself, he was eminently skilled in the art of physic; and particularly it is to be remarked of him, that he was the author of that excellent alexipharmical medicine, which from his name is now called Mithridate, and hath ever since been in great use among physicians, and is so even to this day.

Pompey marches through Syria to subdue the Arabians, 64.—Pompey having while he lay at Aspis settled the affairs of the adjacent countries,

---

as well as their circumstances would then admit, as soon as the spring began returned again into Syria, there to do the same: for Mithridates being gotten into the kingdom of Bosphorus on the other side of the Euxine Sea, there was no pursuing of him thither by a Roman army but round that sea, a

great way about through many barbarous Scythian nations and several deserts, which was not to be attempted without manifest danger of a total miscarriage; and therefore all that Pompey could do in this case was to order the stations of the Roman navy, in such manner as to hinder all supplies of provisions and other necessaries from being carried to him; which having taken full care of, he thought by this method he should soon break him; and therefore on his quitting Pontus, he said he had left behind him against Mithridates a fiercer enemy than the Roman army, that is, famine and the want of all necessaries. That which made him so fond of this march into Syria was a vain and ambitious desire which he had of extending his conquests to the Red Sea. He had formerly, while he commanded first in Africa and afterwards in Spain, carried them on to the western ocean on both sides of the Mediterranean, and had lately in his Albanian war made them reach as far as the Caspian Sea; and if he could do the same as to the Red Sea also, he thought it would complete his glory. On his coming into Syria, he made Antioch and Seleucia on the Orontes free cities, and then continued his march to Damascus, intending from thence to make war upon the Arabians, for the carrying on of his victories to the Red Sea. But in his way thither he made many stops to examine into the conduct of the princes of those parts, and to hear the complaints that were made against them: for in the declension of the Syrian empire, many petty princes had set up on its ruins, and had cantoned themselves in several parts and districts of it, and there exercised great tyranny over their people, and as great depredations on their neighbours round them. These Pompey, as he passed through the country, summoned to him, and on hearing their causes, some of them he confirmed in their toparchies, under the condition of becoming tributaries to the Romans, others he deprived, and some of them he condemned to death for their maladministrations. But Ptolemy the son of Mennæus, prince of Chalcis, who was the worst and wickedest of them all, escaped by virtue of his money. For having made himself very rich with his oppressions upon his people, and his plunders upon his neighbours, he presented Pompey with a thousand talents, and thereby redeemed both his life and his principality, and continued in the enjoyment of both a great number of years after.

Rival ambassadors from Hyrcanus and Aristobulus endeavour to obtain his support.—On Pompey's coming into Cœle-Syria, Antipater

from Hyrcanus, and one Nicodemus from Aristobulus, addressed themselves to him about the controversy that was between these two brothers, each of them praying his patronage to the party from which they were delegated. Pompey, having heard what was said by them on both

sides, dismissed them with fair words, ordering that both brothers should appear in person before him, promising that then he would take full cognizance of the whole cause, and determine it as justice should direct. At this audience Nicodemus did much hurt to the cause of his master, by complaining of the four hundred talents which Scaurus, and the three hundred which Gabinius, had extorted from him. For this made them both to be his enemies, and they being two of the greatest men in the army next Pompey, he was afterwards influenced by them to the damage of the complainant. But Pompey, being then intent upon making preparations for his Arabian war, could not immediately find leisure for this matter, and soon after an occasion happened which forced him to lay aside for the present whatever he had to do in Syria, and march again into Pontus; it was as followeth.

Mithridates prepares for a renewal of the war with Rome.— Before Pompey left Syria in the former year, there came thither to him ambassadors from Mithridates out of Bosphorus with proposals of peace. They offered in his behalf, that in case he might be allowed to hold his paternal kingdom, as Tigranes had been, he would pay tribute to the Romans for it, and quit to them all his other dominions. To this Pompey answered, that he should then come to him in person in the same manner as Tigranes did. This Mithridates would not submit to, but offered to send his sons and some of his principal friends; but this not being accepted of, he set himself to make new preparations for war with as great vigour as at any time before. Pompey, having notice hereof, found it necessary to hasten back again into Pontus to watch his proceedings. On his arrival thither, he fixed his residence for some time at Amisus, the ancient metropolis of that country, and while he continued in that place, practised the same thing which he had before blamed in Lucullus. For he there settled the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, and distributed rewards, as if the war had

been ended. Whereas Mithridates was then still alive, and with an army about him for the making of a terrible invasion in the very heart of the Roman dominions. In the distributing of his rewards, he gave the Lesser Armenia, with several other territories and cities adjoining, to Deiotarus, one of the princes of the Galatians, to recompense him for his adhering to the Roman interest during all this war, and honoured him with the title of king of these countries, whereas before he was only a tetrarch among the Galatians. This is the same king Deiotarus in whose behalf Cicero afterwards made one of his orations. And at the same time he made Archelaus high priest of the moon, the great goddess of the Comanians in Pontus, with sovereign authority over the inhabitants of the place, among whom there were no fewer than six thousand persons devoted to the service of the goddess.

This Archelaus was the son of that Archelaus who had the chief command of Mithridates's forces in Greece, during his first war with the Romans; but after that, falling into disgrace with his master, fled to the Romans; and he and his son having from that time adhered to the Roman interest, and done them thereby much service in all their wars in Asia, the father being now dead, the son for the reward of both had this high priesthood of Comana conferred on him, which made him also prince of that place and the territory belonging thereto. He is the same who afterwards reigned in Egypt, as will be hereafter related.

Aretas invades Syria.—While Pompey was thus absent in Pontus, Aretas king of Arabia Petræa took the advantage of it to infest Syria, making incursions and depredations upon several parts of it. This called Pompey back again into that country. In his way thither, marching by the place where the bodies of the Romans lay dead that had been slain in the defeat of Triarius, he buried them with great solemnity; which much ingratiated him with the army, whose greatest disgust against Lucullus was his having omitted it, when he marched by the same place soon after that defeat. From thence Pompey marched into Syria for his carrying on of the Arabian war, according to the project above mentioned.

Mithridates resolves on a desperate expedition into Italy commits suicide. —In the interim died Mithridates, being driven by his own son to that hard fate of slaying himself. Finding no hopes of making peace with the Romans upon any tolerable terms, he resolved to make a desperate expedition, through the way of Pannonia and the Trentine Alps, into Italy itself, and there assault them, as Hannibal did, at their own doors. In order hereto, he got many forces together out of the Scythian nations for the augmenting of his former army, and sent agents to engage the Gauls to join with him on his approach to the Alps. But this undertaking containing a march of above two thousand miles, through all those countries which are now called Tartaria Crimea, Podolia, Moldavia, Walachia, Transylvania, Hungaria, Stiria, Carinthia, Tyrol, and Lombardy; and over the three great rivers of the Borysthenes, the Danube, and the Po, the thought hereof so frightened his army, that for the avoiding of it they conspired against him, and made Pharnaces his son their king; whereon finding himself deserted of all, and his son not to be prevailed upon to let him escape elsewhere, he retired into his apartment, and having there distributed poison to his wives, his concubines, and daughters, that were then with him, he took a dose of it himself, but that not operating upon him, he had recourse to his sword to complete the work; but failing with that to give himself such a wound as was sufficient to cause his death, he was forced to call a Gallic soldier unto him, who had then newly broken into the house, to help despatch him, and so died, after he had lived seventy-two years, and reigned sixty of them. He dreaded nothing more than to fall into the hands of the Romans, and be led in triumph by them; and therefore, for the preventing of this, he always carried poison about him, that if he could no other way escape their hands, he might this way deliver

---

himself from them. And the apprehensions that his son might deliver him to Pompey caused that at this time he was so eager to despatch himself. It is commonly said that the poison did not work upon him because he had by the frequent taking of his Mithridate so fortified his body against all poisons, that none could hurt him: but this cannot be true; for Mithridate hath no such effect against deadly poisons. Besides, poisons, according to

their different sorts, operating different ways, that is, some by corroding, and some by inflaming, and others otherwise, not any one sort of medicine can be an universal antidote against all of them.

Character of Mithridates.—As to the character of this prince, he was a very extraordinary person, both for the greatness of his spirit and the endowments of his mind. He was naturally of a great capacity and understanding, and had added thereto all manner of acquired improvements: for he was learned in all the learning of those times; and although he had twenty-two several nations under his dominion, he could speak to every one of them in their own proper language. And he was of that great sagacity, and employed it so effectively in the observation and inspection of his affairs, that although a great number of plots and conspiracies had from time to time been framed against him, none of them escaped his discovery, excepting that in which he perished. He was a prince of great undertakings, and although he failed in most of those wherein he had to do with the Romans, yet his spirit never sunk with his fortune, but it ever bore up against all his misadventures; and after his greatest losses, his wisdom and application always found means in some measure to repair them, and bring him again upon the scene of action; and thus it was with him to the last, having always, as often as overthrown, Antæus like, risen up again with new vigour to maintain his pretensions. And his last undertaking for the invading of Italy sufficiently shows, that though his fortune often forsook him, yet his stout heart, his courageous spirit, and his enterprising genius never did. And had not the treason of his own people at last cut him off, perchance, in the latter part of his life, the Romans might have found him a much more dangerous enemy to them than at any time before. Cicero saith of him, that he was the greatest of kings next Alexander. It is certain the Romans had never to do with a greater crowned head in all their wars.

But his vices, on the other hand, were as great as his virtues. The chiefest of them, and which were most predominant in him, were his cruelty, his ambition, and his sensuality. His cruelty was shown in the murder of his mother and his brother, and the great number of his sons and his friends and followers which at several times, and often on very slight occasions, he had put to death. His ambition was manifest by his many unjust invasions on other men's rights for the augmentation of his dominions, and the most

wicked methods of treachery, murder, and perfidiousness, which he often took in order hereto. His sensuality appeared in the great number of his wives and concubines. Some of them he carried with him wherever

---

he went, others he dispersed into his strong castles and fortified towns, there to be reserved for his use, either when he should come that way, or otherwise should think fit to send for them. But when reduced to any distress, he always poisoned those whom he could not safely carry off, or else otherwise despatched them and in the same manner in this case used his sisters and his daughters, that none of them might fall into the enemy's hands. Only one of his wives, called Hypsicratia, always accompanied him, wherever he was forced to take his flight. For being of a strong body and a masculine spirit, she did cut off her hair, put on man's apparel, and accustomed herself to the use of arms and the war-horse, rode always by his side in all his battles, and accompanied him in all his expeditions and in all his flights, especially in the last of them, when, after being vanquished by Pompey in the Lesser Armenia, he made his dangerous and difficult retreat through the Scythian nations into the kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus; in all which journey she rode by his side by day, and took care both of him and his horse at night, doing to him the office of a valet in his lodgings, and that of a groom in his stable; for which reason Mithridates took great delight in her, as affording him by this attendance the greatest comfort he had in his calamities: and by reason of this masculine spirit in her, Mithridates was used to call her Hypsicrates, in the masculine gender, instead of Hypsicratia.

But of all his wives, Stratonice, by reason of her extraordinary beauty, was most beloved by him, though she were no other than a musician's daughter. Mithridates, in the decline of his affairs, had placed her in a strong castle in Pontus, called Symphorium, where finding herself like to be deserted, she delivered the place to Pompey upon terms of safety for herself, and also for her son, which she had by Mithridates, in case he should happen to fall into the Romans' hands; which Pompey having granted, continued her in possession of that castle and of most of the effects in it. Her son, called Xiphares, was then with his father, while he yet remained in Pontus. Hereon

the cruel man, to be revenged on her, carried this son of his to the opposite side of the frith, over against which the castle stood, and there slew him within her view, and left the dead body unburied on the strand. Many of these his wives and concubines fell into Pompey's hands during this war, on his taking the castles and fortresses where they were kept; and it is remarked of him, to his great honour, that he meddled not with any of them, but sent them home all untouched to their parents and friends, who most of them were kings or princes, or other great men of those eastern parts. By these many wives and concubines he had a great number of sons and daughters; many of his sons he slew in his displeasure, and several of his daughters he poisoned, when he could not carry them off in his flights. However, some of them fell into the hands of the Romans. Five of the sons and two of the daughters Pompey carried with him to Rome, and there caused them to be led before him in his triumph. Next Hannibal, he was the most terrible enemy the Romans ever had, and their war with him was the longest of any. The continuance of it, according to Justin, was forty-six

---

years, according to Appian forty-two, according to L. Florus and Eutropius forty, and according to Pliny thirty; but according to the exact truth of the matter, though we reckon the beginning of the war from Mithridates's seizing Cappadocia (which gave the first occasion for it), from that time to the concluding of it in his death will be no more than twenty-seven years: this, for the sake of a round number, Pliny calls thirty, and thereby comes the nearest to the truth.

IV. RESTORATION OF HYRCANUS II. BY POMPEY, B. C. 63—61.

Kings of Egypt—Ptolemy X. Auletes, 65.

Pompey at Damascus: Hyrcanus and Aristobulus plead their cause before him in person, 63.—Pompey on his coming into Syria

marched directly to Damascus, with purpose from thence to make war upon the Arabians. On his arrival at that city, the cause of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus was brought to his hearing, and they both there appeared in person before him, according as he had ordered, and at the same time several of the Jews came thither against both. These last pleaded, "That they might not be governed by a king; that it had been formerly the usage of their nation to be governed by the high priest of the God they worshipped, who, without assuming any other title, administered justice to them, according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their forefathers; that it was true, indeed, the two contending brothers were of the sacerdotal race; but they had changed the former manner of the government, and introduced another form, that they might thereby subject the people to slavery." Hyrcanus on his part urged, "That being the elder brother, he was unjustly deprived of his birthright by Aristobulus, who, having left him only a small portion of land for his subsistence, had usurped all the rest from him; and as a man born for mischief, practised piracy at sea, and rapine and depredation at land, upon his neighbours." And for the attesting of what Hyrcanus had thus alleged, there appeared about one thousand of the principal Jews, whom Antipater had procured to come thither for that purpose. Hereto Aristobulus answered, "That Hyrcanus was put by from the government merely by reason of his incapacity to manage it, and not through any ambition of his; that being an inactive, slothful man, and utterly unfit for the business of the public, he fell into the contempt of the people; and that therefore he was forced to interpose of necessity for the preserving of the government from falling into other hands; and that he bore no other title in the state than what Alexander his father had before him. And for the witnessing of this, he produced several young gentlemen of the country in gaudy and splendid apparel, who did not, by their dress or by their behaviour, bring any credit to the cause of him they appeared for. Pompey, on this hearing, saw far enough into the cause to make him disapprove of the violence of Aristobulus; but, however, he would not immediately determine the controversy, lest Aristobulus, being provoked thereby, might obstruct him in his Arabian war, which he then

had his heart much upon. And therefore, giving fair words to both brothers, he dismissed them for the present, promising that after he should have reduced Aretas and his Arabians, he would come in person into Judæa, and there settle and compose all matters that were in difference between them. Aristobulus, perceiving which way Pompey's inclination stood, went from Damascus in a huff, without taking leave, and returning into Judæa, there armed the country for his defence; which procedure much incensed Pompey against him.

Pompey marches against the Arabians: captures Petra, and reduces Aretas. —In the interim Pompey prepared for his war against the Arabians. Aretas, though he had hitherto contemned the Roman arms, yet when he found them so near him, and ready to make invasion upon him with their victorious army, he sent ambassadors to make his submission. However, Pompey marched to Petra, the metropolis of his kingdom; and having taken the place, and Aretas in it, he put him into custody, but afterwards again released him on his submitting to the terms required, and then returned to Damascus.

Aristobulus prepares for war, and Pompey marches against him.—On his coming back to Damascus, being informed of the warlike preparations which Aristobulus was making in Judæa, Pompey marched into that country against him. On his arrival thither, he found Aristobulus in his castle of Alexandrion, which was a strong fortress, situated in the entrance of the country on a high mountain, where it having been built by Alexander, the father of Aristobulus, it for that reason bore his name. Pompey there sent him a message to come down to him, which he was very unwilling to obey, but at length, by the persuasion of those about him, who dreaded a Roman war, he was prevailed with to comply, and accordingly went down into the Roman camp; and after having had some discourse with Pompey about the controversy between him and his brother, returned again into his castle; and this he did two or three times more, endeavouring by these compliances to gain Pompey on his side for the deciding in his favour the controversy between him and his brother. But still, for fear of the worst, he was at the same time arming all his castles, and making all other preparations for his defence, in case the sentence should go against him; which Pompey having received an account of, forced him, on his last coming down to him, to

deliver up all his castles to him, and to sign orders for this purpose to all that commanded in them; which Aristobulus being necessitated in this case to do, he grievously resented the putting of this force upon him; and therefore, as soon as he was got again out of Pompey's hands, he fled to Jerusalem, and there prepared for war. He, being resolved to retain his kingdom, was actuated by two contrary passions about it, that is, hope and fear. When he saw any reason to hope for Pompey's determination on his side, he complimented him with all manner of compliances to gain his favour; but when there was any cause given to make him fear the contrary, he took contrary measures. And this was what made him act with so much unsteadiness through all this whole affair.

Pompey encamps at Jericho: arrival of the news of the death of Mithridates, and submission of Pharnaces.—On this flight of Aristobulus to Jerusalem, Pompey marched after him; and the first place where he next pitched his camp was at Jericho; and there he had the first news of the death of Mithridates. It was brought thither to him by special messengers sent from Pontus with letters to him about it. The messengers coming with their spears wreathed about with laurel, which was always a token of some victory, or other important advantage gained to the state, the army was greedy to know what it was; and whereas, they being then newly encamped, there was in that place no tribunal as yet erected for the general from thence to speak to them, and it would require some time regularly to make it up with turfs, laid one upon another, as was their usage where they encamped; for the supply of this defect they upon a sudden heaped up their pack-saddles one upon another, and thereby having made an advanced place, Pompey ascended up upon it, and from thence communicated to them, that Mithridates, having laid violent hands upon himself, was dead, and that Pharnaces his son, having seized his kingdom, submitted that and himself to the Roman state, and that therefore the war which had so long vexed them was now at an end; which being very welcome news to the whole army, as well as to the general, they spent the remainder of the day in rejoicing for it.

Description of the balsam.—Josephus, on his making mention of Pompey's encamping at this time at Jericho, takes occasion from thence to

tell us, that this city was famous for the balsam there produced, which is the most precious of unguents. It is a distillation from the balsam tree, which is a shrub that never grows higher than two or three cubits. About a foot from the ground, it spreads into a great many small branches, of the bigness of a goose-quill. Incision being made in them, from thence distilled the balsam, during the months of June, July, and August. The incisions were usually made with glass, a boning-knife, or a sharp stone, and not with iron. For it is said, that if the tree were wounded with iron, it immediately died: but this was not true, unless the incision were made too deep, of which there being danger from a sharp iron knife, for this reason only no such knife was made use of in this operation. Pliny tells us, that these balsam trees were nowhere to be found but in Judæa, and there only in two gardens, of which one contained about twenty jugera, and the other not so much. But now Egypt hath this tree, and Judæa none of it. The truth of the matter, as Bellonius and Prosper Alpinus tell

---

us, is, neither Judea nor Egypt is the natural country of these trees, but Arabia the Happy. Their argument for it is, that in Arabia the Happy they grow naturally, but not so in Judæa or Egypt, where they never grow, but as cultivated in gardens: and that in Egypt the best cultivation cannot keep them from decay, so that they are forced frequently to fetch thither new plants from Arabia. And what we have from Josephus is agreeable hereto: for he tells us (Antiq. lib. 8, c. 2), that among other valuable things which the queen of Sheba brought with her from Sheba (which was in Arabia the Happy) to present king Solomon with, one was a root of the balsam tree. And from this root, it is most likely, were propagated all the other balsam trees that afterwards grew in Judæa; and Jericho being found the properest soil for them, it thenceforth became the sole place where they were found in that country. But the gardens in which they were there cultivated having been long since destroyed, there are now no more of those balsam trees to be found in Judæa. But there are many of them still in Egypt; and from thence and Arabia comes all the balsam which is now brought into these western parts. But all that is brought from Egypt is not the produce of that country; the greater part of it is brought thither from Arabia to Alexandria,

and from thence to us; but now, I understand, the East India Company import it to us directly from Arabia by the way of the Red Sea. When it came to us only by the way of Egypt, it was imported thither from Mecca, a city in Arabia, not far from the country where the balsam tree naturally grows: and hence physicians, in their prescriptions, call it balsamum e Mecca, that is, the balsam of Mecca. But in our apothecaries' shops it is here called the balm of Gilead; which name is given it upon supposition, that the balm which is said in Scripture to come from Gilead was the same with that which now comes from Mecca. But the Hebrew word in the original text, which we translate balm, is zori, which the rabbins interpret to mean any gum of the resinous sort. In Jeremiah it is mentioned as a drug which the physicians used; and in Genesis it is spoken of as one of the most precious products of the land of Canaan; and in both it is said to be from Gilead. If this zori of the Hebrew text be the same with the balsam of Mecca, it will prove the balsam tree to have been in Gilead long before it was planted in the gardens of Jericho, and also before the queen of Sheba brought that root of it to king Solomon which Josephus mentions. For the Ishmaelites traded with it from Gilead to Egypt, when Joseph was sold to them by his brethren; and Jacob sent a present of it to the same Joseph, as a product of the land of Canaan, when he sent his other sons to him into Egypt to buy corn. It seems most likely to me, that the zori of Gilead, which we render in our English Bible by the word balm, was not the same with the balsam of Mecca, but only a better sort of turpentine then in use for the cure of wounds and other diseases.

Pompey advances upon Jerusalem and enters the city.—From Jericho Pompey led his army to Jerusalem. On his approach thither, Aristobulus, repenting of what he had done, went out to Pompey, and en deavoured

---

to reconcile matters with him, by promising a thorough submission and also a sum of money, so the war might be prevented. Pompey, accepting the proposal, sent Gabinius, one of the lieutenants, with a body of men to receive the money. But when he came to Jerusalem, he found the gates shut against him, and no money to be had; but was told from the walls, that those

within would not stand to the agreement: whereon Pompey, not bearing to be thus mocked, clapped Aristobulus (whom he retained with him) in chains, and marched with the whole army directly for Jerusalem. It was by reason of its situation, as well as its fortifications, a very strong place, and might have held out long against him, but that they were divided within among themselves. That party which was for Aristobulus were for defending the place, especially by reason of the indignation with which they were moved at Pompey's making their king a prisoner. But those who favoured the cause of Hyrcanus were for receiving Pompey into the city: and they being the greater number, the other party retired into the mountain of the temple, and having broken down the bridges over the deep ditches and valleys that surrounded it, resolved there to maintain themselves. Whereon Pompey, being received into the city by the other party, set himself to besiege the place.

Temple besieged for three months.—Most of the sacerdotal order stuck by the cause of Aristobulus, and were shut up with those that seized the temple for the support of it. But the generality of the people were on the other side; and Hyrcanus, at the head of them, supplied Pompey with all necessaries within his power for the carrying on of the siege. The north side of the temple being observed to be the weakest part of it, Pompey there began his approaches. At first he offered the besieged terms of peace; but these being rejected, he forthwith began with the utmost vigour to press the place. And for this purpose, having gotten from Tyre battering-rams and all other engines of war proper for siege, he applied them with the best skill and utmost diligence he was able for the speedy forcing of the place. However it held out three months, and would have done so much longer, and perchance would at last have necessitated the Romans to have raised the siege, had it not been for the superstitious rigour with which the Jews observed their sabbath.

Capture of the Temple, and terrible carnage of the Jews. — Formerly this superstition had been carried so high, that the Jews would not defend their lives on that day, but if then assaulted, would rather patiently yield their throats to be cut than stir a hand in their own defence. But the mischief and folly of this being sufficiently made appear in what they suffered from it in the first beginnings of the Maccabean wars, it was then

determined, that a necessary defence of a man's life was not within the prohibition of the fourth commandment. But this being understood to hold good only against a direct and immediate assault, but not against any antecedent preparative leading thereto, it reached not in their opinion to the allowing of any work to be done on that day for the preventing or destroying the worst designs of mischief, till they came to be actually executed against them. Although therefore they vigorously defended themselves on

---

the sabbath day, when assaulted, yet they would not then stir a hand, either for the hindering of the enemy's works, or the destroying of their engines, or the obstructing their erecting of them, as they did on other days; which Pompey perceiving, ordered that no assault should be made upon them during their sabbaths, but that those days should be employed wholly in carrying on their works, and in erecting and fitting their engines in such manner, as they might best do execution in the next days of the week following; in all which attempts the besieged never giving them any obstruction on those sabbaths, for fear of breaking their law, the Romans, observing the order mentioned, took the advantage hereof, and by this means filled up the ditches with which the temple was fortified, brought forward their engines of battery, and placed them to the best advantage without any opposition, and were thereby enabled to play them so effectually, that having at length beaten down a great strong tower, which drew a great part of the adjoining wall with it into the same ruin, a breach was made large enough for an assault, which Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, who had his station next it, immediately mounting, drew the rest of the army after him; who, on their thus entering the place, made a dreadful slaughter of those whom they found within, so that it is reckoned no less than twelve thousand of them fell in this carnage; and none acted more cruelly herein than the Jews of the contrary faction did against their own brethren. Amongst all this scene of dreadful destruction, it is remarked, that the priests that were then in the temple went on with the daily service of it, without being deterred either by the rage of their enemies or the death of their friends, choosing rather to lose their lives amidst the swords of the

prevailing adversary, than desert the service of their God; and many of them, while they were thus employed at this time, had their own blood mingled with the blood of the sacrifices which they were offering, and fell themselves, by the sword of their enemies, a sacrifice to their duty; which was an instance of steady constancy much admired by Pompey himself, and is scarce anywhere else to be thoroughly paralleled. Among the prisoners was one Absolom, a younger son of John Hyrcanus, who, having been contented to live in a private condition under Alexander Jannæus his brother, had the benefit of his protection, and hitherto had never meddled with any public business. But having married his daughter to Aristobulus, this now engaged him in his faction. Those prisoners who were found to have been the incendiaries of the war Pompey caused to be put to death, and among them, most likely, this Absolom was one; for after this we hear no more of him and since he was the father-in-law of Aristobulus, no doubt he was one of the chief among those that adhered to his faction. And thus, after a siege of three months, was the temple of Jerusalem taken by the Romans, in the end of the first year of the 179th Olympiad, Caius Antonius and M. Tullus Cicero being then consuls at Rome, about the time of our Midsummer, and on the day which the Jews kept as a solemn fast for the taking of Jerusalem, and the same temple with it, by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon.

Pompey enters the Holy of Holies: close of his successes, and commencement of his disasters.—As soon as the Romans had thus made themselves masters of the place, Pompey, with several others of the chief commanders of the army accompanying him, went up into it, and not contenting themselves with viewing the outer courts, caused the most sacred parts of the temple itself to be opened unto them, and entered not only into the holy place, but also into the holy of holies, where none were permitted by their law to enter but the high priest only once in a year, on their great day of expiation: which was a profanation offered this holy place, and the religion whereby God was there worshipped, which the Jews were exceedingly grieved at, and most grievously resented beyond all else that they suffered in this war. Though Pompey found in the treasuries of the

temple two thousand talents in money, besides its utensils, and other things of a great value there laid up, yet he touched nothing of all this, but left it all there entire, for the sacred uses to which it was devoted, without the least diminution of any part: and the next day after ordered the temple to be cleansed, and the divine service to be there again carried on in the same manner as formerly. However, this did not expiate for his profanation of God's holy temple, and the impiety which he made himself guilty of thereby. Hitherto he had found wonderful success in all his undertakings, but in this act it all ended. For hereby having drawn God's curse upon him, he never prospered after. This over the Jews was the last of his victories.

Pompey restores Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood, and makes him tributary prince of Judæa only: carries Aristobulus and his children to Rome.—On his concluding the war, Pompey demolished the walls of Jerusalem, and then restored Hyrcanus to the office of high priest, and made him also prince of the country, under the payment of tribute to the Romans, but would not allow him to wear a diadem, or to extend his borders beyond the old limits of Judæa. For he deprived him of all those cities which had been taken from the Cœle-Syrians and Phoenicians by his predecessors. Gadara (which was one of them), having been lately destroyed by the Jews, he ordered to be rebuilt at the request of Demetrius, his freed man and chief favourite, who was a native of that place; and then, having added that and all the rest of those cities to the province of Syria, he made Scaurus president of it, and leaving him there with two legions to keep the country in order, returned towards Rome, carrying with him Aristobulus, with Alexander and Antigonus his two sons, and two of his daughters, as captives, to be led before him in his triumph. But Alexander, while on the journey thither, made his escape and returned into Judæa, where he raised new troubles, as will be in its due place related.

Birth of Octavius Cæsar, afterwards Augustus. —In this same year, of Attia, the wife of Octavius, and daughter of Julia, the sister of Julius Cæsar, was born Octavius Cæsar, who, being adopted by his uncle Julius, succeeded him in his estate and power; and being afterwards, by the name of Augustus, made supreme commander of the Roman empire, governed it

with great felicity and thorough peace, when Christ, the Prince of Peace, and Saviour of the world, was, by taking our nature upon him, born into it. Suetonius tells us, in his *Life of Augustus* (chap. 94), and quotes for it the authority of Julius Marathus, who was a freed man of Augustus's, and wrote his life, that a few months before the birth of this great emperor, there was an oracle given out, and then made public, that nature was at that time producing a king who should govern the Roman empire; at which the senate being terrified, for the preventing of it made a decree, that no male child born that year should be brought up; but that such of the senators as had then pregnant wives, hoping each of them that that oracle might be fulfilled in his family, took care that this decree was never carried into the treasury; and therefore, through want of being there registered, received, and laid up among the public records of the state, it lost its force, and had none effect. If this oracle were typically fulfilled in the birth of Augustus, it was ultimately and really so only in the birth of Christ, the spiritual King and Saviour of the whole world, the time whereof was then approaching.

Pompey proceeds to Pontus, and grants the kingdom of Bosphorus to Pharnaces. —Pompey coming to Amisus in Pontus, on his return from Syria, had the body of Mithridates there sent to him from Pharnaces, with many gifts to procure his favour. The gifts Pompey received; but as to the body, looking on the enmity to be dead with the person, he offered no indignity to it, but giving him the honour due to so great a king, generously ordered his corpse to be carried to Sinope, to be there buried among the sepulchres of his forefathers, in the ancient burial-place of the kings of Pontus, adding such expenses for the funeral as were necessary for the solemnizing of it in a royal manner. On this his last coming into Pontus, he took in all the remaining fortresses and castles that had been there held for Mithridates. For although they that had the command of them saw all lost on the death of Mithridates, yet they deferred the surrendering of them till Pompey himself should arrive, that putting all immediately into his hands, they might not be made answerable for the embezzlements of under-officers. In some of these castles he found vast riches, especially at Telaura, where was the chief wardrobe or storehouse of Mithridates. For therein were two thousand cups made of the onyx stone, and set in gold, with such a vast quantity of all sorts of plate, household

goods and furniture, and also of all manner of rich accoutrements for war, both for man and horse, that the questor or treasurer of the army was thirty days in taking an inventory of them. After this, Pompey having granted to Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus, and declared him a friend and ally of the Roman people, he marched into the province of Asia, so properly

---

called, and there put himself into winter-quarters in the city of Ephesus. While he lay there, he distributed rewards to his victorious army, giving to each private soldier one thousand five hundred drachms, and proportionably more to all the officers, according as they were in higher or lower posts of command in the army: on which occasion he expended out of the spoils taken in this war sixteen thousand talents, and yet reserved twenty thousand talents more to be carried into the public treasury at Rome in the day of his triumph: and to make this as glorious as he could was what he had now a main view to.

Syrian history: war between Scaurus and Aretas, 62. —On Pompey's having left Syria, Aretas king of Arabia Petræa began again to be troublesome to that province; whereby Scaurus was there involved in a new war with him, and having marched too far after him into that desert country, he fell into difficulties for want of provisions and other necessaries. Out of these he was extricated by the assistance of Hyrcanus and Antipater: for the former supplied him out of Judea with all that he wanted; and the other, by going in an embassy to Aretas, induced him to buy his peace of Scaurus for three hundred talents of silver, which was much to the satisfaction of both. After this, Scaurus being recalled, Marcius Philippus was made president of Syria in his room.

Pompey's return to Rome. —Pompey having spent his winter at Ephesus in the manner as mentioned, in the spring he passed from thence through the isles into Greece, and from thence to Brundusium in Italy, and so on to Rome: where having, in an oration to the senate, acquainted them that he had waged war with twenty-two kings, and that whereas he had found the Proper Asia the utmost province of the Roman empire, he had made it to be the middle of it, by reason of the many provinces which he

had conquered beyond it, a triumph was decreed him for these victories; but desiring to take it on his birthday, which was past for this year, he deferred it till that day should come about again the next year after.

His triumph, 61. —Pompey being then forty-five years old, he solemnized this triumph for two days together with great pomp and glory, wherein were led before him three hundred and twenty-four of the noblest captives, among which were Aristobulus king of Judæa and his son Antigonus, Olthaces king of Colchos, Tigranes the son of Tigranes king of Armenia, and five sons and two daughters of Mithridates. It was peculiar to this triumph of his, that on his entering the capitol, he did not, as other triumphers used to do, put any of his captives to death, neither did he, after his triumph was over, leave any of them in prison,

---

excepting only Aristobulus and Tigranes; all the rest he sent home into their respective countries at the expense of the public. Hitherto Pompey had shined in great honour above all else of his time, and had wonderful success in all his undertakings, for which he deservedly had the name of Magnus, i e. the Great. But after this he sunk in his character and his power, till at length he fell to nothing, and died by vile and murderous hands in a strange land, where he wanted the honour of a funeral. By what fact he drew this curse upon him I have already shown; and therefore in this triumph the glory of this great man ending, I shall with it here end this book.

BOOK VII.

JEWISH AND ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM THE FORMATION OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE TILL THE END OF THE ASMONEAN DYNASTY, в. с. 60-37.

I. REIGN OF HYRCANUS II. CONTINUED TO THE BATTLE OF PHARSALIA, в. с. 60-48.

Kings of Egypt-Ptolemy X. Auletes, 65;

Ptolemy XI. and Cleopatra, 51.

Roman history: the first triumvirate-Pompey, Crassus, and Julius Cæsar, 60. —POMPEY, Crassus, and Julius Cæsar, having entered into a confederacy for the supporting of each other in all their pretensions upon the Roman state, thereby engrossed in a manner the whole power of it, and divided it among themselves; which laid the first foundation of those civil wars which afterwards broke out between Pompey and Cæsar, and at length ended in the destruction of the old Roman government, by changing it from a republic to a monarchy, under which that empire sunk by quicker degrees than it had before risen. As long as Crassus lived, he balanced the matter between the other two; but after his death, neither of them being contented with a part, each contended to have the whole. One of them could not bear an equal, nor the other a superior. And through this ambitious humour and thirst after more power in these two men, the whole Roman empire being divided into two opposite factions, there was produced hereby the most destructive war that ever afflicted it. And the like folly too much reigns in all other places. Could about thirty men be persuaded to live at home in peace, without enterprising upon the rights of each other, for the vainglory of conquest and the enlargement of power, the whole world might be at

quiet; but their ambition, their follies, and their humour leading them constantly to encroach upon and quarrel with each other, they involve all that are under them in the mischiefs hereof, and many thousands are they which yearly perish by it. So that it may almost raise a doubt, whether the benefit which the world receives from government

---

be sufficient to make amends for the calamities which it suffers from the follies, mistakes, and maladministrations of those that manage it.

Diodorus Siculus: his life and historical works. — At this time flourished Diodorus Siculus, the famous Greek historian. He was born at Agyrium in Sicily, from whence he had the name of Siculus, i. e. the Sicilian. He was the author of the general history, called his *Bibliotheca*; he was thirty years in the collecting and writing of it, and employed so much diligence, pains, and expense herein, that he travelled over most of the countries whose affairs are treated of in this history, that so he might with the greater accuracy write of them. And for this purpose, he tells us, he went into Egypt in the first year of the one hundred and eightieth Olympiad, which was the sixtieth before Christ, the very year of which we now treat; Ptolemy, surnamed Dionysius Neos, or the New Bacchus, then reigning there. This *Bibliotheca* contained forty books, of which only fifteen are now remaining, excepting some few fragments and abstracts out of the rest, which are preserved in the works of other writers. It begins from the ancientest of times, and was continued down to this year. The five first books are still entire, but the five next are all wanting; the other ten still remaining are the eleventh, and so on to the twentieth inclusive, with which all that is now extant of this author ends, in the year of the building of Rome 452, M. Livius Denter and M. Æmilius Paulus being then consuls. Of the other twenty-five books we have nothing now left us but the fragments and abstracts which I have mentioned. Had they been all still entire, so valuable a history would have been very acceptable to the learned. The five first books, though they have a great intermixture of fable, yet contain many valuable particulars of true antiquity, which give much light to the Holy Scriptures; and the next five would have yielded much more, had they been still extant; and for this reason the loss of these five is more to be lamented

than that of all the other twenty. This author lived to a very great age, for he continued down to the middle of the reign of Augustus.

Roman presidents of Syria. —The time for which Marcius Philippus was appointed to govern Syria being expired, Lentulus Marcellinus was sent from Rome to succeed him. Both of them had a great deal of trouble created them by the Arabs, who, being a thievish sort of people, living mostly upon rapine and plunder, much infested that province during the time in which they governed it.

Julius Cæsar increases in power and wealth: obtains the proconsulship of Illyricum and both the Gauls, 59. —Julius Cæsar, being this year consul of Rome, forced Bibulus, his colleague, to quit to him all the administration and power of the government, which he managed with great application and address for the advancement of his own interest. In order hereto, he raised vast sums of money, by admitting foreign states into alliance with the Romans, and by granting to foreign kings the confirmation of their crowns. And thus he extorted from Ptolemy Auletes only near six thousand talents. That king having only a contested title to the crown of Egypt, of which he was now in possession, he needed a declaration of the Roman senate in his favour, for

---

the confirming and strengthening of him in that kingdom; for the procuring of this he paid unto Cæsar the sum mentioned: and by these, and such like methods, he amassed that treasure and wealth, which enabled him for his after-undertakings; and therefore from hence we may date the original of all his power. His next step hereto was, he procured by a decree of the people, that when the year of his consulship should be expired, he should have Illyricum and both the Gauls, that is, the Cisalpine and the Transalpine, for his province, to govern it as proconsul for five years. He had assigned him an army of four legions to carry with him into this government, and from his entering on it begins the history of his *Commentaries*.

Gabinius, by the influence of Clodius, obtains the province of Syria: character of Clodius the tribune, 58. —A. Gabinius, the same who hath been above mentioned as one of Pompey's lieutenants in the

Mithridatic war, being made consul for the ensuing year, obtained by the means of Clodius, then tribune of the people, to have the province of Syria assigned to him. This Clodius was of the noble family of the Claudii, a young gentleman of great parts, and of a very bold and enterprising genius, but excessively licentious. Lucullus having married one of his sisters, he accompanied him in his Mithridatic war; but having lost his favour by his misdemeanours, especially in being discovered to have corrupted his own sister, the wife of that general, he could not obtain under him such a post as he expected; at which being displeased, to work his revenge, he set himself to corrupt the army, and was the main author of that mutiny in it against Lucullus, which made his last campaign in that war wholly ineffectual; for which being forced to get out of the reach of Lucullus, he fled into Cilicia, where Marcius Rex, then governor of that province, made him his admiral: but being vanquished by the pirates of that coast, against whom he was sent, and taken prisoner by them, he sent to Ptolemy king of Cyprus to supply him with a sum of money for the paying of his ransom; but Ptolemy, being a niggardly sordid prince, sent him only two talents, which the pirates despising, rather chose to release Clodius for nothing than take so mean a ransom for him. On his return to Rome, he there followed his lewd way of living, and having corrupted two others of his sisters, and also Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, and endeavoured, under the disguise of woman's apparel, to come to her into Cæsar's house, while the chief women of Rome were there celebrating sacred mysteries, at which no man was to be present, he was for these crimes brought to a public trial, in which Cicero was one of the witnesses against him; but by bribing the judges with great sums of money, he escaped the punishment he deserved. After this, procuring himself to be adopted by a plebeian, he thereby renounced his nobility, and got to be chosen tribune of the people, and in that office very much disturbed the Roman state; and that he might gain Gabinius the consul to be on his side, who was altogether as wicked as himself, he procured that this province of Syria was assigned him by the suffrages of the people, and accordingly at the end of the year he departed thither.

Clodius obtains the expulsion of Ptolemy from Cyprus, and banishment of Cicero from Italy. —After this, Clodius resolving to make use of his office for the revenging of himself, first on Ptolemy king of Cyprus, for not finding him money enough to pay his ransom, and also on Cicero, for giving evidence against him in his last trial, fully effected both. For first he caused a decree to pass the people for seizing the kingdom of Cyprus, the deposing of Ptolemy the king of it, and confiscating all his goods, without any just cause for the same. This Ptolemy was a bastard son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and brother of Ptolemy Auletes king of Egypt, and on the death of his father succeeded him in this island. He was in his manners altogether as vile and vicious as his brother: but being withal exceedingly niggardly and sordid, he had amassed vast wealth; and to gain all this was the chief motive which induced the Roman people to concur with Clodius for his ruin. And it is truly reckoned one of the unjustest acts that the Romans to this time ever did. For Ptolemy had been admitted as a friend and ally of the Roman people, and had never offended them, or done them any hurt or displeasure, whereby to deserve this usage from their hands; but all was done merely out of a greedy and rapacious desire to take what he had. The only show of justice for it was, that Alexander, late king of Egypt, dying at Tyre, as hath been above mentioned, did by his last will and testament leave the Roman people his heirs; and that therefore the kingdom of Egypt, and with it Cyprus, which was an appendix of Egypt, passed to the Romans by virtue of this donation. The matter of this will had been insisted on at Rome soon after the death of Alexander, and motions had been there made for the seizing both of Egypt and Cyprus, by virtue of it. But they having lately taken possession of Bithynia by virtue of the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrene and Libya by the like will of Apion, who were the last kings of those countries, and reduced them both into the form of Roman provinces, the senate thought it would not be to their credit, but would, on the contrary, bring them under the imputation of being over greedy for the grasping into their hands all foreign dominions, should they on this pretence seize Egypt and Cyprus also; and besides, the Mithridatic war not being at that time over, they feared this might involve them in a new war before they were rid of the other; and therefore they did no more at that time, on the claim of the said will, than send to Tyre to fetch from thence all the effects which Alexander there left at his death, and dropped

all the rest. But now this pretence as to Cyprus was again revived, and to gratify Clodius's revenge and the covetousness of the people of Rome, the decree passed among them for the seizing of it, and all that Ptolemy there had; and Cato, the justest man in Rome, was sent, much against his will, to execute it; which was done, not only that by that character of so just a man some reputation might be given to this unjust act, but especially that thereby a way might be made for Clodius with the more ease to execute his

---

revenge upon Cicero. He designed to bring an accusation against him before the people, for that he had while consul put to death several of those who were of Catiline's conspiracy, by the order of the senate only, without bringing them to a legal trial. But foreseeing that he should have much opposition herein from Cato, for the preventing of it, contrived to send him out of the way on this expedition; and he being accordingly gone on it from Rome, Clodius obtained his design upon Cicero, and caused him to be banished Rome and Italy; whereon he went into Greece, and there continued, till after sixteen months he was again recalled.

Death of Ptolemy: his treasures carried to Rome by Cato. —Cato, coming to Rhodes in his way to Cyprus, sent to Ptolemy, to persuade him quietly to recede, promising him hereon the high priesthood of Venus at Paphos, on the revenues whereof he might be supported in a state of plenty and honour; but he would not accept hereof. To resist the Roman power he was not able, and to be less than a king, after he had so long reigned, he could not bear; and therefore, resolving to make his life and his reign end together, he put all his riches on shipboard, and launching out into the sea, purposed by boring his ship through, to make both his riches and himself sink into the deep, and there perish together. But when it came to the execution, he could not bear that his beloved treasure should be thus lost; he continued still in the resolution to destroy himself, but he could not bring his heart to destroy that; and therefore, expressing greater love to his dear pelf than to himself, carried it all back to land, and having laid it all up again in its former repositories, he poisoned himself, and left all that he had to his enemies, as if he intended thereby to reward them for his death. All this Cato the next year after carried to Rome, amounting in the whole to

such a sum as had scarce before been brought into the public treasury in any of the greatest triumphs.

Ptolemy X. Auletes expelled from Egypt by the Alexandrians: his unsuccessful appeal to Rome. — While Cato was at Rhodes, in his way to Cyprus, there came thither to him Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to the other Ptolemy that was king of Cyprus. When the Alexandrians heard of the intentions of the Romans to seize Cyprus, they pressed Auletes to demand that island to be restored to Egypt, as being an ancient appendant of that kingdom, or else in case of denial to declare war against them; which Auletes refusing to do, this refusal, joined with what they had suffered from him by the exactions wherewith he had oppressed them, to raise the money with which he purchased the favour of the great men at Rome, angered them so far, that they drove him out of the kingdom; and he was then going to Rome, there to solicit the assistance of the senate for his restoration. On his coming to Cato, and entering into discourse with him upon this affair, Cato blamed him for quitting that state of honour and happiness which he was possessed of in his kingdom, and thus exposing himself to the disgrace, trouble, and contempt, which, as an exile, he must expect

---

to meet with. And as to the help he expected from Rome, he laid before him what great gifts and presents for the obtaining of it would be extorted from him by the great men of that city, whose greedy expectations he freely told him were such, that although Egypt were to be sold, the purchase-money would not be sufficient fully to satisfy them. And therefore he advised him to return again into Egypt, and there make up all differences with his people, offering himself to go with him to help him herein. Ptolemy at first approved of this advice, and resolved to be guided by it; but being beaten off it by the worse advice of his followers, he went forward to Rome, where he soon found by full experience all to be true that Cato had told him: for he was there made pay great attendance on the leading men of the commonwealth, and expend vast sums among them to procure them to favour his cause; and after all, when there was no more left to be extorted from him, an oracle was trumped up out of the Sibylline books, whereby it

was pretended the Romans were forbidden to give him any help in this case. So that, after having for a year's time solicited this matter at Rome, and expended vast sums in it, he was forced to depart from thence without success.

Berenice, daughter of Auletes, placed on the throne of Egypt: marries first Seleucus, and then Archelaus, 57. —In the mean while the Alexandrians, after Auletes's departure from them, not knowing what was become of him, placed Berenice his daughter on the throne, and sent an embassy into Syria to Antiochus Asiaticus, who by his mother Selene was the next male heir of the family, to invite him to come into Egypt, and there marry Berenice, and reign with her: but the ambassadors on their arrival in Syria finding him just dead, returned without success. But understanding that Seleucus his brother was still living, they sent an embassy to him with the same proposal, which he readily accepted of; but Gabinius (who was now come into his province) at first hindered his going; but however, either with his consent or without it, he afterwards went: but he being a very sordid and base-spirited man, and having given an especial instance of it in robbing the sepulchre of Alexander of the golden case which his body was deposited in, Berenice soon grew weary of him, and to be rid of a husband whom she justly loathed, caused him to be put to death. After that she married Archelaus, high priest of Comana in Pontus, of whom we have above fully spoken. From Porphyry in Eusebius, we are told that it was Philip the son of Grypus whom the second embassy invited into Egypt; but it being now above twenty-six years since there hath been any mention made of him in history, it is most likely that he had been long dead before this time; and besides, had he been now alive, he would have been too far advanced in years for the marriage proposed, it being now forty years since he succeeded his father in the kingdom of Syria. The person therefore whom the second embassy here mentioned called out of Syria into Egypt, after the death of Asiaticus,

---

must have been his younger brother, for he was called thither as next heir, and that the brother of Asiaticus then only was. There is often mention made of this younger brother of Asiaticus by such as write of those times,

but none of them, who speaks of him as such, acquaint us of his name. But what Strabo tells us of Seleucus Cybiosactes puts it beyond doubt that he was the person. For he tells us of him, that he was called into Egypt to marry Berenice, and that he was of the Seleucian family, both which put together plainly prove this Seleucus could be none other than the younger brother of Asiaticus. For after Asiaticus's death, there was none other remaining of the Seleucian family but this younger brother of his only; and therefore, when he was put to death, as is above mentioned, in him ended the whole race of Seleucus, and none of it were any more left to survive the loss of that empire which they once possessed.

Alexander, eldest son of Aristobulus, escapes to Judæa, but is defeated by Gabinius. —Alexander, the eldest son of Aristobulus, while he was carrying prisoner to Rome by Pompey, having made his escape, as hath been already mentioned, returned into Judæa: and having there gotten together an army of ten thousand foot and one thousand five hundred horse, and seized Alexandrium, Machærus, Hyrcania, and several other strong castles, he well fortified and garrisoned them, and from thence ravaged the whole country. Hyrcanus being too weak to take the field against him, he would have fortified Jerusalem for his defence, by rebuilding the walls which Pompey had demolished; but the Romans not permitting this, he was forced to call them in to his aid; whereon Gabinius, president of Syria, and M. Antonius, who was general of the horse under him, came into Judæa with a great army for the quelling of these troubles, and being there joined by Antipater, Pitholaus, and Malichus, with those Jews under their command that were of Hyrcanus's party, they came to a battle with Alexander near Jerusalem; wherein Alexander being overthrown, with the loss of three thousand men slain, and as many taken prisoners, fled to Alexandrium, where Gabinius having pursued him, there shut him up and besieged him. But that castle being naturally strong, as situated upon the top of a high mountain, and also well fortified by art, it could not easily be taken; Gabinius, therefore, leaving one part of his army to block it up, marched with the other part round the country to take a view of the condition it was in; and finding Samaria, Azotus, Gaza, Raphia, Anthedon, Jamnia, Scythopolis, Apollonia, Dora, Marissa, and several other cities lying in ruins, as having been demolished in their wars with the

Asmonæans, he ordered them all again to be repaired, and then returned to the siege of Alexandrium; where repaired to him the mother of Alexander, a very wise and discreet woman, who being solicitous for her husband and children that had been carried captive to Rome, in order to obtain favour for them, endeavoured to recommend herself to the Romans all she could, that so she might be the better enabled to intercede in their behalf; and therefore, having with this view done them all manner of service wherever she had power, she thereby so ingratiated herself with Gabinius, and got so great an interest in him, that she obtained everything of him that she desired.

And therefore, by her means a treaty of peace being commenced, Alexander surrendered Alexandrium, and all his other castles; which being immediately razed to the ground, by the advice of this lady, that they might not become the occasion of another war, he was thereon dismissed, with pardon and impunity for all that was past.

Gabinius transfers the civil government from Hyrcanus to an aristocracy, abolishes the Great Sanhedrim and the Lesser Sanhedrims, and establishes five independent Sanhedrims. —After this, Gabinius, going up to Jerusalem, restored Hyrcanus to the high priesthood, but made a very considerable alteration in the civil government, changing in a manner the whole form of it, and reducing it from a monarchy to an aristocracy. Hitherto the government had been managed under the prince by two sorts of councils or courts of justice, one consisting of twenty-three persons, called the Lesser Sanhedrim, and the other of seventy-two persons, called the Great Sanhedrim. Of the first sort there was one in every city; only in Jerusalem, because of the greatness of the place, and the multiplicity of business thence arising, there were two of them sitting apart from each other in two distinct rooms. Of the other sort there was one only always sitting in the temple at Jerusalem till that time. The Lesser Sanhedrims despatched all affairs of justice arising within the respective cities where they sat, and the precincts belonging to them. The Great Sanhedrim presided over the affairs of the whole nation, received appeals from the Lesser Sanhedrims, interpreted the laws, and by new institutions from time to time regulated the executing of them. All this Gabinius abolished, and

instead hereof, erected five courts, or Sanhedrims, investing each with sovereign power independent of each other. The first of them he placed at Jerusalem, the second at Jericho, the third at Gadara, the fourth at Amathus, and the fifth at Sephoris; and having under these five cities divided the whole land into five provinces, he ordered all to repair for justice to those courts, which he had established in them; that is, each to the court of that province of which he was an inhabitant, and there everything was ultimately determined. The tyranny of Alexander Jannæus had made the Jews weary of regal government; and therefore they had formerly petitioned Pompey for the abolishing of it at the time when he heard the cause of the two brothers at Damascus; and in compliance with them he went so far as to take away the diadem and the name of king, though he did not the power. For when he restored Hyrcanus he gave him the sovereign authority, though under another style. But now they prevailed with Gabinius to take away the power as well as the name, which he effectively did by the alteration I have mentioned. For hereby he changed the monarchy into an aristocracy, and instead of the prince, thenceforth the nobles of the land had, in these five courts, the sole government of it. But afterwards Julius Cæsar, on his passing through Syria, after the Alexandrian war, reinvested Hyrcanus in the principality, and restored again the old form of the government as in former times.

Constitution of the court of Three. —But besides these two sorts of Sanhedrims or courts, there was a third among the Jews, which was not affected by any of these alterations, but stood the same under all of them; and this was the court of Three, which was for the deciding of all controversies about bargains, sales, contracts, and other such matters of common right between man and man; in all which cases, one of the litigants chose one judge, and the other another, and these two chose a third; which three constituted a court to hear and ultimately determine the matter in contest. And something like this, I hear, is now in Denmark, whereby such cases as with us make long and chargeable suits are summarily heard and finally determined by a like court of three in the same manner chosen, before which each party pleads his own cause, and hath speedy justice

awarded him without the assistance of solicitors, attorneys, or any other such agents of the law.

Thus much may serve for the information of the English reader concerning the Sanhedrims or courts of justice, which were anciently in use among the Jews. Those who would dive further into the knowledge of them may read the Mishnical tract Sanhedrim, and the Gemara upon the same, Maimonides's tract under the same title, Selden de Synedriis, Cock's Sanhedrin, and others.

Aristobulus escapes to Judæa, but is vanquished by Gabinius and sent back to Rome.— Toward the latter end of the year, Aristobulus, late king of Judæa, who was led in triumph by Pompey, and after that shut up in prison at Rome, having with his son Antigonus made his escape thence, returned into Judæa, and there raised new troubles. For immediately great numbers resorted to him; among whom was Pitholaus, who hitherto had been one of the chief leaders on the side of Hyrcanus, and was at present governor of Jerusalem; but having now taken some disgust, for what it is not said, went over to the other side, carrying with him a thousand men well armed. Aristobulus having, out of all those that came in unto him, selected such as had arms, formed with them an army, and dismissed all the rest. He first reëdified Alexandrium, and having furnished it with a strong garrison, marched with the rest, being about eight thousand men, towards Machærus, another strong place beyond Jordan, lately demolished, designing to restore and garrison that also in like manner as he had Alexandrium. But Gabinius, hearing of these doings, sent Sisenna his son, with Antonius and Servilius, two of his chief lieutenants, against him, who having overtaken him in his march to Machærus, and forced him to an engagement, vanquished him with the slaughter of five thousand of his men. Aristobulus with a thousand of the remainder got to Machærus, and there they endeavoured to fortify and maintain themselves. But on the coming up of the Romans to them they were soon overpowered: for after two days' resistance the place was taken, and Aristobulus, being grievously wounded, was taken in it, with Antigonus his son, and both were sent back again to Rome into their former jail. But Gabinius having informed the senate that he had promised the wife of Aristobulus, on her procuring the yielding up of the castle, that her children

should be released, it was accordingly performed: for Aristobulus only being retained in chains, Antigonus and all the

---

rest of his children were permitted to depart, and return again into Judæa.

Parthian history: Phraates slain by his two sons, Orodes and Mithridates: their contest for the throne terminated by the murder of Mithridates, 56. —Orodes and Mithridates, the sons of Phraates king of Parthia, conspiring against their father, impiously became the authors of his death, after he had reigned over the Parthians about twelve years. The ambition of reigning having been the cause of this parricide, it became the cause also of great contention between the two brothers, while each strived to possess the throne, which they had by their horrid wickedness made vacant. Orodes, being the elder brother, first took possession of it, but was soon displaced and driven into banishment by Mithridates. But he having soon made himself odious to the Parthians by his cruelty, Surenas, who next the throne held the first place of honour and power in that kingdom, took the advantage of it again to bring back Orodes, to whose interest he had all along adhered, and replaced him again on the throne. Whereon Mithridates, being forced into the banishment from which his brother was returned, fled to Gabinius, and on his arrival in Syria, finding him preparing for an expedition against the Arabs, he persuaded him rather to turn his arms against the Parthians for the effecting of his restoration. And Gabinius's heart being wholly set upon gain, he was easily prevailed on to hearken to him, as knowing that, the Parthians being a rich nation, most plunder was there to be had. And accordingly he set himself on his march that way, taking Mithridates along with him for his guide. But on his having passed the Euphrates, he was accosted with another proposal. For thither came to him Ptolemy Auletes, the deprived king of Egypt, with letters from Pompey, and offered him ten thousand talents to reestablish him again in his kingdom. The reward being very great, and the enterprise much less dangerous, both these considerations together induced him to undertake the matter; and therefore, quitting his intended expedition against the Parthians, he repassed the Euphrates, and marched through Palestine directly into Egypt. Whereon Mithridates, finding his cause deserted, returned into

Babylonia, and there seized Seleucia; where Orodes, straitly besieging him, brought him to that distress, that he voluntarily surrendered himself, out of hopes of having his life spared as being a brother; but Orodes, looking on him more as an enemy than as a brother, caused him to be slain before his face.

Gabinius and Mark Antony invade Egypt for the restoration of Ptolemy X. Auletes.— On Gabinius's arrival on the borders of Egypt, he sent Antony with a body of horse to seize the passes, and open the way for the rest of the army to follow. This was the famous Mark Antony, who afterwards, as triumvir, governed one-third part of the Roman empire for several years. He accompanied Gabinius into Syria as general of the horse under him, as hath been already mentioned, and in that service first signalized himself. Being a young man of great courage and a bold spirit, he was the chief promoter of this expedition,

---

though most of the other general officers were against it. But Antony, giving his opinion as best agreed with Gabinius's greediness, carried it against them all. And as he was the chief adviser of this undertaking, so also was he the most vigorous actor in it; and by his first success herein made way for all the rest; for he not only secured all the passes which he was sent to seize, but took also Pelusium, which was on that side the key of Egypt; and the taking of it opened the way and became the inlet to all the rest of the kingdom. For this success he was much beholden to Hyrcanus and Antipater, who not only assisted the Romans in their march with all necessaries, but by letters prevailed with the Jews of the country of Onion, near Pelusium, to be helpful unto them, without which Antony could not so soon have made himself master of that city. Archelaus was at this time king of Egypt, as having been called thither after the death of Seleucus Cybiosactes, to marry Berenice, and reign with her in that kingdom, as hath been already related. He having contracted an intimate friendship with Gabinius, while he served under Pompey as one of his lieutenants in the Mithridatic war, he came out of Pontus into Syria to him, on his obtaining that province, to be there assisting to him in his wars, and there also made an intimate friendship with Antony; and no doubt but it was with the

knowledge and approbation of both of them, that when called from Syria into Egypt he accepted of the invitation. However, nothing of this could secure him from this invasion. The avarice of Gabinius took place of all regard to the friendship he had formerly with him.

Auletes restored to the throne: death of Archelaus and Berenice, 55.— Gabinius, as soon as he was acquainted of Antony's success, marched with his whole army into the very heart of Egypt. This was in the middle of winter; for then the Nile being at the lowest, Egypt was at that time the fittest for an invasion. However, Archelaus, being a very valiant and a very sensible man, omitted nothing that could be done for his defence, but stood his ground in several conflicts against the invaders. But the Egyptians being an effeminate, dastardly sort of people, forward to mutiny against all orders of war, and backward to all acts of valour in it, he could make no work of it with such hands; but being overpowered by the well-disciplined forces of the Romans, was at length finally vanquished, and himself slain in the battle, valiantly fighting in the defence of the cause which he had undertaken. After his death, Antony had so much regard to the friendship that had been between them, that as soon as he heard of his being slain, he commanded his body to be sought for on the field of battle, and caused it to be buried with a royal funeral, which gained him the love of the Egyptians ever after. And perchance it was procured by a like favour from Gabinius, that his son was appointed by the Romans to succeed him at Comana. But these after-acts were of too little value to make any amends for the loss of his kingdom and his life, which they had so unjustly deprived him of. After Archelaus was

---

slain, all Egypt was soon reduced, and forced again to receive Auletes, who was thereon thoroughly restored to his kingdom; and for the better securing of him in it, Gabinius left some of his Roman forces with him to be for his guard, who, settling at Alexandria, soon exchanged the Roman manners for the Egyptian, and degenerated into the effeminacy of those among whom they dwelt. Auletes, as soon as he was again resettled on the throne, put Berenice his daughter to death for having worn his crown in the time of his exile; and after that proceeded to cut off most of the rich men that had been

of the party against him, that by the confiscation of their goods he might raise the money promised Gabinius for his restoration.

Gabinius returns to Syria, and defeats the fresh army raised by Alexander. —Gabinius, having accomplished in Egypt all that he intended by his expedition thither, found reason to hasten back again into Syria, great disorders having there arisen in his absence. On his going into Egypt, he had intrusted the government in the hands of Sisenna his son, a raw youth of neither age nor experience adequate to such a charge, and left so few forces with him, that had he been ever so well capacitated otherwise, he could not with them have been able to do any service: whereon the country was filled with thieves and freebooters, who ravaged it all over without control, there being neither head nor hands then in the province sufficient to repress them. And Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, taking advantage of these disorders, raised new troubles in Judæa: for having gotten together a great army, he ranged with it all over the country, and slew all the Romans he could anywhere find, and drove all the rest to take refuge in Mount Gerizim, where he straitly besieged them; and there Gabinius found him on his return; where seeing the great multitude of those he had with him, he thought it best first to deal with them by fair means; and therefore sent Antipater to them, to endeavour by promises of impunity and oblivion again to reduce them to quiet; and he had that success to prevail with many of them to desist from their revolt, and return again to their own houses. But Alexander, having gotten about him an army of thirty thousand men well appointed for the war, resolved to encounter Gabinius: but after a fierce fight near Mount Tabor he was vanquished with the slaughter of ten thousand of his men, and the rest were dissipated and put to flight. After this, Gabinius going up to Jerusalem, and having settled all things there according to the mind of Antipater, marched thence against the Nabathæans, and having overcome them, led back his army into Syria, and there prepared for his return to Rome.

Roman history: Pompey obtains Spain and Africa, and Crassus obtains Syria. —For Pompey and Crassus, being this year consuls, had, on their entering on their office, obtained, by a decree of the Roman people, that Spain and Africa should be assigned to Pompey for five years, and Syria and the neighbouring countries to Crassus for the like term, for their

consular provinces, with full authority to take with them such forces as they should think fit to raise, and to make war wherever they should see cause, according to their own judgment, without having recourse to the senate or the people of Rome for their order about it, as all other governors were in this case obliged to do.

Gabinius refuses to assign Syria to Crassus: recalled to Rome and banished. —Hereon Crassus sent a deputy to receive the government of Syria from Gabinius; but he refused to make resignation of it, till afterwards he was forced to quit the province by a more powerful command, that of the people and senate of Rome. For Gabinius had been an excessive corrupt governor in his province, doing anything for bribes, and selling everything for money, and extorting great sums in all places and from all persons, wherever any could be gotten, and by all manner of means how unjust and oppressive soever. The clamour which this raised all over the province came from all parts of it very loud to Rome against him; which so much angered both the senate and people, that they called him home to answer these accusations. But that which most exasperated them was his Egyptian expedition; for it was contrary to the law for any governor of a province to go out of the limits of it, or begin any new war, without express order from the people or senate of Rome for it; and also there was then published an oracle out of the Sibylline books, which forbade the Romans at that time to meddle with the restoration of the king of Egypt; against all which Gabinius having acted without any regard to law, right, or religion, the people of Rome were hereby so far provoked against him, that they would immediately have proceeded to sentence of condemnation against him, without tarrying his return, had not Pompey and Crassus, the consuls of this year, interposed to hinder it; the first out of friendship to him, and the other to earn the bribe by which he was corrupted. But on his return the next year after, three actions were commenced against him, one of treason, and the other two of corruption, bribery, and other high misdemeanours. The first by virtue of his money, which was liberally expended on this occasion in bribing the judges, he hardly escaped by a majority of six votes only of the seventy that judged his cause; but being cast in the other two, he was sent

into banishment, and there lived in poverty till Cæsar brought him back again in the time of the civil wars. For most of the money which he had raked together by oppression, bribery, and corruption, was spent in bribing and corrupting others, that so he might escape the punishment which he deserved. And thus his vast treasure, which he brought with him out of the East, was wasted in the same way of iniquity in which it was gotten. He having been consul when Cicero was banished, and then helped forward by his authority that sentence against him, that great orator, being now again returned home, remembering this injury, and

---

suitably resenting it, aggravated his crimes to the utmost against him, in his speeches both to the senate and people, and particularly we find him so doing in some of his orations still extant.

Crassus prepares for an expedition against Parthia. —Crassus, having his mind much intent upon his eastern expedition, for which he had obtained a decree of the people in the beginning of the year, was very busy towards the end of his consulship in listing soldiers, and making all other preparations for it. But the tribunes of the people then in office not approving of his purpose of making war with the Parthians, did all they could to obstruct him herein, and would fain have reversed the decree that gave him authority for it: but being overpowered in this attempt by military force, they turned their endeavours into curses; and one of them pursued him with the most horrid and dreadful execrations, as he marched with his army out of Rome for this war; which were all executed upon him in the lamentable manner in which it miscarried.

Crassus arrives in Syria, and plunders the temple at Jerusalem, 54.— Crassus, going into his province with an eager desire of amassing all the wealth he was able, was no sooner arrived in Syria, but he set himself upon all those methods whereby he might best satiate this thirst. And being told of the riches of the temple at Jerusalem, he marched thither with part of his army to make seizure of it. Eleazar, one of the priests, was then treasurer of the temple: among other things which he had under his charge, one was a bar of gold, of the weight of three hundred Hebrew mine. This, for the

better securing of it, he had put into a beam, which he had caused to be made hollow for the reception of it; and placing this beam over the entrance, which was from the holy place into the holy of holies, caused the veil which parted these two places to be hung thereat. Perceiving Crassus's design for the plundering of the temple, he endeavoured to compound the matter with him; and therefore, telling him of such a bar of gold in his custody, promised to discover and deliver it to him, upon condition that he would be satisfied with it, and spare all the rest. Crassus accepted of the proposal, and solemnly promised with an oath, that on having this bar of gold delivered to him, he would be contented with it, and meddle with nothing else. Whereon Eleazar took down the beam, and delivered it to him; but the perfidious wretch had no sooner received it, but forgetting his oath, he not only seized the two thousand talents which Pompey left there untouched, but ransacking the temple all over, robbed it of everything else which he thought worth taking away, to the value of eight thousand talents more. So that the whole of this his sacrilegious plunder which he took thence amounted to ten thousand talents, which is above two millions of our money.

First campaign of Crassus against the Parthians. —And with this thinking himself sufficiently furnished for the Parthian war, Crassus caused a bridge of boats to be made on the Euphrates, and forthwith marched over it, and invaded the territories of the king of Parthia, without

---

out having any other cause for it than his insatiable avarice after the riches and treasures of the country. The Romans had, first by Sylla and afterwards by Pompey, made leagues of peace and alliance with this people, and they had never complained of any infractions of them, or any other injuries that might give just reason for a war; and therefore the Parthians, not expecting any such invasion, were not then prepared in those parts to withstand it. Whereon Crassus overran a great part of Mesopotamia, and took many cities without opposition; and had he pursued his advantage, he might have taken Seleucia and Ctesiphon also, and made himself master of all Babylonia as well as Mesopotamia. But the summer being spent, he repassed the Euphrates, and put his army into winter-quarters in the cities of

Syria, leaving only seven thousand foot and one thousand horse behind to garrison the places he had taken; whereby he gave leisure for the Parthians to get ready that army against the next year's campaign, with which they wrought his destruction. And whereas he ought, on his return into Syria, to have taken care that during that winter his soldiers should have been well exercised for the war, and everything else put in due preparation for it, he neglected all this; and acting the part of a publican rather than of a general, employed himself wholly in examining into the revenues of the province, and screwing them up to the utmost height he was able, and in using all other methods of exaction whereby to enrich himself. And the plundering of the temple at Jerusalem was not the only sacrilege he was guilty of: he did the same all over the province, wherever any riches were to be gotten, especially at Hierapolis; for there being in that city an ancient temple of the Syrian goddess called Atargetis, where much treasure was laid up, as having been the collection of many years, he seized it all, and was so greedy of securing the whole of it, that lest any should be detained or embezzled, he spent a great deal of his time to see it all told out and weighed before him. On his last coming out of this temple, his son going before him stumbled at the threshold, and he immediately after it upon him. This was afterwards interpreted as an ill omen, foreboding that destruction which they soon after fell into, in their battle against the Parthians, the son first, and afterwards the father.

Second campaign: counter-preparations of Orodes, 53. As soon as the season of the year grew proper, Crassus called all his army together out of their several quarters, for the prosecuting of the war which he had begun upon the Parthians. They, not expecting a war the last year, were then unprovided to receive him; but having the respite of all the last winter, they had now gotten ready a very great army for their defence. But before they entered with it on any action, ambassadors were sent from Orodes their king to the Roman general, to know for what reason he made war upon him? To which having received no other answer but that he would declare it when he should come to Selucia, returned with certain notice, that nothing but war was to be expected; and therefore Orodes, having divided his army into two parts, marched in person with one of them towards the borders

of Armenia, and sent the other under the command of Surenas into Mesopotamia; who, as soon as he was there arrived, retook several of those places which Crassus had made himself master of the former year: whereon the garrison soldiers that escaped, fleeing to the Roman camp, filled it with a terrible report of the number, power, and strength of the enemy; which did cast such a damp upon the whole army, that not only the common soldiers, but also the general officers fell in their courage as to this expedition; so that some of them, and especially Cassius, Crassus's questor (the same who was afterward a chief actor in the murder of Julius Cæsar, and was then next the general the most considerable person in the army), persuaded Crassus to stop awhile, and well consider the matter over again before he proceeded any farther in it.

Crassus enters Mesopotamia, contrary to the advice of Artabazes. — At this same time came to him Artabazes, or Artavasdes (for he is called by both names), king of Armenia, who had lately succeeded Tigranes his father in that kingdom. He brought with him six thousand horse, which were only his life-guard. Besides these, he told Crassus he had ten thousand cuirassiers and thirty thousand foot ready for his service; but advised him by no means to march his army through the plains of Mesopotamia, but to take his way through Armenia into the Parthian dominions. His reasons for it were, that Armenia being a rough mountainous country, the Parthian horse, of which their army did mostly consist, would there be useless; and also there he could take care that his army should be plentifully provided with all necessaries; both which would be otherwise, if he led his army through the plains of Mesopotamia; for the Parthian horse would there have their thorough advantage against him, and he would often in that country meet with sandy deserts, where he would be distressed for want both of water and all other provisions for his army. This was the best advice that could be given him: but being condemned to suffer the destruction which his sacrilegious robbing God's temple at Jerusalem deserved, he despised it all, telling Artabazes, that having left many valiant Romans to garrison the towns which he had taken the last year in Mesopotamia, he was necessitated to take that way, that they might not be deserted to the mercy of the enemy; but that as to his auxiliaries he accepted of them, and ordered him speedily

to bring them to him; and the prospect of so considerable a reinforcement chiefly encouraged him, contrary to the advice of the wisest about him, to proceed on his expedition; and therefore, without any further delay, he passed the Euphrates at Zeugma, and again entered Mesopotamia with his army. But Artabazes on his return, finding Orodes on his borders with a great army, was forced to stay at home to defend his own country, and therefore could not give Crassus the assistance which he had promised him.

Battle of Carrhæ: Crassus utterly defeated and slain by the Parthians under Surenas.— On Crassus's being thus entered Mesopotamia, Cassius advised him to put in at some of his garrisoned towns, and there rest and refresh his army for a while, till he should have gained certain intelligence of the number, strength, and power of the

---

enemy, and in what place and posture they were in; but if he thought not fit to make any such delay, that he should take his march to Seleucia down along the banks of the Euphrates: for by keeping close to that river, he would avoid being surrounded by the Parthians; and by his ships upon it, he might be constantly supplied with provisions and all other necessaries which he should be in want of. But while he was considering on this advice, and thinking to follow it, there came to him a crafty Arabian, who beat him off these and all other measures, excepting those which tended to his ruin, whereinto at length he effectually led him. He was at the head of an Arabian tribe (such as the Greeks called Phylarchs, and the present Arabs Shieks), and having formerly served under Pompey, was well known to many in the Roman army, and looked on as their friend; and for this reason he was made choice of, and sent by Surenas to act this part; and he did it so artfully and effectually, that the ruin of Crassus and his army was chiefly owing hereto. He is by different authors called by different names; but whatever his name was, on his coming to Crassus, he persuaded him off from that wise and good advice which Cassius had given him, telling him that the Parthians durst not stand him, that he had nothing else to do for the gaining of an absolute victory over them, but to march against them and take it; and offered himself for a guide to conduct him the directest way to them; which Crassus, beguiled by his fair words, and bewitched by his flattery, accepted

of; whereon he led him into the open plains of Mesopotamia; and although Cassius and others suspected the treachery of this man, and therefore pressed Crassus no longer to follow him, but to retreat to the mountains, where he might best be able to baffle the power of the Parthian horse, and messengers then came to his camp from Artabazes of purpose to persuade him to the same thing; yet being overpowered by the false and lying pretences of this man, he still followed him, till at length the traitor, having led him into a sandy desert, where the Parthians might have the best advantage to destroy him, rode off to Surenas to acquaint him of it; who, thereon falling upon him, gave a terrible defeat to the whole Roman army, wherein Publius Crassus, the general's son, and great numbers of other Romans were slain, and the rest forced to flee to Carrhæ (the ancient Haran of the Holy Scriptures), nigh which the battle was fought, where they rested the day after; but the night following, Crassus, endeavouring to escape, committed himself to the guidance of one Andromachus, another traitor, who having led him into the midst of bogs and morasses, he was there overtaken by Surenas and slain, and many other noble Romans there underwent the same fate with him. Cassius at first accompanied Crassus in his retreat; but soon finding reason to suspect that Andromachus conducted him with as much treachery as his last Arabian guide, returned again to Carrhæ, and from thence, with five hundred horse, made his way back into Syria by a valiant and well-conducted retreat. This defeat was the greatest blow which the Romans had at any time received since the battle of Cannæ, having lost in it twenty thousand men slain, and ten thousand taken prisoners; the rest making their escape by several

---

ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria, after that again gathered together, and formed an army under Cassius in Syria, whereby he was enabled to preserve that province from falling into the hands of the enemy. Crassus made a great number of false steps in the whole conduct of this war: and although he was often warned and told of them, yet being deaf to all good advice, he obstinately followed his own delusions, till he perished in them: for being, for his impious sacrilege at Jerusalem, justly destined to

destruction, God did cast infatuations into all his counsels for the leading him thereto.

Alliance between Orodes king of Parthia and Artabazes king of Armenia. —Orodes was at this time in Armenia, having there made peace with Artabazes; for Artabazes, on the return of the messengers which he last sent to the Roman camp, finding, by the account which they brought him of the measures which Crassus took in that war, that he must necessarily be undone, compounded all matters with Orodes; and on giving one of his sisters in marriage to Pacorus the son of Orodes, restored himself to full amity with him by this alliance. And while they were sitting together at the nuptial feast, in came a messenger, who presented Orodes with the head and hand of Crassus, which Surenas had caused to be cut off, and sent to him. This much increased the joy and mirth of the feast. And it is said, that melted gold was then poured in the mouth of the decollated head, by way of mockage, as if they would this way satiate his great and greedy thirst after it.

Surenas ungratefully put to death by Orodes. —However, Surenas did not long rejoice in this victory; for Orodes, envying him the glory of it, and also growing jealous of the great augmentation which accrued herefrom to his power and interest, soon after caused him to be put to death. This Surenas was a very extraordinary person: though he was but thirty years old, yet he was of consummate wisdom and discretion; in valour and prowess he exceeded all of his time; and as to his person, no one was of larger size, or better shaped: and for wealth, power, and authority, he was much above all others, next the king the first man in the kingdom. The honour of crowning the king belonged to him by his birth, it having been long in his family, and by right of inheritance descended to him. Whenever he travelled from place to place, he always had a thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for the service of his wives and concubines, and a thousand completely armed horsemen for his life-guard, with a great many more light armed, besides his retinue of servants, which amounted to ten thousand more. However, all this could not secure him: for still having a tyrant above him, he lost his life by his command, in the manner as I have mentioned.

First Parthian invasion of Syria beaten back by Cassius, 52. — The Parthians, thinking to find Syria, after the late defeat of the Roman army, void of defence, made an invasion upon that country. But Cassius, on his escape thither having gotten together the army I have mentioned, gave them such a warm reception, that they were forced to repass the Euphrates with baffle and disappointment. They came now but with a small army, expecting no opposition; but when they found

---

that they had to deal with another sort of man than Crassus, and that he had greater strength about him than they could stand before, they retreated again into their own territories, to fetch more forces for a second invasion.

In the interim, Cassius went to Tyre; and having settled all matters on that side of the province, marched into the country of the Jews, and there besieged Tarichæa, a city on the southern shore of the lake of Gennesareth, where Pitholaus had shut himself up with the remainder of Aristobulus's faction, to which he had lately revolted. Cassius, having taken the place, carried all into slavery whom he took therein; only Pitholaus he put to death, by the advice of Antipater, as the likeliest way to quell the faction which he then headed. After this, having forced Alexander the son of Aristobulus to terms of peace, he marched to the Euphrates to oppose the Parthians, who were preparing to make another invasion into Syria.

Roman history: Bibulus obtains Syria, and Cicero obtains Cilicia, 51. —M. Calpurnius Bibulus had Syria, and M. Tullius Cicero, Cilicia, assigned them by the Romans for their consular provinces. This Bibulus was the same who had been consul with Julius Cæsar. Cicero soon went to his charge; but Bibulus making delays, Cassius still continued to govern Syria; and it was well for the Roman interest in that province that he did so, the affairs of it then needing an abler man than Bibulus to manage them.

Second Parthian invasion of Syria utterly defeated by Cassius: Bibulus arrives in Syria, and Cassius returns to Rome. —For as soon as the spring grew up, Pacorus, the son of Orodes king of Parthia, passed the Euphrates with a great army, and invaded Syria. Pacorus, being then very young, had only the name of general; Osaces, an old and experienced

commander, who was sent with him, had truly the direction and government of the whole war. On his entrance into Syria, he marched on to Antioch, and laid siege to the place, shutting up Cassius with all his forces in it. Cicero, who was now in his province, receiving intelligence thereof from Antiochus king of Commagena, gathered together all the forces he could, and marched to the eastern borders of his province lying next Armenia, that being there he might not only keep the Armenians from invading Cappadocia, but also be nigh at hand to assist Cassius in case of need. And at the same time he sent other forces towards the mountain Amanus, for the same purpose; who falling on a great party of Parthian horse, which had that way entered Cilicia, cut them all off to a man. An account hereof, and of Cicero's approach, coming to Antioch, much encouraged Cassius and his men in the defence of the place, and so discouraged and intimidated the Parthians, that despairing of carrying the place, they raised the siege, and marching to Antigonia, another Syrian city in the neighbourhood, sat down before it. But having there as little success as at Antioch, by reason of their utter unskilfulness of managing such sieges, were forced in like manner to rise from before it, and march

---

off. Whereon Cassius, laying an ambush in their way, and having drawn them into it, gave them a thorough defeat, slaying great numbers of their men, and Osaces their general among them. Hereon the Parthian army repassed the Euphrates; but towards the end of the summer they returned again, and wintered in Cyrrhestica, a northern district of the province of Syria. In the interim, Bibulus being come into his province, Cassius delivered to him the government, and returned to Rome.

Cicero in Cilicia: reduces the neighbouring marauders. — Cicero, on his hearing of the departure of the Parthians from Antioch, turned his forces against the inhabitants of Mount Amanus, who, lying between Syria and Cilicia (for that mountain is the common boundary of both), submitted to the governors of neither of these provinces, but lived in a state of war with both, making continual inroads and depredations upon those countries. These Cicero totally subdued, taking all their castles, and destroying all their strongholds. After this he fell upon another barbarous and savage sort

of people in those parts, who called themselves the Eleuthero-Cilices, i. e. the Free Cilicians, pretending never to have yielded subjection to any of the kings that bore rule over those countries; and having taken all their cities, utterly subdued them, and brought them under order, to the great comfort and satisfaction of all their neighbours, to whom they were a constant plague. Hereon Cicero was saluted *imperator* by his army, which was a title usually given by the Roman soldiers to their general after some signal victory; and on his return from this war, he was received with the general joy and acclamation of all his provincials, for his good success therein, and the benefits which they received from it. And for this he had, on his coming back to Rome, the honour of a triumph offered to him. But the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey being then ready to break out, he waved it for that reason, as not thinking any public solemnity of rejoicing proper, when the public state of his country was just falling under so great a calamity.

Egyptian history: Auletes dies, and bequeaths his kingdom to Ptolemy XI. and Cleopatra. —This same year died Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt; he left behind him two sons and two daughters. By his will he bequeathed his crown to the eldest of his sons and the eldest of his daughters, ordering them to be joined to each other in marriage, according to the usage of their family, and both jointly together to govern the Egyptian kingdom. And because they were both at that time very young (Cleopatra the eldest of them being then but seventeen), he committed them to the tuition of the Roman state. This was the Cleopatra who was afterwards so infamous for her amours, especially with Mark Antony the Roman triumvir.

Third Parthian invasion of Syria: Bibulus returns to Rome, 50. — Bibulus, being now in his province, had thither brought him from Alexandria the ill news of the death of two of his sons, young men of great hopes, who were there slain by the Roman horsemen, whom Gabinius left in that city for a guard to Ptolemy Auletes, on his restoring him to his kingdom. Cleopatra, who then governed Egypt with her brother, sent the murderers to Bibulus, that he might revenge this fact in such manner as he should think fit. But he sent them back with this message, that the revenging of this wrong belonged not to him, but to the senate of Rome.

And while he was under this grief, he had another trouble brought upon him by the Parthians, who made another invasion upon Syria; for they having wintered in Cyrrhestica, on this side the Euphrates, as soon as the season was proper again took the field, and marching to Antioch besieged that city a second time, with Bibulus and all his forces in it. Bibulus bore the siege without making as much as one sally for the driving of the enemy thence. But what he durst not attempt by force, he effected by craft; for having, by his agents, encouraged Ordonopantes, a noble Parthian, who had been much disgusted by Orodes, to raise a rebellion against him, this army was called back to suppress it; whereby Bibulus and the whole province of Syria were delivered from a war which very much distressed them. At the end of the year, the time of his government expiring, he returned to Rome, and arrived there when the war between Cæsar and Pompey was just breaking out: in which war joining with Pompey, he became his chief admiral, and died of sickness in that office on board the fleet which he commanded for him.

Commencement of the great civil war between Cæsar and Pompey: Cæsar crosses the Rubicon. —For the differences between Cæsar and Pompey arising to that height, that they could no otherwise be decided but by the sword, Cesar, in the beginning of our December, passed the Rubicon; and thereby began that war between them which brought destruction upon them both, and at length ended in the total subversion of the Roman republic. On this march of Cæsar's, Pompey with all of his party left Rome, and hasted to Brundusium, thence to pass over into Epirus, and Cæsar pursued him to that port. But although he arrived thither on the twenty-sixth of December, seven days before Pompey's departure thence, yet he could not hinder his passage.

Pompey crosses over to Greece, to collect an army: Cæsar reduces Italy, and arrives at Rome, 49. —For on the third of January following, Pompey sailed out of the port of Brundusium, and landed with all the forces he had about him on the other side of the Adriatic, in the country where he intended, and there did set himself to gather together such an army as might enable him to stand the enemy, for which Cæsar allowed him a whole year's time. For as soon as Pompey was gone

from Brundusium, he returned back from thence, and in sixty days time, having reduced all Italy under him, came to Rome.

Aristobulus and Alexander sent to Syria by Cæsar, but put to death by the adherents of Pompey. —On his arrival thither, having comforted the people with fair words and promises of doing all things for the advantage of them and the republic, Cæsar released out of prison Aristobulus king of Judæa, and sent him with two legions into his own country to promote his interest there and in the neighbouring parts of Syria, Phoenicia, and Arabia; but those of Pompey's party found means to give him poison in his way, whereof he died. And whereas Alexander the son of Aristobulus had, on the expectation of his father's return, raised forces to join him on his arrival, Pompey sent orders to Scipio to put him to death; and therefore having caused him to be taken and brought to Antioch, there condemned him in a formal trial, and cut off his head. This Scipio was Q. Metellus Scipio, who had been consul with Pompey three years before, and then married him to Cornelia his daughter, she being at that time a widow on the death of Publius Crassus her former husband, who was slain with his father in the Parthian war. On Bibulus's return he was appointed president of Syria, and on Pompey's leaving Rome, was hastened thither with Cneius, the eldest of Pompey's sons, to secure that province to him, and all their shipping for the augmenting of his fleet. And to oppose him herein was it that Cæsar released Aristobulus, and sent him into Judæa. And had he arrived there with the forces assigned him, he would no doubt have fully answered the end for which he was ordered thither, and very much embarrassed, if not wholly baffled, all Pompey's designs in those parts.

Cæsar conquers Spain, and passes over into Greece to take the field against Pompey. —From Rome Cæsar passed into Spain. For that province being in Pompey's hands, with several forces there attached to his interest, Cæsar thought not fit to leave such a country behind him in the power of his enemy, and therefore marched through Gallia thither; and having subdued Afranius, Petreius, and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants in that country, and settled the whole province in his interest, he returned again to Rome about the time of the autumnal equinox. On his arrival thither he was declared dictator; but after eleven days again laying down that office, he and Servilius Isauricus were elected consuls for the ensuing year. And

immediately after he hastened away to Brundusium, there to pass the Adriatic into Greece against Pompey. And having in order hereto directed all his forces to rendezvous at that city, he sailed over from thence with seven of his legions, and having safely landed them at a port near the promontory of Ceraunium, he sent back Calenus, one of his lieutenants, with his fleet to bring over the rest which he left behind: but several months passed before Antony, who had the command of them, found an opportunity

---

to gain a safe passage for them over that sea, by reason of Pompey's fleet, which had beset all those coasts to intercept them. It being about the end of October that Cæsar landed his seven legions on the Grecian side of the Adriatic, there to prosecute the war against Pompey, almost a whole year had passed since he last marched back from Brundusium, for the reducing of Italy and Spain. And therefore Pompey, having all this time to furnish himself with forces for this war, had now gotten together a very numerous army out of Græcia, Asia, and all the eastern countries, and also as potent a fleet to support his interest at sea. But the season being winter, it would permit neither of the fleets to be abroad at sea, nor the armies to take the field at land; so that both sides lay still in their winter quarters.

Cæsar marches towards Thessaly, followed by Pompey, 48. —But when the spring came on, both sides prepared for action, and Cæsar having now gotten the rest of his forces over to him, each army took the field, and encamped against each other near Dyrrachium, now called Durazzo. In several skirmishes Cæsar had the better; but at length in one of them he received so great a defeat, that he acknowledged he must then have been utterly undone, had Pompey seen his advantage and pursued it. This having made him pass the ensuing night without sleep, by reason of the trouble of his mind for what had happened, he spent it wholly in considering the ill state of his affairs, and by revolving it over in his thoughts, came to see that he had been guilty of a great error in carrying on this war against Pompey on the sea-side, where the enemy had a great fleet absolutely to command those seas, and he none at all. For hereby Pompey's army was constantly supplied with all necessaries, and Cæsar's on the other side as much distressed for want of them; and therefore, condemning himself for this

conduct, he resolved immediately to alter it, and accordingly decamped the next day, and marched towards Thessaly, where was plenty of all things, purposing thereby to draw Pompey after him to a battle, or else to fall on Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, who was then in Macedonia. I have above mentioned how he was sent from Rome before Pompey receded from thence, to be provincial governor of Syria. On his arrival thither he grievously pillaged and oppressed that country, with all manner of exactions, to raise money for the carrying on of this war in the behalf of his son-in-law, for whose cause of all others he expressed the greatest zeal: whereby having set on foot an army at land, and equipped a great fleet at sea, he marched with the army towards Greece, there to join Pompey, and committed the fleet to the charge of Cneius, Pompey's eldest son; who, taking in fifty other auxiliary ships from Egypt, sailed with them to the Adriatic, and there joined the rest of his father's fleet. Scipio in his march having led his forces through the Lesser Asia, and augmented them in his way with as many others as he could pick up in those countries, had passed the Hellespont with them, and was at this time come as far as Macedonia, in order to join Pompey for the strengthening him in this

---

war: and there Cæsar purposed to fall upon him, if Pompey should not march after him to prevent it. Pompey and those with him, not being at all aware of the true reasons which put Cæsar on this march, took it to have been the consequence of his defeat the day before, as if after that he durst not stay there any longer; and therefore marched after him, as in pursuit of one that fled. And Cæsar having taken his route through Epirus and Acarnania, in a way which was somewhat about, Pompey, the sooner to come up with him, took the shortest cut through Macedonia.

Battle of Pharsalia, August 9th, 48: utter defeat of Pompey. —In this march Scipio joined Pompey, and Domitius Calvinus joined Cæsar, with their armies, and both at length met in the plains of Pharsalia in Thessaly, where it came to a decisive battle between them. Cæsar's army consisted of twenty-two thousand foot and a thousand horse: but Pompey's was above twice as many; for he had forty-five thousand foot and five thousand horse: but they being most of them raw and inexperienced men,

gotten together out of the effeminated nations of Lesser Asia and the East, they could not stand before Cæsar's veterans; and therefore, notwithstanding the great superiority of their number, they were soon vanquished and broken, fifteen thousand being slain, twenty-four thousand made prisoners of war, their camp taken, and all the rest dissipated and driven to flee for their lives.

II. REIGN OF HYRCANUS II. CONCLUDED, B. C. 60-40.

Pompey retreats, first to Syria, and then to Egypt: treacherously slain by the ministers of Ptolemy XI., September 29th. —Pompey, when he found his camp lost as well as the battle, fled in disguise, and having gotten to the next seaport on the Thessalian shore, passed over to Mitylene in the island of Lesbus, where he had some time before sent Cornelia his wife, with Sextus his younger son; and having there taken them on board his ship, sailed down the Archipelago, and put in at Attalia in Pamphylia. As soon as it was known that he was in that port, there came thither to him some ships from Cilicia, and about two thousand soldiers, and with them sixty Roman senators, who had escaped the late battle. Hearing while here that his fleet was still safe, and that Cato, having gathered together the remains of his broken army, had put them on board his ships, and sailed with them for Africa, he reflected with much grief on the great error he had committed in being drawn from the sea-shore to fight Cæsar in the inland country: for had he continued still near his fleet, he might, on failing at land, either have reinforced his army from sea, or else have shipped it off into some other part of the Roman empire, and there have anew tried his fortune. But it being now too late to remedy this false step, it only remained to be considered what next was to be done in the present case. His first resolution was to land in Syria, and seize that

province; and he hoped there to have for his better support the friendship of Orodes king of Parthia, to whom he had sent Lucius Hirtius to pray his assistance, or at least a safe retreat into his kingdom in case of need. But

Orodes, on the hearing of Pompey's misfortune, not only denied him his assistance, but clapped his ambassador in chains. When Pompey first passed over from Brundusium into Epirus, there to raise an army against Cæsar, he had solicited, among others, Orodes for his aid in this war. Orodes promised what he desired, but demanded Syria for his reward; and that not being granted him, he took this denial for a pretence, not only to deny Pompey his request, but also to imprison the ambassador by whom he made it. But the true meaning of it was, he had no mind to embark in a lost cause, and therefore took this method to renounce it. And upon this same principle, and at the same time, the people of Antioch, in conjunction with the Romans then in that city, seized the castle of Antioch in order to exclude him thence, and forbade all of his party to approach that place on pain of death. Pompey on his arrival in Cyprus, in his way to Syria, hearing of both these particulars, steered his course towards Egypt, not then knowing where else to go. He had been a great friend to Auletes, the father of the present king, and by his procurement chiefly was it that when expelled his kingdom, he was again restored to it; and therefore he expected to have been received and assisted with equal kindness by his son. On his arrival in Egypt, he found Ptolemy with an army on the sea-shore between Pelusium and Mount Casius, and Cleopatra his sister, with another army, not far from him. For he having deprived her of that share in the government which was left her by Auletes's will, and driven her out of the kingdom, she had raised an army in Syria and Palestine for the obtaining of her restoration, and was now at war with her brother about it. Pompey, on his drawing near to land, sent messengers to Ptolemy to pray his protection and aid in his present distress. Ptolemy, being then a minor, was under the tuition of Pothinus, the eunuch that bred him up, and Achillas the general of his army. These two, taking Theodotus a rhetorician, who was the king's preceptor, and some others into consult with them, advised together what answer to return. Some were for receiving him, and others for rejecting him, but Theodotus was for neither; but in a pressing rhetorical speech set forth to them that the only safe course they had to take was to despatch him. For he argued, should they receive him, Cæsar would be revenged on them for their abetting his enemy; and should they refuse to receive him, and he elsewhere gather strength, and again recover his power, he then would be revenged on them for this refusal that, therefore, the only way to secure them from both was to cut him off ;

for this would make Cæsar their friend, and prevent the other from doing them any hurt as an enemy; for, said he, in the words of the proverb, "Dead men do not bite." This way of reasoning having drawn all the rest to his opinion, they all resolved on it, as the safest course they could take. And Achillas, with Septimus a Roman commander, then in the service

---

of the king of Egypt, and some others, were sent to execute it; who having in a small boat brought Pompey from his ship on pretence of conducting him to Ptolemy, as soon as they came nigh the shore fell upon him and slew him; and having cut off his head, cast his dead carcass upon the strand, where he had no other funeral but what Philip, an enfranchised bondman of his, and a poor old Roman, who came thither by accident, could give him, by making him a funeral pile of the broken pieces of an old boat that lay wrecked on the shore; and thus ended the life of this great man in the fifty-ninth year of his age. No man had enjoyed greater prosperity till he profaned the temple of God at Jerusalem; after that his fortunes were in a continual decline, till at length, to expiate for that impiety, he was thus vilely murdered in the confines of that country where he had committed it. This was done in the sight of his wife and his son, and the rest that accompanied him; whereon they made off to sea with all the haste they were able. Cornelia and Sextus escaped first to Tyre, and then to Cyprus, and from thence into Africa: but most of the other ships were taken by the Egyptian galleys that pursued after them, and all that were found on board them were cruelly put to the sword; amonget whom was Lucius Lentulus, the former year's consul, who was the chief author of the war, by obstinately rejecting all the proposals that were made by Cæsar for peace.

Cæsar arrives at Alexandria. —In the mean time Cæsar, pursuing Pompey the same way in which he fled, sailed into Egypt after him, and came to Alexandria, just as the news arrived thither of his death: and soon after, on his entering the place, he was presented with his head; at the sight of which he wept and turned away his face from it with abhorrence, as from an ungrateful spectacle, and ordered it to be buried in a proper place, with all honourable solemnities. Cæsar, for the greater expedition, made this pursuit with very few forces: for on his coming to Alexandria, he had no

more with him than eight hundred horse and three thousand two hundred foot: the rest of his army he left behind in Greece and the Lesser Asia, under the conduct of his lieutenants, for the prosecuting of the advantages of his late victory, and the securing of his interest in those parts. And therefore confiding on his good fortune and the fame of his great success at Pharsalia, he landed at Alexandria with these only, which had like to have proved his ruin: for these not being sufficient to defend him from the mob and mutinies of that turbulent city, he very narrowly escaped perishing by them. For the Etesian winds then blowing from the north, which continue in those parts during all the dog-days (in the beginning of which

---

Cæsar entered that port), these hinder all ships from sailing out of Alexandria as long as these winds last; and therefore did put a necessity upon him of tarrying there during all that season.

Cæsar exacts a debt due from Auletes, and arbitrates between Ptolemy XI. and Cleopatra. —In this vacant time he employed himself in calling in the debt owed him by Auletes, and in hearing and determining the controversy between Ptolemy and Cleopatra his sister. I have above mentioned how Auletes, when Cæsar was first consul, engaged him, by a bribe of six thousand talents, to get him to be confirmed in his kingdom by the Romans, and enrolled among the friends and allies of that powerful state: part only of this sum was then paid; for the rest, he bound himself, in the obligation of a debtor, afterwards to discharge it. This debt now Cæsar called for, as needing it to pay his soldiers, and exacted it with rigour; and Pothinus, who was Ptolemy's chief minister, by several artifices made this rigour appear to the people much greater than it was. For he bared their temples of their silver and gold utensils, and made the king and all the great officers of the court, as well as himself, to eat and drink only in earthen and wooden vessels, pretending that Cæsar had taken away all their silver and gold, that by so giving out he might the more excite the people against him. But that which most exasperated them, and at length drove them into a war against him, was the second article mentioned, his calling Ptolemy and Cleopatra before him to be judged by him as to the controversy that was between them: for he had sent out his peremptory order to each of them to

dismiss their armies, and bring their cause to his hearing for a final decision. This was looked on as a violation of the majesty, and an invasion upon the sovereign authority, of their king, who being an independent prince, owned no superior, and therefore was not as a subject to be judged by any man. But to this Cæsar answered that he did not take upon him to judge as a superior, but as an arbitrator appointed by the will of Auletes. For thereby he had put his children under the tuition of the Roman state, and all the power of the Romans being now vested in him as their dictator (to which office he had been appointed at Rome, as soon as they there heard of the death of Pompey), it belonged to him to arbitrate and determine this controversy, as guardian of those children by virtue of that will; and that he claimed it no otherwise than to execute that will, and settle peace between the king and his sister, according to the purport of it. This quieting all for the present, the cause was accordingly brought to Cæsar's hearing, and advocates were appointed on both sides to plead before him the matter which was in contest between them.

Cæsar captivated by Cleopatra, presses Ptolemy XI. to receive her on her own terms. —But Cleopatra, hearing that Cæsar was given to the love of women (as indeed he was to great excess, though he never suffered

---

it to hinder him in any business), she laid a plot to take hold of him by this handle, and thereby attach him first to her person, and next to her cause. And therefore sending to Cæsar, she complained that her cause was betrayed by those who managed it for her; and therefore prayed that she might be permitted to come in person to him, and plead it herself before him; which being granted her, she came secretly into the port of Alexandria in a small skiff, towards the dusk of the evening; and the better to get to Cæsar without being stopped or obstructed by her brother, or any of his party who then commanded the place, she caused herself to be tied up in her bedding, and thus to be carried to Cæsar's apartment on the back of one of her servants; who having laid down his burden at Cæsar's feet, and untied it, up started the lady with the best airs she could put on. Cæsar was much pleased with the ingenious contrivance of her thus coming to him, but much

more with the lady, with whose beauty he was at the first sight thoroughly smitten, and she subsequently got a son by him, who afterwards, was from his name, called Cæsarion. By this favour thinking himself engaged to do all things for her interest, the next morning he sent for Ptolemy, and pressed him to receive his sister again upon her own terms.

Arrest of Ptolemy XI. by the Romans: dangerous insurrection of the Alexandrians appeased. —Ptolemy finding that Cæsar, from being judge, was become her advocate, and understanding also that she was then with him in that part of the palace where he lodged, he fell into a rage hereat, and springing out from him to the people in the street, he tore his diadem from his head, and flinging it on the ground, complained with tears and bitter clamour that he was betrayed, and told his story in such a manner, as raised the whole city in an uproar, and brought them upon Cæsar in universal tumult, and with the fury which in such cases is usual. The Roman soldiers who were near him seized Ptolemy, and secured him within Cæsar's power. But notwithstanding this, the rest of his forces being then scattered all over the city in their quarters, as not suspecting what had happened, and therefore not being at hand to help him, he must necessarily have been overborne and torn in pieces by the enraged multitude, but that coming out to them in a safe place aloft, and from thence speaking to them, and assuring them that all things should be done as they would have, he with difficulty appeased them for that time. And accordingly the next day, having called the people together in a general assembly, he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra to them, and then causing their father's will publicly to be read, wherein it was ordained, that his eldest son and his eldest daughter should, according to the usage of their ancestors, be joined in marriage, and both jointly reign together, under the guardianship of the Roman people, he decreed, by virtue of that guardianship which was, he said, then vested in him as dictator, that Ptolemy the present king, as being the eldest son, and Cleopatra as being the eldest daughter, of the said Auletes, should, according to the tenor of the said will, reign in Egypt; and Ptolemy the younger son of the said Auletes, and his other daughter named Arsinoe, should reign in Cyprus. This last he added by way of gift, the better to appease

the people, that so he might escape their fury, which he was then in great fear of. For this island had for some time before been subjected to the Romans, as hath been above related.

Fresh discontents excited by Pothinus: Cæsar besieged by Achillas. —This contented the whole assembly, and pleased all except Pothinus. For he, having been the cause of the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and also of her expulsion out of the kingdom, justly feared, that both his authority and his life would be brought into danger by her return; and therefore did all he could to hinder the execution of this decree; in order whereto he not only sowed new discontents and new jealousies among the people, but also prevailed with Achillas to bring his army from Pelusium to Alexandria, for the driving of Cæsar thence. His arrival put all things there again in confusion: Achillas, having twenty thousand men with him, despised the paucity of Cæsar's forces, and thought immediately to have crushed him. But Cæsar so well disposed those forces which he had, by placing them to the best advantage, in the streets and avenues in that quarter of the town which he had taken possession of, that he easily sustained the assault; and therefore on their failing of success here they carried the war to the port, projecting to seize the fleet there at anchor, and therewith to shut up Cæsar by sea, and exclude him from having either succours or provisions brought him that way. But Cæsar, prevailing there also, ordered all that fleet to be set on fire, and at the same time seized the tower of Pharus, and placed a garrison in it. By these means he fully secured his communication with the sea, without which he must have been soon ruined. Some of the ships when on fire, driving to the shore, communicated their flames to the adjoining houses; which, spreading into that quarter of the city called Bruchium, consumed the noble library that was there laid up, which had been the collection of several ages, and then contained four hundred thousand volumes, whereof a full account hath already been given.

Cæsar sends for succours, and puts Pothinus to death. —Cæsar finding a dangerous war thus begun upon him, sent for succours to all the adjacent parts, from which he could soonest have them; and in an especial

manner wrote to Domitius Calvinus, his lieutenant in the Proper Asia, of the great danger he was in; who forthwith sent him two legions, the one by sea and the other by land. That which was sent by the sea arrived in time; but the other which marched by land never came into Egypt, the war being over before they could reach it. But none did him better service than Mithridates the Pergamenian. For being sent by him into Syria and Cilicia, he brought him those forces from thence, which extricated him from all his danger, in the manner as will be by and by related. Cæsar, in the interim, that he might not be forced to fight the numerous forces of the enemy till his succours should arrive, otherwise than when he should see cause so to do, fortified that quarter of the city where he lay with walls, towers, and other works, including within them the palace, a theatre lying

---

next the palace (which he made use of as a castle), and a passage to the harbour. While these things were a doing, the king being still detained in Cæsar's quarters, Pothinus, while he was there attending on him as his governor and chief minister, carried on a correspondence with Achillas, and by letters secretly conveyed to him, gave him intelligence of all things from thence, and encouraged him vigorously to push on the war; some of which letters being intercepted, and the treason thereby discovered, Cæsar caused him to be put to death for it.

Ganymede succeeds Achillas in the command of the besieging army. —Hereon Ganymede, another eunuch of the palace, who had the bringing up of Arsinoe, the king's younger sister, fearing the same punishment, as having been in the same interest and the same designs with him, secretly conveyed the young princess out of Cæsar's quarters, and fled with her to the army, who, wanting one of the royal family to head them, gladly received her, and made her queen. But Ganymede, outwitting Achillas, caused an accusation to be formed against him as if he had betrayed to Cæsar the fleet which he burned in the harbour, and having thereby procured that he was put to death, succeeded him in the chief command of the army; and thenceforth also took on him the prime administration of all other the affairs of that party, for which he was thoroughly qualified: for he was a very crafty discerning person, and found

out many subtle devices for the distressing of Cæsar during the remainder of the war. By one of which, having spoiled all the fresh water in his quarters, he had very nigh undone him by it. For the Alexandrians having no other fresh water for their common use but that of the Nile, as at present, so then had all the city vaulted underneath their houses for the reception and keeping of it. Once a year, when the Nile was at the highest, it flowed through the artificial canal, which was drawn from that river to the city; and there running into these vaults through a sluice made for this purpose, from thence filled them all, they being all built without any partitions, in a general communication from one to another, under the said houses; and there it served for the common use of the inhabitants all the year after, every man having an open hole or well in his house, through which letting down into those vaults either buckets or pitchers, he drew up what water he needed. Ganymede, having stopped up all the communications which those vaults in Cæsar's quarters had with those of the rest of the town, poured into them from the sea so much salt water, by artificial engines contrived for that purpose, as spoiled all the fresh water which was reposited and kept in them. This, when perceived, raised a general uproar among Cæsar's soldiers; and he must have been forced immediately to have departed at all disadvantages, but that having ordered wells to be dug, by going deep enough he found springs of fresh water sufficient to supply the want of that which was spoiled.

Sea actions between Cæsar and Ganymede: Ptolemy XI. restored to the Egyptian army. —After this, Cæsar having received an account, that the legion Calvinus sent him by sea was arrived on the coast of Libya, not far from him, he went thither with his whole fleet to bring them safe to Alexandria. Ganymede, getting intelligence hereof, sent all the Egyptian fleet which he had then at hand to intercept him in his return. This produced a fight between the two fleets, in which Cæsar having gotten the victory, brought all his legion safe with him to Alexandria; and had not night come on too soon, all the enemy's ships must have fallen into his hands. Ganymede, to repair this loss, and others before sustained (for Cæsar had by this time destroyed at several times above a hundred and ten of their

ships of war), gathered together all the remaining ships that could be gotten from every mouth of the Nile, and out of them another fleet being formed, entered the port of Alexandria. This produced another fight at sea, in which Cæsar had again the victory, but in pursuit of it, landing in the island of Pharus, and attempting to take the town in that island, and the mole leading to it, called the Heptastadium, he was beaten off with the loss of above eight hundred of his men, and had like to have been lost himself in the rout. For finding the ship in which he endeavoured to escape ready to sink by reason of the numbers of those who had crowded into it, he threw himself into the sea, and with difficulty got off by swimming to the next ship of his in the port. While thus he made his escape, he carried some valuable papers, which he had then about him, in one hand, and swam with the other; and so saved both himself and them. After this loss, Cæsar was persuaded to send king Ptolemy to the Egyptian army in compliance with their desire, and on a promise made him, that when they should have their king they would make peace with him; but after they had him at the head of the army, they pressed on the war with greater vigour than before, and by their fleet endeavoured to intercept all Cæsar's provisions by sea. This produced another sea-fight near Canopus, in which Cæsar had again the victory; but by this time Mithridates of Pergamus was near at hand with his auxiliary army out of Syria.

Cæsar reinforced by Mithridates, and greatly assisted by Antipater and the Jews. —It hath been above mentioned how Cæsar sent Mithridates into Syria and Cilicia to bring him from thence all the forces he could raise in those countries for his assistance. This commission he executed with so much diligence and prudence, that he soon got together a considerable army; in the effecting of which he was much helped by Antipater the Idumæan. For he not only joined him with three thousand Jews, but he prevailed with Hyrcanus, and with several of the neighbouring princes of Arabia and Cælo-Syria, and with the free cities of Phœnicia and Syria, in like manner to send him in their aid. With these forces Mithridates, having Antipater in person with him, marched into Egypt, and on his coming to Pelusium, stormed and took that city, which was chiefly owing to the valour of Antipater. For

he first mounted the walls where the breach was made, and thereby made way to those that followed to enter and take the place. From thence marching towards Alexandria, as they were to pass the province of Onion, they found all the avenues seized by the Jews, who were the inhabitants of that part of Egypt, and thereby were obstructed from proceeding any farther; and this must have disappointed the whole expedition, but that Antipater, partly by his own authority, and partly by that of Hyrcanus and the letters which he delivered to them from him, brought them over to Cæsar's party. On the hearing of which, the people of Memphis did the same, and Mithridates was plentifully supplied with all necessaries from both. On his coming to the Delta, Ptolemy sent an army thither to oppose his passing the Nile; this produced a battle, in which Mithridates commanded one part of the army, and Antipater the other. Mithridates at first was beaten off his ground, till Antipater having routed the adversary on his part, came in to his assistance; whereby the battle being again restored, the Egyptians were put to a total rout, and Mithridates and Antipater, pursuing the advantage, drove them out of the field with a great slaughter, and having taken their camp, forced those that escaped to repass the Nile.

Defeat and death of Ptolemy XI.: Cæsar settles the kingdom upon Cleopatra and the younger Ptolemy, 47. —Hereon Ptolemy marched with his whole army for the oppressing of them, and Cæsar did the same for their support, and on his joining them, soon brought the matter to a decisive battle; in which Cæsar having gotten an absolute victory, Ptolemy on his endeavouring to escape in a boat on the Nile was sunk with it, and drowned in that river. Hereon Alexandria and all Egypt submitted to the conqueror. Cæsar, returning from this victory, entered Alexandria about the middle of our January, and no one there any more opposing him, he settled the kingdom under Cleopatra and the surviving Ptolemy, her younger brother, as king and queen, which was in effect to put the whole into her hands, this Ptolemy being then no more than eleven years old. It was for the sake of this lewd woman that Cæsar made this dangerous and infamous war; and therefore having fully mastered it by this victory, he made it turn the most he could to her advantage; and his dalliances with her detained him longer in Egypt than his affairs could well admit. For although he had in January

settled all matters in that country, yet it was not till the latter end of April following that he departed thence. For Appian tells us he had been nine months in Egypt at this time, and he came not thither till towards the end of July in the preceding year. Having taken Arsinoe prisoner in this war, he carried her to Rome with him, and caused her to be there led in bonds before him in his triumph; but after that show was over, he dismissed her from her imprisonment. But being banished by him from Egypt, that she might not create new troubles in that kingdom, to the disturbance of that settlement of

---

affairs which he had there made, she took up her residence in the province of the Proper Asia; for there Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and at the request of Cleopatra caused her to be put to death. Before Cæsar departed from Alexandria, in acknowledgment of the assistance he had from the Jews, he confirmed all their privileges in that city, and ordered a pillar to be there erected, whereon by his command all these privileges were engraven, and also his decree confirming the same.

Cesar recalled from Egypt by the conquests of the younger Pharnaces. —That which hastened Cæsar out of Egypt at this time was the war of Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, son of Mithridates, late king of Pontus. For finding the Romans deeply engaged in the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, he took the advantage hereof to attempt the recovery of his father's dominions in Asia. And therefore leaving Asander his lieutenant in Bosphorus, he passed the Euxine Sea, and took possession of Colchis and the Lesser Armenia, and several places in Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia. After the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar had sent Domitius Calvinus with part of his army against him, committing to his government all the provinces of Lesser Asia. But Domitius having the misfortune to be vanquished in this war, Pharnaces thereon made himself master of all the remaining parts of Pontus and Cappadocia; and being puffed up with this success, carried it with great pride and cruelty towards all in the Roman interest; and having seized all Bithynia, was preparing to pass from thence into the province of Proper Asia. An account of all this coming to Cæsar in Egypt, it roused him up from that lethargy which

Cleopatra's charms had bewitched him into, and put him again upon action: whereon, leaving part of his forces in Egypt for the protection of Cleopatra, he passed, about the end of April, with the rest into Syria.

Cæsar in Syria: abolishes the aristocracy of Gabinius, reëstablishes Hyrcanus in the sovereignty, and appoints Antipater procurator of Judea, and Sextus Cæsar president of Syria. —While he was in that country, Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, late king of the Jews, came to him, and much lamenting his father's and brother's death (the former of which had been poisoned, and the other beheaded, for being adherents to his cause), prayed him to take compassion of him, and restore him to his father's principality; and at the same time made heavy complaints of Antipater and Hyrcanus, and of the wrongs which he said he had suffered from them. But Antipater, being then attending upon Cæsar, defended his own and Hyrcanus's cause so well against him, that Cæsar, rejecting the accusations of Antigonus, as of a turbulent and seditious person, decreed that Hyrcanus should hold the office of high priest at Jerusalem, and the principality of Judæa

---

with it, to him and those of his family after him, in perpetuity of possession, and appointed Antipater to be procurator of Judæa under him, and ordered this decree to be engraven in tables of brass in Greek and Latin, and to be hung up in the capitol at Rome, and in the temples of Tyre, Sidon, and Askalon, in Phœnicia: by virtue of which decree, Hyrcanus was again reëstablished in the sovereignty of Judæa, the aristocracy of Gabinius abolished, and the government again restored to the same state in which it had been under him and the great Sanhedrim, before Gabinius made that alteration in it which hath been above mentioned. All this was brought about by Antipater. For he was a person of that wisdom and foresight, and thereby had acquired such an interest in Judæa, Arabia, Syria, and all Palestine, that he made himself necessary to all Roman governors that came into those parts; and to none was he more so than unto Cæsar, who owed his deliverance at Alexandria, and the success with which he concluded that war, wholly to him. For without him Mithridates could never have raised that army for his assistance, by the help of which he conquered. And he was

by this time grown strong in his family, as well as in his interest and power. For he had by his wife Cyprus four sons, now grown up to maturity of age, and of great reputation for valour and wisdom: the eldest was Phasaëlus, the second Herod, the third Joseph, and the youngest Pheroras; and he had also by the same wife a daughter called Salome, who was the Erinnys of her family, continually creating feuds and divisions in it by her intrigues, whereby she very often perplexed her brother Herod's affairs, and yet maintained an interest with him to his last. Her character will be best understood by her actions, which will be hereafter related. Cæsar, after some stay in Syria, made Sextus Cæsar, his kinsman, president of that province, and then hastened northward against Pharnaces.

Cæsar obtains a decisive victory over Pharnaces, and returns to Rome. —On Cæsar's arrival where the enemy was, he, without giving any respite either to himself or them, immediately fell on and gained an absolute victory over them; an account whereof he wrote to a friend of his in these three words, Veni, vidi, vici! i. e. I came, I saw, I overcame! which short expression of his success very aptly setting forth the speed whereby he obtained it, he affected it so much, that afterwards, when he triumphed for this victory, he caused these three words to be written on a table, and carried aloft before him in that pompous show. This victory being gained near the place where Triarius was vanquished by Mithridates, it thereby repaired the honour of the Roman militia, which was lost by that defeat. After this, all being again recovered that Pharnaces had possessed himself of in this war, he fled to Sinope with one thousand horsemen, which were the whole remainder of his vanquished army, and having slain the horses, he put the men on board his ships in that port and sailed with them

---

back to Bosphorus. But Asander, whom he left his lieutenant in that country, having by this time set up for himself, he was no sooner landed but the usurper got him into his power, and having put him to death, reigned in his stead. Hereon Cæsar gave Mithridates, the Pergamenian, that kingdom in reward for the service he did him in Egypt, and at the same time made him one of the tetrarchs of Galatia. The latter he had a title to in the right of his mother, who was descended from one of the former tetrarchs; and the

former he might have laid claim to in the right of his father: for he was supposed to have been the son of king Mithridates, his mother having been one of his concubines, after the death of Menodotus of Pergamus, her husband, and therefore he was bred up by that prince, and called by his name. But Cæsar, in making him king of Bosphorus, gave him only an empty title. For the possession being in Asander, he was to recover it by war; in the prosecution of which, instead of gaining the kingdom, he lost his life, being vanquished and slain in battle by Asander, who after this held the kingdom of Bosphorus without any further opposition; the Romans, by reason of their intestine broils that still continued among them, not being at leisure to give him any disturbance. Cæsar, having settled all measures in Pontus, Cappadocia, and the other parts of Lesser Asia, returned through Greece to Rome, and was there again chosen dictator for the ensuing year.

Jewish history: Antipater settles the civil government under Hyrcanus, and appoints Phasaëlus governor of Jerusalem, and Herod governor of Galilee. —In the interim, Antipater having accompanied Cæsar through all Syria to the utmost confines of the province, there took his leave of him, and returned again into Judæa. And soon after, going through that country in a general progress over it, he settled the civil government under Hyrcanus in all parts of it, according to Cæsar's decree, in the same manner as it had been before Gabinius's alteration; and appointed Phasaëlus his eldest son to be governor of Jerusalem, and Herod his second son to be governor of Galilee, he being then twenty-five years old. The printed books of Josephus have it, that Herod was at this time only fifteen years old; but that is an age which doth not suit with such a charge, or the actions which he immediately performed in it; and besides, it doth not accord with what Josephus hath elsewhere written; for speaking of the last sickness of which Herod died, about forty-four years after this time, he tells us, that he fell into it about the seventieth year of his age; but if he were now but fifteen, he could not have exceeded the sixtieth year of his age when that sickness first seized him. It is most likely some transcriber by mistake wrote ιε, the numerical Greek letters for fifteen, instead of κε, the numerical letters for twenty-five; and from that copy the mistake hath been transmitted into our printed books.

Herod signalizes himself in Galilee, defies the Sanhedrim, and joins Sextus Cæsar. —Herod, being of a very active genius, and in the vigour of his youth, was no sooner in his government but, to signalize himself

---

therein, he fell upon a knot of thieves, who much infested Galilee and the neighbouring parts of Cœle-Syria, and having taken Hezekiah, their ringleader, with several of his associates, he put them all to death; whereby he gained great reputation among all of those parts, and made his name known with honour to Sextus Cæsar, the president of the province. But those who envied the prosperity of Antipater, and the growth and greatness of his power, laid hold of this handle to accuse Herod to Hyrcanus for putting these men to death without legal trial, and prevailed with him so far as to obtain a citation from him to summon Herod to answer for it before the Sanhedrim; where having made his appearance clothed in purple, and surrounded with his guards, this so overawed the Sanhedrim, that they sat all silent, not one of them opening his mouth to say a word against the criminal, excepting only Sameas, who, being the only man among them of that integrity and courage as not to be frighted out of his duty on the silence of all the rest, rose up, and first accusing Herod of audaciousness in thus appearing in a habit not proper for a criminal, and of violence, in bringing such an armed force with him into the court, as if he intended to make the public administration of justice more dangerous to the judges than to the malefactor; in the next place turned his accusation upon Hyrcanus and the court, and upbraiding them of their cowardice in permitting this, he prophetically told them, that though they were now for sparing Herod, the time should be when he would not spare them, but that the just judgment of God should, by his hands, be executed upon them for it. And so afterwards it accordingly happened: for when Herod came to be king of Judæa, he did put every one of them to death (excepting this Sameas and Pollio his master), and also Hyrcanus himself, as will be hereafter related. However Hyrcanus did all he could to get Herod to be acquitted, being influenced hereto not only by his affection for the young man, but also by a menacing letter which he had received from Sextus Cæsar in his behalf. But the major

part of the court, now roused by Sameas's speech, being inclined to condemn him, he could not gain him an acquittal; and therefore to save him from a sentence of condemnation, he adjourned the court to the next day, and in the interim advised Herod to be gone; who accordingly in the night withdrawing from Jerusalem, went to Damascus, and there putting himself under the protection of Sextus Cæsar, whom he found in that place, he defied the Sanhedrim, and did from thence let them know that he would appear no more before them; which they resented with great indignation, but could now no otherwise express it than by venting their complaint against Hyrcanus for permitting it to be thus done.

Herod obtains the government of Cale-Syria, 46. —On Herod's coming to Sextus Cæsar, he so far ingratiated himself with him, that for a sum of money with which he presented him, he obtained of him the government of Cœle-Syria. Whereon he got together an army and marched with it into Judea to be revenged on Hyrcanus and the Sanhedrim, intending no less than to depose Hyrcanus, and cut off the whole Sanhedrim, because of the indignity they made him undergo by their late process against him. But Antipater and Phasael interposing, made him desist from this attempt.

Roman history: remnant of Pompey's faction, under Scipio and Cato, completely defeated by Cæsar. —Scipio and Cato heading the remains of Pompey's faction in Africa, and having with the assistance of Juba king of Mauritania made themselves masters of all that province, and gotten forces together sufficient to enlarge themselves further, Cæsar in the latter part of the former year had passed over thither to suppress them; and having there rendezvoused all his forces together about the middle of January this year, immediately marched against the enemy; and in the beginning of the February following, coming to a battle with them, gave them a total overthrow; whereon Cato slew himself at Utica; and Scipio, Juba, Petræus, and the other chiefs who commanded in this war, perished in their flight; and Cæsar, having settled the province, returned again to Rome, carrying with him Juba, the son of king Juba, then a lad, whom he caused to be led before him in his triumph, instead of his father.

Juba carried to Rome and educated. —However, from this captivity, he gained the benefit of having a Roman education, whereby he became one of the learnedest men of the age in which he lived; in regard whereto Augustus afterwards made him king of Getulia in Africa, and gave him in marriage Cleopatra Selene, the daughter of queen Cleopatra by Marc Antony. The eminentest of his works was his Roman History, which he wrote in Greek, and is quoted often and with great approbation by the ancients, but is now wholly lost, as are also all his other works. One of them, which was of the affairs of Assyria, and collected mostly from the writings of Berosus, would have been of great use to us in the writing of this history, had it been still extant.

Carthage rebuilt. —But before Cæsar left Africa he gave order for the rebuilding of Carthage; and the same year was Corinth also rebuilt by his like order: so that as these two famous cities were destroyed in the same year, they were now both of them, just one hundred years after, again rebuilt in the same year; and two years after Roman colonies were sent into each of them, for the replenishing of them with new inhabitants. From this colony at Corinth were descended those Corinthians to whom St. Paul wrote his two epistles.

Bassus procures the death of Sextus Cæsar, and seizes Syria: besieged in Apamea. —At this time Cæcilius Bassus created great disorders in Syria. He was a Roman of the Equestrian order, and had fought on the side of Pompey in the battle of Pharsalia; after that overthrow he fled to Tyre, and there lying hid under the disguise of a merchant, associated several to him that had been favourers of Pompey's cause, and underhand engaged in his party many of the Roman soldiers that came thither to garrison the city. Whereon, being at length taken notice of by Sextus Cæsar for these doings, and called before him to answer for them, he pretended to be going to the assistance of Mithridates of Pergamus for the recovery of the kingdom of Bosphorus,

---

given him by Cæsar, and that all his preparations were in order thereto; and having persuaded Sextus to believe him, he was dismissed as innocent;

whereby having gained further opportunity for the carrying on of his plot, as soon as he had gotten into it a number of conspirators sufficient for the putting of it in execution, he seized Tyre; and giving out that Cæsar was vanquished and slain in Africa, and that thereon he was now appointed to be governor of Syria, he assumed the title of president of that province; and by this forgery having augmented his forces to the bulk of an army, he marched out with them against Sextus Cæsar; but being vanquished and beaten, he was forced to retreat back to Tyre, and there lie by for some time to be cured of his wounds received in the conflict: whereby being discouraged from attempting anything further by open force against Sextus, he at length by treachery and underhand dealing worked his destruction. For this Sextus Cæsar being a young man much given to voluptuousness, and making his army to attend him in all places where he went for his pleasure, this much disgusted his soldiers; which Bassus having full notice of, instigated them by his emissaries to kill him; which they having accordingly effected, they all thereon declared for Bassus, and joined themselves to him, excepting only some few who, detesting this assassination, separated from the rest and retired into Cilicia. Whereon Bassus, seizing Apamea, fortified that place, and made it the seat of his residence, and there took on him the government of the whole province. But Antistius Vetus, having put himself at the head of those who had thus retreated into Cilicia, and drawn to him several others of the Cæsarean party in that country, marched back with them into Syria; and there the sons of Antipater having joined him with auxiliaries from Judæa sent him by their father, and others doing the same from other parts, some to revenge the murder of Sextus, out of the abhorrence they had of that fact, and others to court the favour of the dictator, he became enabled thereby to drive Bassus out of the field; and having cooped him up in Apamea, there besieged him with a close siege. But Bassus, being a valiant man and skilful soldier, defended himself so well, that Antistius, not being able to get any advantage against him, was forced towards the end of the year to retreat, and respite all hostilities for a while, till better furnished with new preparations and more forces for the war.

Cæsar reforms the Roman calendar by the institution of the Julian year. —Cæsar, being returned from his African expedition, undertook the reformation of the Roman calendar, and happily effected it,

by forming the Julian year, which the world hath had the benefit of ever since. This belonged to him to do as high priest of Rome, which was an office he had long been in before he was either dictator or consul. And there was now very great need for this to be done; for at this time, by reason of the faults of the former calendar, the beginning of January was carried back to the time of our present Michaelmas, and all their

---

solemn times and festivals were put out of their due order by this means. The former year, which the Romans went by till this time, consisted of twelve lunar months; but twelve lunar months falling eleven days short of a solar year, it was the office of the high priest, with the college of the pontifices, to add such intercalations as should make all even: this they usually did by casting in another month every second year, which did alternately consist of twenty-two days one time, and twenty-three another: this short month was call Merkidinus; and the place in the Roman calendar where it was intercalated was between the twenty-third and the twenty-fourth of February. But the pontifices, who had the authority of making these intercalations, executing it very arbitrarily, sometimes irregularly intercalating the month Merkidinus where they ought not, and sometimes as irregularly omitting to intercalate it where they ought, according according as they had a mind to prolong or abbreviate the time of the annual magistrates then in office, hereby it came to pass that great disorders got into the political as well as into the astronomical part of the year; and therefore, for the bringing of a remedy to both, Cæsar found it necessary to make this reformation, which effectually prevented all such disorders for the future. For hereby he settled the year to a fixed and stated form, always to go invariably the same, without leaving it to any man's arbitrary power to disturb it, which he accomplished by these following methods.

1st, He abolished the lunar year, consisting of twelve lunar months, or three hundred and fifty-five days, which the Romans had hitherto gone by; and instead thereof, introduced the use of the solar year, consisting of the time in which the sun goes through the zodiac, and comes about again to the same point from which it did set out.

2ndly, Having, according to the best observations of those times, stated this revolution to be made in three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours, of these he made his solar year to consist.

3rdly, These three hundred and sixty-five days he distributed into twelve political or artificial months, instead of the lunar and natural months before in use, which consisted some of thirty-one days, and some of thirty, and one, that is, February, of twenty-eight days.

4thly, The six hours over and above, in four years, making a day, he added it in the beginning of every fifth year, making that year thereby to consist of three hundred and sixty-six days: and this is that which we call the leap-year.

5thly, This day he added between the twenty-third and the twenty-fourth day of February, in the same place in the Roman calendar where formerly their intercalated month Merkidinus was inserted in their old form; and this addition being made by putting the latter of those days twice in the calendar, and that day being there called Sextus Kalendarum, the putting of this sextus dies bis, i. e. twice, is the reason why this leap-year is called annus bissextilis in Latin, and from hence by us the bissextile. But in our almanacs, instead of putting this twenty-fourth day of February twice in the said leap-years, we number on the days as before, so as in every such leap-year to make that month consist of twenty-nine days.

6thly, He began this year at

---

the calends, or the first of January, on which all the annual magistrates of the Romans first entered on their offices.

7thly, This first of January he then fixed to the winter solstice, though now it hath overrun that time several days, by reason that the said Julian solar year is eleven minutes longer than the natural solar year: for the natural solar year, according to the best and accuratest observations, consists of no more than three hundred and sixty-five days, five hours, and forty-nine minutes; but the Julian, containing three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours, consists of eleven minutes more, which in one hundred and thirty

years making a day, this hath occasioned that, every one hundred and thirty years, the first of January in the Julian calendar overruns that time of the natural year, where it was first placed, one whole day, which is the only fault that is to be found in this form. Gregory XIII. pope of Rome, in the year 1582, endeavoured to correct this fault by proposing a new form, which from his name is called the Gregorian; wherein he ordained that in every four centuries three leap-years should be omitted, that is, one in the beginning of each of the three first of them, without making any alteration in the fourth. This indeed brings the matter nearer to the truth, but doth not fully reach it. And therefore it hath not met with such general approbation; but that still in all the dominions of the king of Great Britain, as well as in some other places, the Julian form is still retained as the better of the two. The reckoning by this last is called the Old Style, and the reckoning by the other the New.

8thly, Cæsar, to bring this form into practice, besides the month Merkidinus, which was intercalated in February, added to this present year two other months more, which he inserted between the months of November and December; so that thereby he made that year to consist of four hundred and forty-five days, that is, three hundred and fifty-five days for the ordinary Roman year, twenty-three for the intercalated month Merkidinus, and sixty-seven days for the other months added between November and December. All these added together made this year the longest the Romans ever had; which putting many of their affairs out of their usual order, hence it was called by them the year of confusion.

In the settling of this matter, Cæsar made use of the assistance of Sosigenes, an astronomer of Alexandria, for the astronomical calculation, and that of Flavius a scribe, for the forming and digesting of it into a calendar according to the Roman manner, that is, in distributing the days of each month into their calends, ides, and nones, and affixing the festivals and other solemn times to the days in which they were to be observed. But Cæsar being slain soon after this, the pontifices who succeeded in the care of this matter, not well understanding it, instead of making the intercalation of the leap-year after

every fourth year in the beginning of the fifth, did it after the third in the beginning of the fourth, and so it went for thirty-six years following; by which means twelve years having been intercalated, or made leap-years, instead of nine, the error was then perceived; whereon Augustus Cæsar, then Roman emperor, for the bringing of this again to rights, ordered, that for the twelve years next ensuing, no leap-year should be at all made, whereby the three supernumerary days, which were erroneously cast in, being again dropped, this form hath ever since gone without any alteration, till that made by Pope Gregory XIII. which I have mentioned.

Cæsar conquers the last remnant of Pompey's party in Spain, and is made perpetual Dictator, 45.—In the calends of January Cæsar entered his fourth consulship, and from thence began the first Julian year, according to the order of reformation which he made the year preceding. After this, Cæsar, passing into Spain, there vanquished in the battle of Munda the last remainders of Pompey's party, slaying Cneius, the eldest of his sons, and Labienus and Attius Varus, the chief supporters of that interest; whereby having quieted that province, he returned to Rome in the October following with full victory; and therefore looking on the civil war as now fully concluded, for the composing of all matters, and the reconciling to him, as far as in him lay, the minds of all that had been against him, he issued out an act of oblivion or general pardon, granting impunity and thorough indemnity to all that had acted against him in the late war. Hereon he was made perpetual dictator, and had many other honours and powers granted to him, whereby he had the whole authority of the Roman state put into his hands: and so was made, though not in name, yet truly and in effect, sovereign prince of their whole empire.

Continuation of the war in Syria. —In the interim the war in Syria went on; for Statius Marcus, who was sent by Cæsar to succeed Sextus in the presidency of Syria, being there arrived, joined Antistius with three legions, which he brought with him; and thereon, they having again shut up Bassus in Apamea, renewed the siege of that place. While this siege was continued, both sides solicited the aid of the neighbouring princes and cities. Alcaudonius, an Arab king, being on this occasion sent to by both sides, came with all his forces, and planting himself between Apamea and the camp of the Cæsareans that covered the siege, offered himself by way of

auction to that side which would give most for him, and Bassus, having bidden highest, accordingly had him; and Pacorus, with his Parthians, coming also to his assistance about the same time, these two reinforcements added such strength to him, that he forced the Cæsareans again to raise the siege.

Cæsar permits Hyrcanus to repair the walls of Jerusalem, 44.—Cæsar, on the first day of the next year, entered on his fifth and last

consulship; and having then received a request from Hyrcanus to permit him again to repair the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had caused to be pulled down, he readily granted it, in consideration of the service he had done him both in Egypt and Syria; and a decree was accordingly passed at Rome for this purpose; which being carried to Jerusalem, Antipater by virtue hereof immediately set about the work, whereby that city was again fortified as in former times. This, Josephus tells us, was done in Cæsar's fifth consulship; and about the same time it was also decreed by the senate, that in honour of him, the fifth month, hitherto called Quintilis, should thenceforth be called Julius, from his name, which is our English July.

Assassination of Cesar, March 15th. —Cæsar had for his colleague, in this year's consulship, M. Antony; but intending a war against the Parthians, for the revenging of the death of Crassus and the Romans slain with him at the battle of Carrhæ, he resigned his own consulship, and substituted in his stead Publius Cornelius Dolabella, a young man of twenty-five years of age, who had married Tullia, the daughter of Cicero. But when all things were ready for this expedition, on the ides of March, i. e. the fifteenth of that month, four days before he intended to set out on it, he was murdered in the senate-house by a conspiracy of senators. This was a most base and villanous act, and was the more so, in that the prime authors of it, Marcus Brutus, Decimus Brutus, Cassius, and Trebonius, and some others of them, were such as Cæsar had in the highest manner obliged; yet it was executed under the notion of a high heroic virtue, in thus freeing their country from one whom they called a tyrant; and there are not wanting such as are ready, even in our days, to applaud the act. But divine

justice declared itself otherwise in this matter: for it pursued every one of them that were concerned herein with such a just and remarkable revenge, that they were every man of them cut off in a short time after in a violent manner, either by their own or other men's hands.

Character of Julius Cæsar. —Cæsar was a very extraordinary person, of great parts, polite literature, and thorough abilities in all the arts of war and civil government, and of equal diligence and application in the use and pursuit of both. However, many of his enterprises being entered upon with great rashness, this abundantly proves that he owed the success which he had in them only to an overruling power of Providence on his side, which, having set him up as a fit instrument for the work which he brought to pass, carried him through all dangers and hazards, to the full accomplishing of it; and after that, when there was no more for him to do, cast him off to perish like a rod which is thrown into the fire when no more to be used. The work was God's;

---

but it being malice and ambition that excited him to be the instrument in the execution of it, he justly had for the reward thereof that destruction by which he fell. Having found, in two or three of his attempts, the hand of Providence with him, he afterward presuming hereon, often ventured on very hazardous undertakings, without having any other prospect of succeeding in them than from the confidence which he had in that which he called his good fortune. And he never failed in any of them: for he fought fifty battles without missing of success in any of them, unless at Pharus, where he swam for his life, and once at Dyrrachium. And in these battles he is said to have slain one million one hundred and ninety-two thousand men; which sufficiently proves him to have been a terrible scourge in the hand of God for the punishment of the wickedness of that age in which he lived; and consequently he is to be reputed the greatest pest and plague that mankind then had therein. But notwithstanding this, his actions have with many acquired great glory to his name; whereas true glory is due only to those who benefit, not to those who destroy, mankind.

Antony heads the Cæsarean party: obliged to retire from Italy by the superior influence and claims of Octavianus. —The murder of Cæsar was followed with great confusions and disturbances all over the Roman empire. Antony, being consul, headed the Cæsarean party, and by an oration made at Cæsar's funeral so far excited the people against the murderers, that they were all forced to leave Rome; and Antony governed all there till Octavius arrived. This Octavius was the son of Caius Octavius by Atia the daughter of Julia, sister of Julius Cæsar; and therefore he being his nephew, and nearest male relation, he adopted him for his son, and by his will made him heir to three quarters of his estate, giving the other quarter to two others of his relations. Intending to carry him with him to the Parthian war, he had sent him before to Apollonia, on the other side the Adriatic, to head his army, which he had there provided for that expedition, till he himself should arrive to march forward with them for the prosecuting of it and there he had been six months when his uncle was murdered. On his hearing of it he immediately passed over to Brundusium in Italy, and as soon as he was landed there, declaring himself the adopted son and heir of Julius Cæsar, instead of the name of Caius Octavius, which he had hitherto gone by, he called himself Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus; and by this name was he afterwards known till that of Augustus, which was given him after his victory at Actium, swallowed all the rest. The name of Cæsar, immediately on his assuming of it, drew to him the soldiery, and most of the others that had been of his uncle's party; and therefore, as he passed from thence to Rome, he was accompanied with a very numerous attendance; and all the way as he went others continually flocked in to them to show their respects to him. He came to Naples

---

on the first of May, from thence approaching Rome, he was met and conducted thither by vast numbers of the Roman people. The next morning, getting about him a great many of his friends, he presented himself before the tribunal of Caius Antonius, the brother of Marcus, then prætor of the city, and there declared before him, according to the Roman law and usage in this case, his acceptance of his uncle's adoption, and had it registered among the public acts of the city. Hereon taking upon him the executing of

his uncle's will, by which he was made his heir, a controversy arose between him and Antony about some part of the deceased's estate, which the latter thought to have swallowed; but their main contest was which of them should succeed Cæsar in his power and interest; concerning which each having put themselves upon the utmost struggle, the adopted son carried it against the other, both in the favour of the people and the number of the soldiery that resorted to him. Whereon Antony was forced to quit Rome, and leave Octavianus in the sole mastery there, both of the senate and people; which management, in thus overwitting one who had been so long experienced in all the affairs both of peace and war, was a great instance of wisdom in so young a man, he being then no more than eighteen years old, and going of the nineteenth: for he was born on the ninth of the calends of October, i. e. September the twenty-third, in the year before Christ 63, and therefore did not complete the nineteenth year of his age till the twenty-third of September in this year. Antony, finding he could not, with the utmost of his endeavours, make himself strong enough to overpower Octavianus, either in Rome or Italy, marched with all the forces he could get together into Gallia Cisalpina, with design to dispossess Decimus Brutus of that province, who was lately vested in it by a decree of the senate, and seize it to himself. This produced the siege and battle of Mutina, now called Modena, of which an account will be given among the actions of the next year.

Brutus seizes Greece and Macedonia, and Cassius seizes Cilicia, Syria, and the East. —In the interim, Q. Martius Crispus coming out of Bithynia with three legions of soldiers to the assistance of Murcus, the siege of Apamea was the third time renewed and carried on, till Cassius came and did put an end to it. Cæsar a little before his death had appointed Cornificius to go into Syria, and take on him that government; but afterward Dolabella, who succeeded Cæsar in his consulship, had it assigned to him by the senate, and Cornificius was sent into Africa. But Cassius, getting into Syria before Dolabella, seized

---

that province by violence; for finding that the Cæsareans prevailed in Italy, he and Brutus left that country, and retired to Athens; where resolving on a

new war with the Cæsareans, in order to raise money and forces for it, Brutus seized Greece and Macedonia, and Cassius Cilicia, Syria, and the East.

Antony defeated by Octavianus at Mutina, 43. —Hirtius and Pansa, being the consuls of the ensuing year, entered on their office on the first of January; and Marc Antony being declared by the senate a public enemy, because of the war which he had made upon Decimus Brutus, and his besieging of him in Mutina, both the consuls, and Octavianus in commission with them, were sent to his relief for the raising of that siege, in the attempting whereof a great battle being fought, one of the consuls was slain, and the other mortally wounded in it: however, the victory being on their side, Octavianus, who survived, reaped the whole benefit of it; for hereby he got the whole army under his sole command, and so far distressed Antony, that he was forced, in a very broken and abject condition, to flee over the Alps into Gallia Transalpina.

The second triumvirate—Antony, Lepidus, and Octavianus—against Brutus and Cassius. —But being there received by the Roman army, which Lepidus commanded in that province, this brought Octavianus to an agreement with him; by which a new triumvirate being erected, the three generals, that is, M. Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavianus, divided the Roman empire between them. Hence followed the proscription of many a noble Roman; among whom, by order of M. Antony, perished Cicero, prince of the Roman eloquence. That which influenced them most to the making of this agreement, were the preparations which M. Brutus and Cassius were making for a new war, which made it necessary for all the Cæsarean party to unite for their common defence: for Brutus having made himself master of Greece and Macedonia, and Cassius of Cilicia, Syria, and Palestine, they had each of them gotten together great armies in those countries; Brutus having mustered eight legions in Macedonia, and Cassius twelve in Syria; and therefore the forces of both, when united, made an army of twenty legions.

Cassius in Syria: efforts of Antipater to obtain his favour.—Cassius, on his arrival in Syria, found Murcus and Marcius Crispus at the siege of Apamea. On his coming thither they both joined him with all their

forces, and Bassus's soldiers compelled him to do the same; whereon the city being surrendered on terms, an end was put to this siege, and Cassius, by the addition of these three armies, made up his forces to the number of eight legions. Being thus strengthened, he soon brought all Syria to submit to him; and they did it the more willingly, because of the great reputation he had among them for his saving that country

---

from the Parthians, after the overthrow of Crassus at Carrhæ. Murcus, heartily embracing the same interest with Cassius, was continued by him in the government of Syria, and was also made the admiral of his fleet; but Crispus and Bassus, not caring to engage in this war, were permitted quietly to retire. From Syria, Cassius passed into Phœnicia and Judea, and without any difficulty secured to him the possession of both these countries. While he lay there, Alienus, one of Dolabella's lieutenants, was marching through Palestine with four legions, sent by Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, to the assistance of Dolabella. Cassius, hearing hereof, got them at an advantage, and having surrounded them with double their number, forced them all to come over to him, and hereby made up the twelve legions of which his army consisted. For the maintaining of so numerous a body of men, he was forced to lay heavy contributions on the country, and Judea being for this purpose taxed at seven hundred talents, Antipater, whose wisdom was never wanting for the peace and welfare of that country, took speedy care for the answering of this sum, committing it to the charge of his two sons, Phasael and Herod, and of Malichus, and some others, forthwith to raise the sum, and assigning to each of them their proper districts for this end. Herod, being the first that brought in his quota, thereby very much recommended himself to the favour of Cassius: but Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, Thamna, and some other cities of Judæa, being found tardy herein, Cassius caused all the inhabitants to be sold by auction for the raising of the money; and Malichus had like to have been put to death by Cassius for his failure in this matter, but that Hyrcanus sent to Cassius a hundred talents out of his own coffers to redeem him from it. In the interim Dolabella, after a long stay in the Proper Asia, for the exacting of contributions in those parts, passed into Cilicia, there seized Tarsus, and thence marched into Syria, and would have

entered Antioch as governor of the province; but being repulsed thence, he took possession of Laodicea, where the inhabitants voluntarily called him. Cassius and Murcus, hearing of this, hastened thither to suppress him, leaving Herod in the government of Cœle-Syria. On their arrival at Laodicea, Cassius with the army invested the place by land, and Murcus with the fleet by sea; whereby they so distressed Dolabella, that at last having taken the place, they left him and the chief heads of his party no other way of escaping falling into their hands but by putting an end to their lives, as some of them did by their own, and others by their servants' hands. As to the rest of his followers, Cassius listed them among his legions, and so did put an end to this war.

Malichus poisons Antipater and seizes the government of Jerusalem. —While this was a doing in Syria, Malichus was acting a very wicked and ungrateful part towards Antipater in Judæa. He and Antipater had long been the chief supporters of Hyrcanus's interest in Judæa

---

against Aristobulus and his sons, and next Antipater he was of the greatest power and authority in that country under the government of Hyrcanus, and was a very crafty, busy man; but not being contented to be the second man next the prince, he would fain have been the first, and that especially since he was a natural Jew, and the other only an Idumæan; and therefore for the accomplishing of this design, he laid a plot against the life of Antipater, concluding that, if he were removed, the prime administration of all affairs in Judæa would of course fall into his hands. Antipater, having gotten some notice of his treacherous projections, made preparations against them. But Malichus, coming to him, did in so crafty a manner, with oaths and protestations, deny the matter, that he fully persuaded both Antipater and his sons into a belief of his innocency, and a reconciliation was made between them. And whereas Murcus, on his having received some account of this man's innovating and factious designs, intended to have put him to death for them, he owed it to the intercession of Antipater that he was delivered from this danger. But notwithstanding this obligation, his ambition still hurrying on his wicked designs, he took the opportunity of Antipater's dining one day with Hyrcanus, to bribe the butler to give him

poison in his wine, of which he died: and Malichus immediately thereon, with an armed force seized the government of Jerusalem.

Herod avenges the death of his father by the murder of Malichus. — However, Malichus still endeavoured to persuade Phasaelus and Herod that he was wholly innocent as to this matter. Herod, having great indignation against him for this villanous act, would immediately by open force have revenged it upon him; but Phasaelus being of opinion rather to execute their revenge by craft and stratagem, lest otherwise they should run the nation into a civil war, Herod submitted hereto; and therefore both of them, dissembling their resentments, carried themselves towards him as if they believed all he said. In the mean time Cassius, being informed by Herod of the manner of Antipater's death, gave him leave to revenge it on the murderer, and sent his orders to the commanders of his forces at Tyre to be assisting to him herein. On Cassius's taking Laodicea, all the princes and chief lords of Syria and Palestine hastened thither with their congratulations and presents; and Hyrcanus, with Malichus and Herod, being upon the road for the same purpose, on their drawing near to Tyre, where they were to lodge that night, Herod invited all the company to sup with him, and sending his servants before, under pretence of providing the supper, by them communicated Cassius's orders to the commanders of the Roman garrison in that city; and accordingly a party of armed men, being sent out by them, fell on Malichus as he approached that place, and slew him. Had he come safe to Tyre, his design was, by stealth, to have gotten away his son, who was there a hostage, and then to have returned into Judæa, and there excited the Jews to a revolt, and while the Romans were embroiled in their wars among themselves, to have seized the country and made himself king. But Herod's plot against him, being the better laid of the two, took place for the defeating of all that he had thus projected. And thus it often

happens, that when crafty men lay designs for wicked ends, they meet with others as crafty and wicked as themselves to turn the plot on their own heads.

Fidelity of Cleopatra to the cause of the triumvirate, 42.—Cassius, having several times sent to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, for her assistance, and being as often denied, and hearing also that she was sending, on the other side, ships to the aid of the triumvirs, resolved to make war upon her. Cæsar had made her queen after the Alexandrian war, and for form's sake joined her brother, a lad of eleven years old, in copartnership with her; but the whole power, by reason of this minority of the young prince, was in her; and so it continued till the last preceding year; but then the young king being grown up to be fifteen years old, and thereby become capable of sharing the royal authority as well as the name, she made him away by poison, and at this time reigned alone in Egypt; and since she had received her crown by the favour of Cæsar, it was a generous gratitude in her not to send any aid to his murderer; and hereby she drew the anger of Cassius upon her.

Brutus and Cassius defeated at Philippi, and commit suicide. — But as Cassius was on his way to invade Cleopatra, he was called back by Brutus, who, by letters after letters, pressed him to come and join him against the triumvirs. For they had now gotten together an army of forty legions, and had passed eight of them over the Adriatic, and were following with the rest to fall upon him. Hereon Cassius, leaving a nephew of his with one legion to govern Syria in his absence, marched with all the rest towards Brutus, and joined him near Smyrna in the Proper Asia; where finding themselves masters of all from Macedonia to the Euphrates, excepting only the Lycians and the Rhodians, they thought it not convenient to leave two such potent maritime powers unsubdued behind them: and therefore, before they passed any farther westward, Brutus marched against the Lycians, and Cassius sailed with the fleet against the Rhodians, and after they had brought both these people under them, they again joined at Sardis, and from thence passed over the Hellespont, with an army of near one hundred thousand men, to fight Octavianus and Antony, who were come with much more numerous forces into Macedonia against them. At Philippi, a city in that country (the same to the inhabitants whereof St. Paul afterwards wrote one of his epistles), both armies met, where, after a terrible battle fought between them, Cæsar's murderers were vanquished, and by the just retribution of

divine vengeance upon them, they were both of them, that is, Cassius first, and afterwards Brutus, forced to murder themselves; and what was most signal herein, they both did it with the same swords with which they had murdered him. After this, Octavianus returned to Rome, and Antony passed on into Asia to settle the eastern provinces. These matters are more fully related by Plutarch in the Lives of M. Antonius and Brutus, and by Appian, Dion Cassius, and others; but it not being my purpose to write the Roman history, I meddle with it no otherwise than as it may serve to illustrate that of the Jews, which is the main subject of this work.

Jewish history: faction of Malichus joined by Hyrcanus, but suppressed by Phasaelus and Herod.—As soon as Cassius was gone out of Syria, the faction of Malichus at Jerusalem rose in arms to revenge his death upon the sons of Antipater; and having gained on their side Hyrcanus, and also Felix, the commander of the Roman forces left at Jerusalem, did put all into an uproar in that city; and at the same time, a brother of Malichus's took possession of Massada, and several other castles in Judæa, by the permission of Hyrcanus. Herod being then with Fabius, the Roman governor of Damascus, and there laid up by sickness, Phasaelus was forced alone to stand this storm, and weathered it with full success. For he drove Felix and all of that party out of Jerusalem; and when Herod was returned, both brothers together soon mastered this faction everywhere else, and recovered Massada again from them, and all other places which they had taken: and when they had thus settled all matters again in peace, they justly upbraided Hyrcanus with ingratitude in favouring the adverse faction against them, when it was to the assistance and wise administration of Antipater, their father, that he owed all that he had. But a match being about this time set on foot between Herod and Mariamne the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, that reconciled all differences between them.

Revival of the faction in an attempt to place Antigonus on the throne, overthrown by Herod.—However, peace did not long continue. The suppressed faction soon revived again under another head: for they called to them Antigonus, the younger son of Aristobulus, and under the pretence of restoring him to his father's throne, raised new disturbances in

the country. Aristobulus his father, and Alexander his eldest brother, being dead, he as heir of the family claimed the kingdom which Aristobulus had been possessed of; and herein he was supported by Marion, king of Tyre, Fabius, governor of Damascus, and Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, prince of Chalcis: the first of these engaged in this cause out of the hatred he bore to Herod; the second for the money which was given to hire him into it; and the last by reason of the affinity that was between their families; for he had married a sister of Antigonus's. After Aristobulus had been poisoned by the Pompeians, and Alexander his son beheaded at Antioch, as hath been above related, and the family was thereby brought to great distress, this Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, sent Philippion his son to Askalon, where the widow of Aristobulus was retired with her remaining children,

---

to bring them all with him to Chalcis, proposing there to provide for them. This he did for the sake of the love with which he was smitten for one of the daughters, named Alexandra. But Philippion, taking the same liking to her, married her on the way, for which his father put him to death on his return, and then married her himself. And by reason of this affinity, he did all he could to promote the interest of Antigonus; who, being thus assisted by him and the others mentioned, got an army into the field for the pursuing of his pretensions. But Herod, encountering him on his first entering into Judæa, gave him a total overthrow, and then recovering what Marion had taken in Galilee, he returned to Jerusalem with victory and triumph.

Antony settles the Roman provinces in Asia: commits the administration of affairs in Judea to Phasaelus and Herod, 41.—Antony having, after the victory at Philippi, passed over into Asia to settle all matters there in the interest of the conquerors, exacted grievous taxes and contributions in all places for the payment of his soldiers, and the support of the excessive luxury which he thenceforth gave himself up unto. Wherever he came, after his arrival in those parts, he had his chamber door every morning thronged at his levee by kings and princes from the eastern countries, or by ambassadors from others of them, to solicit his favour; and several of them brought with them their wives and daughters, that, prostituting them to his lust, they might thereby the better obtain their ends.

Among other ambassadors that came to him, there were several of principal note from the nation of the Jews, who were sent to accuse Phasael and Herod for usurping the government from Hyrcanus, and abusing it to their own ends. But Herod being present, partly by his money, and partly by his interest with Antony, obtained that Antony would not hear them. For he, having received great obligations from Antipater when he served under Gabinius in Judæa, for his sake much favoured his sons; and Herod, on this account, had ever after a very great interest with him. Not long after there came other ambassadors out of Judæa from Hyrcanus, to pray that the lands and territories which Cassius had taken from the Jews might be restored, and that all of that nation, whom Cassius had unjustly sold into slavery, might be again set free: both which petitions were readily granted. At Tarsus, Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, came to him, being summoned to answer an accusation against her, as if she had favoured the interest of Cassius. On her arrival thither, by the charms of her beauty and her wit, she drew him into those snares which held him enslaved to her as long as he lived, and in the end caused his ruin. On his coming into Syria, he deposed all the tyrants which Cassius had made in that country. For, on his going from thence to the war against the triumvirs for the raising of money for the expenses of that expedition, he cantoned out the greatest part of that country into small principalities, and sold them to those

---

who would give most for them; and thus was it that Marion, who hath been mentioned, came to be king of Tyre. At Daphne, near Antioch, one hundred of the principal Jews came to him in another embassy, with the same complaints against the sons of Antipater as the former. Antony now gave them a hearing; and Hyrcanus being present, he put it to him to declare, whom he thought the fittest to manage the government under him; to which he answered in favour of the two brothers, being induced hereto by reason of the affinity which he had newly contracted with Herod in the espousals of his grand-daughter. Whereon Antony, being otherwise inclined to favour the two brothers, for the reason above mentioned, made them both tetrarchs, and committed all the affairs of Judæa to their administration; and having imprisoned fifteen of the ambassadors, would have put them to death, but

that Herod saved them by his intercession. However, they did not give over their solicitation. For, on Antony's coming to Tyre, instead of the former hundred, there came thither a thousand to him with the same accusations against the two brothers, which Antony looking on as a tumult, rather than an embassy, caused them to be fallen upon by his soldiers; whereon several of them were slain, and more wounded.

Antony plunders the city of Palmyra, or Tadmor: history of Palmyra.—Antony, wanting money to pay his army, sent all his horse to Palmyra, to take the plunder of that city instead of their pay. This was an ancient city in Syria, formerly called Tadmor. The Holy Scriptures make mention of it by this name, and tell us that it was built in the desert by Solomon, king of Israel, after his having vanquished and brought under him the kingdom of Hamath Zoba, in which it was situated. When the Greeks became masters of those countries, they gave it the name of Palmyra, which it retained for several ages after; and under it, about the middle of the third century after Christ, grew famous by being made the seat of the eastern empire under Odenathus and Zenobia. But when the Saracens became lords of the East, they again restored it to the old name of Tadmor; and that it hath ever since borne even to this day. But it is now famous for nothing else but its ruins; which are the most august that are at present anywhere to be found; and these truly prove how great the magnificence, riches, and splendour of this ancient and noble city was in former times. It is one hundred and twenty-seven miles north of Damascus, on this side the Euphrates, at the distance of a day's journey from that river. The situation of it is much like what that of Ammonia in the deserts of Libya is described to have been. For it is built on an island of firm land, which lies in the midst of a vast ocean of sand, sandy deserts surrounding it on every side. Its neighbourhood to the Euphrates having placed it in the confines of two potent empires, that of the Parthians on the East and that of the Romans on the West, it happened often that in times of war they were grinded between both. But in times of peace they

---

made themselves sufficient amends by their commerce with each of them, and the great riches which they gained thereby. For the caravans from

Persia and India, which now unload at Aleppo, did in those times unload at Palmyra, and from thence the eastern commodities which came overland, being carried to the next ports on the Mediterranean, were from thence transmitted into the West; and the western commodities, being through the same way brought from the said ports to this city, were there loaded on the same caravans, and on their return carried back and dispersed over all the East. So that as Tyre, and afterwards Alexandria, were the chief marts for the eastern trade that was carried on by sea, Palmyra was for some time the chief mart for so much of that trade as was carried on by land. By the means whereof that place being very much enriched, Antony thought with the plunder of it to have paid off his cavalry; and for this purpose sent them thither. But the Palmyrenians, having timely notice of the designs, had before their arrival removed all their families and effects to the other side of the Euphrates, where the invaders not being able to come at them, they were forced to return without the prey they came for; and on their recess, the Palmyrenians came back again to their houses, and being exasperated by this ill usage, did thenceforth put themselves under the protection of the Parthians, which became one of the principal causes of the second Parthian war.

Antony, captivated by Cleopatra, follows her to Egypt: successful invasion of the Parthians, under Pacorus and Labienus.— Cleopatra, having accompanied Antony as far as Tyre, there took her leave of him, and returned into Egypt, but left him so insnared in the fetters of amour to her, that he could not stay long behind; and therefore, having appointed Plancus to be his lieutenant in Lesser Asia, and Saxa in Syria, he made haste after her to Alexandria, and there spent the whole ensuing winter with her. In the interim, all Syria and Palestine being grievously oppressed with the taxes which were imposed on them, the Aradians and some others slew those who were sent to gather them, and thereon joined with the Palmyrenians, and those tyrants whom Antony had deposed, for the calling in of the Parthians against him, which put the whole country in the utmost misery and confusion. For the Parthians, on this invitation, passed the Euphrates with a great army, under the command of Pacorus the king's son, and Labienus a Roman general of the Pompeian party. This Labienus was the son of Titus Labienus, who had been Cesar's lieutenant in Gallia,

and one of the chiefest of his friends; but afterwards going over to Pompey, became the bitterest of his enemies, and was slain fighting against him in the battle of Munda. His son, pursuing the same interest, was sent by Brutus and Cassius,

---

a little before the battle of Philippi, in an embassy to the Parthian king, to pray his aid for that war; and was soliciting this matter at the Parthian court when that battle happened; by the ill success whereof being discouraged from any more returning, he continued in that country, and having prevailed with king Orodes to undertake this war, was sent with Pacorus, the king's son, to be under him the chief commander in it. On their entering Syria, they vanquished Saxa in battle, and forced him to flee into Cilicia, and after this, having divided the army between them, Labienus with one part of it pursued Saxa into Cilicia, and having there slain him, overran all the Lesser Asia; and forcing Plancus to flee thence into the isles, brought all places under him, as far as the Hellespont and the Ægean Sea. And at the same time, Pacorus, with the other part of his army, subdued all Syria and Phœnicia as far as Tyre, which alone stood out against him. For the remainder of the Roman forces in that country, having gotten thither before him, held out that place, so that he could not make himself master of it.

Marriage of Antony with Octavia, and new partition of the Roman empire between the triumvirs, 40.—Antony, being roused up by the accounts brought him at Alexandria of the ill state of his affairs in Italy as well as in Syria and Lesser Asia, early in the ensuing spring took his leave of Cleopatra, to carry a remedy to them. For in Italy, Fulvia his wife, and Lucius Antonius his brother (who had been consul the preceding year), having under the pretence of supporting his interest engaged in a war against Octavianus, were vanquished by him; and after the taking of Perusia (where Lucius had suffered a long and hard siege in this cause) were both driven out of that country. And what was the state of affairs in Syria and Lesser Asia hath been related. For the removing of these evils, he first sailed to Tyre; but on his putting in there, finding all the country round in the hands of the Parthians, and receiving also in that place lamentable letters of complaint from Fulvia, concerning her sufferings from

Octavianus, he neglected the foreign enemy to make war upon the domestic, and sailed into Italy with two hundred sail of ships against Octavianus; but on his arrival thither, receiving an account that Fulvia was dead at Sicyon, he hearkened to the advice of his friends, for the making up of all differences with Octavianus, by marrying Octavia his sister, who had lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus, her former husband: on which terms peace being made between them, they both went together to Rome, and the marriage was there solemnized with great pomp and solemnity. After this the triumvirs came to a new partition of the Roman empire between them,

---

by virtue whereof Lepidus had the provinces of Africa; Octavianus, Dalmatia, the two Gallias, Spain, and Sardinia; and Antony all the eastern province beyond the Adriatic. And the war against the Parthians was committed to his charge, and that against Sextus Pompeius (who had seized Sicily) to Octavianus; and Italy, it was agreed, should be common to them both, for the raising of forces for these wars.

Parthian invasion of Judea for the establishment of Antigonus on the throne.—In the mean time, Labienus ravaged all the Lesser Asia, and Pacorus, having taken in Sidon and Ptolemais, sent a party to invade Judæa, for the making of Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, king of that country. For Ptolemy the son of Mennæus, prince of Chalcis, dying this year, Lysanias his son, who succeeded him in that principality, having a great interest with Barzapharnes, a chief commander of the army that followed Pacorus, contracted with him in the behalf of Antigonus (to whom he was allied in the manner as hath been above mentioned), that for one thousand talents and five hundred Jewish women, to be given to the Parthians by Antigonus, they should restore him to his father's kingdom; which contract being consented to and ratified by Pacorus, he sent from Ptolemais a part of his army under the command of his cupbearer, called also Pacorus, to put it in execution. Whereon Antigonus, having gotten together an army of Jews from about Mount Carmel and elsewhere, marched with them into Judæa, and the cupbearer followed to support him. Antigonus, having vanquished in battle those that first came forth to oppose

him, pursued them unto Jerusalem, where, having gotten into the city, many skirmishes happened between him and the two brothers; in which the Antigonians being worsted, were forced to take shelter in the mountain of the temple, and the other party seized the palace; and from these two places, as the head-quarters of the two parties, they frequently sallied upon each other; and these hostilities were continued between them till the feast of Pentecost, when great numbers of people coming to Jerusalem from all parts to this holy solemnity, and some joining on one side and some on the other, this produced such great distractions, and such shedding of blood in every part of the city, as moved both parties to think of a composure of these troubles.

Parthians treacherously inveigle Hyrcanus and Phasaelus.—Hereon Antigonus subdolously proposed the calling in of the cupbearer to arbitrate all differences between them (for he, having followed Antigonus, according to the orders of his master, was then with his forces encamped without the walls of the city): which proposal being accepted of, the cupbearer, with five hundred of his horse, was received into Jerusalem, and he taking his lodging at Phasael's house, and being there kindly entertained as his guest, made use of this opportunity to work his host into such a confidence in him, as to be drawn by his

---

treacherous persuasions to go on an embassy to Barzapharnes (who then governed Syria under Pacorus), as being made believe, by this subtle Parthian, that it was the certainest way to gain such a settlement of his affairs as would be best to his content. And therefore, taking Hyrcanus along with him, he went on this journey wholly against the opinion of Herod, who, having no faith in the Parthians, blamed his brother's credulity in this matter. The cupbearer conducted them on their way with part of his horse, leaving the other part at Jerusalem. When the ambassadors came into Galilee, they were met with a guard from Barzapharnes to conduct them to him; and the cupbearer returned again to Jerusalem. Barzapharnes at first received them with an appearance of kindness, till he thought the cupbearer was returned again to Jerusalem, and had there seized Herod according to the orders that were given him. But as soon as, by computing the time, he

concluded this was done, he caused both Phasael and Hyrcanus to be seized and put into chains.

Flight of Herod from Jerusalem.—Herod, having timely intelligence hereof, before any part of the intended treachery could be executed upon him, got away from Jerusalem in the night, taking with him all his family and the best of his effects, and as many soldiers in his pay as he had then at hand for their guard, and made the best of his way towards Massada, which was a castle built on the top of a very high mountain, near the west side of the lake Asphaltites, and the strongest fortress in all that country. In his march thither, he was several times assaulted, both by the Parthians pursuing him, and also by the Jews of the opposite faction; but in all these conflicts he had the better of them; and having more especially in one of them, which was fought with the Jews of Antigonus's party, at the distance of about seven miles from Jerusalem, gotten a more remarkable advantage than in any of the rest, he there afterwards built a very famous palace, called Herodium, in memory of it. On his coming to Ressa, in Idumæa, his brother Joseph met him with such further forces as he could get together for his assistance. But on their drawing near to Massada, that place not being capable of containing all the company, Herod dismissed nine thousand of them. Of the rest he put eight hundred into the castle, with his mother, sister, and the other women of quality which he brought with him from Jerusalem; and then, having furnished the fortress with provisions for several months, and left Joseph in the chief command of it, he, with the remainder of his followers, made the best of his way for Petra, in Arabia, where, Malchus, having succeeded Aretas, then reigned as king of that country. Herod, having laid many obligations upon him by former kindnesses and services, thought to have found him his friend in this time of need; but he being one who, like many others, would not own a friend in adversity, as soon as he heard of Herod's case sent to him to depart his dominions, pretending for it the command of the Parthians. Hereon Herod, dismissing most of those that had hitherto followed him, went directly for Egypt; and on his coming to Rhinocorura in his way thither, he there had an account of the death of Phasael his brother.

III. REIGN OF ANTIGONUS. B. C. 40—37.

Murder of Phasaelus, and mutilation of Hyrcanus.—The Parthians, when they found Herod gone from Jerusalem, after having first plundered the place and all the country round, made Antigonus, according as they had agreed with him, king of Judæa, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasael in chains to him. Phasael, knowing his death to be determined, to prevent the executioner, beat out his brains against the wall of the prison. Hyrcanus's life was spared: but, to incapacitate him from being any longer high priest, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off (for no one was, according to the Levitical law, to be priest or high priest among the Jews who was not perfect and whole in all the parts and members of his body), and after this delivered him back again to the Parthians to be carried by them into the East, that being so far off he might not be in the way to disturb him; and accordingly on their return they carried him to Seleucia, and soon after there happened a reason which forced them to return sooner than they intended.

Antony's lieutenant Ventidius arrives in Asia: Parthians, after two defeats, retire beyond the Euphrates.—For Antony, after his agreement with Octavianus, having sent Ventidius, one of his lieutenants, into the East against them, he managed this war with such success as soon cleared all the Roman territories of them. His passage into Asia was with such speedy expedition, that arriving thither much sooner than expected, he surprised Labienus with the suddenness of his coming, before he was prepared to withstand him. For he had then none of the Parthian army with him, but only such forces as were made up of Roman deserters and those Asiatics which he had gathered up in Syria, Phœnicia, and Lesser Asia, since his coming over the Euphrates. And therefore, not daring to stand the approach of a Roman army, he retreated before them as fast as he could, till he came to Mount Taurus, where having, by the advantage of the mountains, encamped in such a place as secured him from being forced to a battle, he sent to Pacorus for assistance: hereon an army of Parthians coming thither to his aid, they had the Romans in such contempt, because of

their former victories over them, that they engaged Ventidius before Labienus could come to join them; and therefore, being overthrown in this battle, and most of them cut in pieces, they received the reward which was justly due to their presumption. Labienus's soldiers, being terrified with this defeat of the Parthians, all deserted him and fled, every one shifting as well as he could for himself: whereon Ventidius, pursuing after them, slew some of them, and having taken the rest, listed them among his own forces. Labienus, making his escape in a disguise, for some time skulked about in Cilicia, from one hiding-place to another, till at length being discovered by Demetrius (a freed man of Julius Cæsar's, whom Antony had made governor of Cyprus), he was taken and put to death. After this victory Ventidius, having recovered all Cilicia,

---

marched on to Mount Amanus, which parted Cilicia from Syria; where he met another army of Parthians, who, under the command of Pharnapates, one of Pacorus's lieutenants, had seized the passes leading into Syria, and thereby endeavoured to hinder his further progress. But Ventidius falling on them slew their general, and gained a second victory over them as considerable as the former; and then, without any further opposition, passed on into Syria. Whereon Pacorus, calling all his forces to him, marched back with all the haste he was able, and repassing the Euphrates, left Syria and all else on this side that river wholly to the Romans, and all again in those countries returned to their former subjection to them, excepting only the Aradians, who by reason of their having slain those that were sent thither to gather their taxes, despairing of pardon, held out for some time, till they were at length reduced by force of arms.

Herod proceeds to Rome, prays the aid of Antony, and unexpectedly obtains the kingdom of Judea for himself.—In the interim Herod, from Rhinocorura, went to Pelusium, and from thence to Alexandria; where taking ship, he passed by the way of Rhodes and Brundusium to Rome; and there applying to Antony, acquainted him of the lamentable state all his affairs in Judæa were then in, and earnestly prayed his aid. Antony, on the account of the friendship which he had first with his father, and afterwards with him, pitied his case, and for the sake of a great

sum of money promised, undertook to help him, and did much more for him than he expected. For whereas the utmost of his design was to have obtained the kingdom for Aristobulus, the brother of Mariamne, whom he had lately espoused, without proposing anything further for his own interest, than that he might govern the country under him in the same manner as Antipater had under Hyrcanus his grandfather; Antony procured that the crown was given to him, contrary to the custom of the Romans commonly practised by them in this case. For they used not to pass over the royal line of any dependent kingdom, and grant the crown to one that was an alien to it. But Octavianus being prevailed with to favour the design, partly to gratify Antony, and partly out of gratitude to the family of Antipater, for the seasonable help brought by him to Julius Cæsar in Egypt, their joint interest was not to be withstood. And therefore Messala and Atratinus, two noble senators, having introduced Herod into the senate, and there set forth the merits of him and his family toward the Roman people, and the demerits of Antigonus; and Antony having added, that it would be very advantageous to him in his carrying on the Parthian war to have Herod king of Judæa, the royal dignity was decreed to him by the unanimous suffrage of the whole senate, and Antigonus was declared an enemy to the Roman state. And on the rising of the senate, Herod was conducted by the consuls and other magistrates up to the capitol, Octavianus

---

going on one side of him, and Antony on the other; and the decree being there deposited among the public records of the state, he was thereon solemnly inaugurated into the kingdom, according to the Roman usage. Having had so good and expeditious success in this matter, he made all the haste back again into Judæa that he was able. For having tarried only seven days at Rome for the despatch of this whole affair, he returned to his ships at Brundusium, and sailing thence with the first fair wind, he landed at Ptolemais towards the end of summer, so that he was not above three months in all this journey, both by sea and land.

War between Herod and Antigonus: Herod conquers Galilee.—On Herod's arrival, his first care was to relieve his mother, sister, and other friends that were shut up in Massada. For Antigonus had besieged them

with a close siege ever since his departure, and had once brought them to so great a distress for want of water, that Joseph had resolved to attempt desperately to break through the besiegers, and flee unto Malchus in Arabia: for he had heard that Malchus had repented of his unkindness to Herod, and was now much better inclined to him and his party. But the night before he intended to have put this design in execution, there fell such plentiful showers of rain as filled all their cisterns, and thereby put them in a capacity of holding out till Herod came and relieved them. And to relieve them being what he had most at heart (especially for the sake of Mariamne, his late betrothed mistress, who was a lady of the greatest beauty and the greatest merit of any of her time), he did all he could to provide for it. For immediately on his return, he set himself to raise men, listing into his service as well foreigners as Jews; and with those, and such Roman auxiliaries as he received from Ventidius and Silo his lieutenant in Palestine, he made himself master of all Galilee, some few places only excepted. After this, he endeavoured to get at Massada, but not thinking it safe to leave so strong a place as Joppa behind him in the hands of his enemies, he took in that first, and then proceeding to the place intended, and having there raised the siege, and received all his friends, he took in Ressa, a strong fortress in Idumæa; and marching back, joined Silo, whom Ventidius had left in Judæa, for the promoting of his interest, and encamped with him before the walls of Jerusalem.

Cupidity of the Roman generals towards both parties.—For Ventidius, on his having driven the Parthians out of Syria, marched into Palestine, out of pretence to relieve Joseph in Massada, but in reality to get as much money as he could; and therefore having appeared before Jerusalem, and thereby frighted Antigonus to part with all the money he could get together, for the purchasing of his departure, he marched back into Syria with the gross of his army, leaving Silo with the rest in Judæa. And with these he joined Herod, but did him more hurt than good: for following the same method which Ventidius had lately given him an example for, he managed this war in no other manner than as it might bring most money into his own pocket, receiving great sums from Herod to promote his interest, and at the same time

greater from Antigonus to hinder it; so that playing booty on both sides, he squeezed each of them to the utmost, and truly served neither. He helped Herod indeed in reducing Joppa, and on his return from Massada, went with him to the siege of Jerusalem, but there managed that matter so, that by encouraging his soldiers to mutiny, on pretence of wanting necessaries, he made it end only in the sackage of Jericho, to the utter ruin of that place, and then dismissed the army into winter-quarters, which he made Herod provide for them in Idumæa, Samaria, and Galilee.

Saloninus born at Rome: Virgil's eclogue on his birth fulfilled in the birth of Christ. — This year was born to Asinius Pollio, consul of Rome, a son, whom from his taking of Salone, a city in Dalmatia, he called Saloninus: on his birth Virgil made his fourth eclogue, and therein attributes to him what was then generally talked, first by the Jews, and afterwards from them by others, of the kingdom of the Messiah, who was speedily to appear, and restore the righteousness and bliss of the golden age again to the world. That Saloninus was not this person was soon proved, for he died on the ninth day after his birth; but what was then foretold and rumoured abroad concerning this matter was in less than forty years after all fulfilled in the birth of our Saviour. And the kingdom of Christ would truly be all that this eclogue describes it to be, would men but keep the laws thereof. Where all do good to all, there is heaven; and where all do evil to all, there is hell; and according as the one or the other prevails, so we have a heaven or a hell here on earth. The law of Christ is truly and exactly calculated for the former; and were the righteousness, justice, and charity, which it enjoins, fully observed, then all would do good to all, and a state of bliss would be established among men here on earth, next that which is enjoyed by the saints in heaven. And all that is said of the golden age by the poets, or of the kingdom of the Messiah by the prophets of Israel, would truly be verified in this life; and that it is not so, is wholly owing to the wickedness of men, who by their malice, violence, and uncharitableness, obstruct what otherwise the law of Christ would effect, and thereby introduce a hell instead of a heaven among us.

Herod reduces the banditti of Galilee, 39. —Herod, though he had put Silo's soldiers into winter-quarters, still kept the field with his own; one part of which he sent into Idumæa, under the command of his brother Joseph, to secure all there to his interest; with the rest he marched to Samaria, and having there placed his mother, sister, and all his other friends, which he brought from Massada under a safe guard, he passed on into Galilee, and there reduced Sepphoris and all other places which held for Antigonus in that country; and after that betook himself to rid it of those bands of thieves and banditti, which at that time very much infested it. For there being many mountains and steep craggy rocks in this country, with caves in them capable of affording hiding-places for great numbers of this sort of people, great numbers of them were often found from those dens to make ravages and depredations in it, and never more than at this time. For the

---

suppressing of these, Herod marched with all his forces against them, and all were scarce enough: for these robbers, having joined their forces together, made such a head against him, that at first Herod's left wing was put to the rout, till he himself came up in person with other forces to their relief; whereon having gained the victory, he pursued them as far as the river Jordan, and there drove them all out of the country, excepting only some few, who, lurking behind, sheltered themselves in the caves and fastnesses of the mountains. After this he gave his soldiers a donative of one hundred and fifty drachms a man, and dismissed them into winter-quarters. While they lay there, he took care, by the agency of Pheroras his brother, to furnish them, and also the Romans under Silo, with plenty of provisions; and also took care at the same time, by the same person, for the reëdifying and new fortifying of the castle of Alexandrium. And as soon as the season of the year would allow him to take the field, he marched again into Galilee, to rid it of the remainder of those thieves, who still infested that country from the caves and holes of the mountains where they had taken shelter; but how to come at them was the difficulty. For by reason of the cragginess and steepness of those mountains, there was no scaling them from below, and to get down to them from above by any passage was

altogether as unpracticable; and therefore to ferret them out of their dens, he was forced to make certain chests, and filling them with soldiers, to let them down into the entrances of those caves, by chains from engines which he had fixed above; by which means having destroyed all that lurked in them, or else reduced them to terms of submission, he wholly quieted that country for the present, and marched to Samaria, from thence to make war upon Antigonus. But he was no sooner gone, but those thieves whom he had lately driven over Jordan again returned, and infesting anew that country, slew Ptolemy, whom Herod had made governor of it, and began again to ravage all round about them. But Herod, on notice hereof, coming back again, soon made them pay dear for it. For, ferreting them out of all their hiding-holes, he cut off the most of them, destroyed all their places of retreat, and deeply fined all of the country that had afforded them any relief or countenance; by which necessary rigour he at length restored full peace and security to all Galilee.

Antony at Athens: Ventidius obtains a third and crowning victory over the Parthians. — In the interim, Antony was at Athens, there spending this winter with his new wife Octavia, in the same excesses of luxury, folly, and loose divertisements, as he had the former with Cleopatra at Alexandria. While he thus lay idle in that place, there came thither to him an account of the two victories gained by Ventidius against the Parthians; for which he made great rejoicing and feasting in that place. But hearing that Pacorus was making great preparations for another invasion into Syria, he thought not fit any longer to lie still, and leave it to his lieutenant to reap all the laurels of this war. And therefore as soon as the spring advanced he left Athens with all his forces, and marched towards the east; but before he could get thither, Ventidius had gained a third victory, much greater than the other two, whereby he seemed to have fully revenged

---

the death of Crassus, and those that were cut off with him in the battle of Carrhæ: for the loss on the Parthians' side, at this time, was altogether as signal as that other on the Romans'; Pacorus himself and above twenty thousand of his best men being slain in this overthrow. The manner whereby it was effected was as followeth: -Ventidius, hearing that the

Parthians were in great readiness for another expedition into Syria, feared that they might pass the Euphrates upon him, before he should be able to get his army together from the several places where they were dispersed into quarters, for the putting of himself into a condition to oppose them. And therefore, for the preventing thereof, he had recourse to this stratagem. There being then in his camp, under the name of an ally, a petty prince of those Eastern parts, whom he knew to be a well-wisher and secret correspondent of the Parthians, that communicated to them all the intelligence he could get of the Roman counsels and designs, he laid a plot of serving himself by this man's treachery. For taking the first opportunity that offered to discourse with him, and expressing himself as if he placed great confidence in him, communicated to him pretended fears, feigning that he had heard, and was thereon much concerned, that the Parthians, waiving the usual passage of the Euphrates at Zeugma, intended now to enter Syria another way, at a passage of that river much below the former. For, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side the Euphrates is there mountainous, where the Parthian horse, of which their army mostly consists, will not be useful to them; but in case they take the lower passage, the country is all plain, and there the horse will have their full advantage, and the Romans will not be able to stand before them. As soon as this conference was over, the traitor, according as Ventidius foresaw, conveyed a full account of it to the Parthians, and there it had the full effect which was intended. For Pacorus, immediately hereon altering his course, left the road of Zeugma, and took his route into the other road, where Ventidius wished he should: which causing a long march about, and requiring other preparations to be made for the passing of the river at the place now intended, while all this was a doing, forty days were gained to Ventidius; in which time having gotten to him Silo from Judæa, and all his legions from beyond Taurus, where they had been quartered, he was in full readiness to meet the Parthians as soon as they entered Syria; where having first overwitted them by several stratagems and artifices of war, he at length vanquished them with that signal overthrow which I have mentioned. It is remarked of this victory of the Romans, that as it fully revenged the victory gotten over Crassus by the Parthians, so it was gotten on the same day of the year on which the other was lost, just fourteen years before. It happened

therefore in the month of June; for in that month the battle of Carrhæ was fought by Crassus.

Grief of Orodes king of Parthia for the loss of his son Pacorus. — Orodes king of Parthia, hearing of this defeat, and the death of his son in it, was so overwhelmed with excess of grief for this calamity, that he

---

grew distracted upon it. For several days he sat mute, not speaking a word, or caring to take any meat; and when his grief had at length made way for his tongue to express it, nothing else could be heard from him but the name of Pacorus: sometimes he would seem to see him, and call upon him as if present, sometimes to talk with him, sometimes to hear him speaking to him, and at other times, recollecting that he was lost, he would pour out his lamentations for it with showers of tears. And in truth there was reason enough for all this grief in the present case; for this overthrow was the greatest blow which the Parthians had at any time till now ever received: and the loss of the prince was as great as that of the army; for he was the worthiest person for justice and clemency, as well as for valour and all other princely qualities, which the royal family of Arsaces had ever bred; by which, in the short time that he was in Syria, he so far endeared himself to the people of that country, that they never expressed a greater affection for any prince that ever reigned over them than they did for him.

Antony arrives in Syria: jealously dismisses Ventidius from the command. — Had Ventidius after this victory pursued all the advantages of it, he might have driven the Parthians out of Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and extended the Roman empire to the banks of the Tigris, if not beyond them: but he feared he might thereby excite the envy of Antony against him; and therefore contented himself with reducing all those places in Syria and Phœnicia which had revolted from the Romans in the late war; and in pursuit hereof, he was with all his army in Commagena when Antony arrived. For Antiochus, the king of that country, having embraced the Parthian interest against the Romans, Ventidius made war upon him for it, and having shut him up in Samosata, the capital of his kingdom, was then straitly besieging him. Antony, on his coming thither, took this war out of

his hands, and dismissing him from his presidency of Syria, and all other command, sent him to Rome, on pretence that he might there take his triumph for his victories; but the true reason was, he envied him the glory of them, and therefore sent him away from the army, with which he was in great reputation, and never employed him afterwards, though on many occasions after this time he needed so able and experienced a general to fight his battles for him.

Triumph of Ventidius: his singular history. — However, Ventidius, on his return to Rome, was there received with all the honour that his victories deserved; for he was not only admitted to his triumph, but had it granted to him with the general applause of all the Roman people; and herein had this peculiar glory, that he was the only person that ever triumphed over the Parthians, none before or after having ever attained to it besides him alone. And another thing was also peculiar to him in this matter, which was altogether as remarkable, that is, he came to this honour of triumphing from being led in triumph himself, which no one else besides himself ever did. For, in the social war which

---

the Italian allies waged with Rome for the freedom of that city, being made a captive at the taking of Asculum, the chief city of Picenum, by Strabo the father of Pompey, he was then, being very young, led before that general in his triumph for the said victory. After this, his family being brought to poverty by the ruin and sackage of their city, he was forced when grown up to betake himself to a mean and sordid employment for his livelihood. For at first he was only a muleteer, and being used to provide mules for the carrying of the baggage of such Roman magistrates as were sent to govern foreign provinces, Cæsar made use of him for this purpose when he went first into Gallia; and having on that occasion taken notice of the activity and quick apprehension of the man, took him with him into his Gallic wars; wherein by his valour and other military qualifications he rose so fast through all the stations of the camp, as that he became one of the chief of Cæsar's generals in all the wars that he afterwards waged; and on his return to the city, reaped honours there as fast as he had in the army, being first made tribune of the people, and afterwards prætor and consul of Rome.

After Cæsar's death, he joined himself to Antony, and fought for his cause in the wars both of Mutina and Perusia; and afterwards being sent as his lieutenant into the East, he there obtained the victories I have mentioned: for which having triumphed at his return to Rome, he there afterwards lived, and there died in great honour; and on his decease, a public funeral was there made for him at the charges of the commonwealth.

War between Herod and Antigonus continued. — In the interim Herod carried on his war in Judæa against Antigonus; and Machæras a Roman general, by the order of Antony, was sent with two legions and one thousand horse to his assistance. But on his approach to the walls of Jerusalem, where he went with design to confer with Antigonus, being beaten back by the archers and slingers that guarded the rampart, he fell into such a rage hereon, that on his retreat from thence he slew all the Jews that came in his way, without regarding whether they were friends or foes; in which wild fury of his, many of Herod's friends being cut off, he could not bear it with any patience; and therefore went away immediately to Samaria, and from thence hastened towards Antony, to make complaint to him of this outrage; of which Machæras having notice, made after him as fast as he could, and having overtaken him, prevailed with him to overlook what was past, and be reconciled unto him.

Herod's visit to Antony. — However, Herod, continuing his journey to pay his respects unto Antony, left Joseph his brother to command in Judæa during his absence, but with special order to put nothing to hazard till he should return. On his coming to Antony (whom he found still at Samosata), he was received with great honour, and in requital of it, there did him special service in the carrying on of the siege of that place. Ventidius first began it, as hath been already mentioned, and king Antiochus, whom he shut up therein, offered a thousand talents for his peace; but Antony, on his arrival, not accepting of it, after he

---

had dismissed Ventidius, carried on the siege himself, but with much less success. For the people of the place, on Antony's rejecting the best terms they could offer him for peace, being by desperation made valiant, defended

themselves so well, that Antony was glad at length to compound the matter with Antiochus for less than one-third of the sum that was offered, that so he might raise the siege with honour, which otherwise he feared he might be forced to without it, by reason of the discontent of his own soldiers. For they being all displeased at the dismission of Ventidius, under whom they had gotten such signal victories, did very much resent it; and therefore executed Antony's orders in the siege neither with that vigour nor that care as was necessary to make them succeed. After this, Antony, having appointed Sosius to be his lieutenant in Cilicia, Syria, and Palestine, left the army with him, and sailed to Athens, and from thence to Brundusium, to confer with Octavianus: but not finding him there at the time appointed, he returned back to Athens, and from thence passed to Alexandria, and there spent the ensuing winter in the same dalliances and luxurious delights with Cleopatra as he had the winter two years before.

Herod's successful operations against Antigonus. — While Herod was absent in his attendance upon Antony, Joseph, forgetting the orders he had received from him, made an expedition against Jericho, taking with him his own men and five cohorts received from Machæras; but being there circumvented by the enemy, he was himself slain, and most of his forces cut in pieces; whereon those that were disaffected to Herod in Galilee and Idumea revolted from him in both these provinces. Herod, being come back from Antony as far as Daphne near Antioch, had there an account brought him of these misfortunes; whereon he hastened back into Judea to bring the best remedy to them that he could. On his coming to Mount Libanus, he there raised eight hundred men, and with these and one Roman cohort marched to Ptolemais, and from thence made war upon the revolters of Galilee; and having there received another cohort from Antony, soon brought all those again to submit to him who had in that country declared against him; and after that went to Jericho for the revenging of his brother Joseph's death, but there attempted it to his hurt: for the Antigonians in those parts, overpowering him with numbers, put his forces to the rout, and wounded Herod himself in the conflict. But after this, having gotten more men together about him, he soon grew into a better condition for the prosecuting of the war. And therefore finding that Pappus, a prime general of Antigonus's, had taken the field against him with the main strength of

that party, he engaged him in battle, and gained an absolute victory over him, having slain Pappus himself in the rout, and cut off most of his army with him; and had it not been for the severity of the winter, which now approached, he had gone immediately to Jerusalem, and made an end of the war by taking that place; but the soldiers not being able to bear lying any longer abroad, he was forced to put them into winter-quarters, and to defer what remained undone to the operation of the next campaign.

Antony prepares for a renewal of the war with Parthia, 38. — As soon as the spring began to come on, Antony sailed from Alexandria to Athens, where he had left his wife Octavia ever since his last going from thence for Syria, and having taken her in, passed from thence with her for Italy, attended with a fleet of three hundred sail, and landed at Tarentum, proposing with this naval force to assist Octavianus against Sextus Pompeius; but Octavianus not accepting his aid, out of jealousy of him, this had like to have made another quarrel between them, and other reasons of discontent on this occasion were urged on both sides against each other; but Octavia, mediating between her husband and her brother, made up all matters. And whereas the five years were now near expiring, for which the sovereign government of the Roman empire was granted to the triumvirs by the people, they prolonged it for five years more by their own authority; and as long as the sovereignty was in them, they thought, by virtue thereof, they had right so to do. After this, Antony returned into Syria to make preparations for the Parthian war. Octavia accompanied him as far as Corcyra; but that she might not be exposed with him to the dangers of that expedition, he from thence sent her back into Italy, there to reside till it should be over, committing her, and the children which he had either by her or Fulvia, to the care of Octavianus.

Marriage of Octavianus with Livia Drusilla. — On Antony's returning into Syria, Octavianus married Livia Drusilla, the daughter of Livius Drusus, who, having been one of those that were proscribed by the triumvirs, was driven thereby to take shelter with Brutus and Cassius; after whose overthrow at Philippi, not knowing where else to flee, he fell on his sword and slew himself. She was first the wife of Tiberius Nero, and bore

him Tiberius Cæsar, who succeeded Augustus in the empire. On the breach that happened between Octavianus and Fulvia, the wife of Antony, he sided with the latter, whereon he was forced, after the taking of Perusia, to flee out of Italy, carrying with him his wife and his young son Tiberius; but being included in the pacification that was afterwards made between Octavianus and Antony, he returned to Rome, where Octavianus falling in love with her, Tiberius, for the purchase of his favour, willingly yielded her unto him; and he accordingly married her, though she were then great with child by Tiberius, and within three months of her time of delivery. This for some time caused a delay, and the pontifices were consulted about the lawfulness of marrying her in this case; but their answer being, that it was only unlawful when it might cause a doubt to which husband the next child born of her might belong; and it being now, after six months' pregnancy, past all doubt that the child next to be born belonged to Tiberius, Octavianus forthwith married her, and three months after a son being born of her (the same who hereafter, by the name of Drusus, will be often spoken of), he was sent to Tiberius as to the proper father; but Tiberius dying a little after, both this son and the other also were sent back to Octavianus to be taken care of and bred up by him, as being left their guardian by the will of their

---

father. He had a former wife, called Scribonia, who brought him his daughter Julia: her he divorced for her ill temper; but Livia, though she brought him no children, continued to be his wife as long as he lived, and always commanded his affection to the last.

Herod besieges Jerusalem, and consummates his marriage with Mariamne. — In the interim, Herod, having made great preparations for the carrying on of this year's campaign, brought a great army into the field, and marching with it directly up to the walls of Jerusalem, laid close siege to that city, and forthwith ordered the casting up of such works against it as were in those times made use of for the taking of besieged places. While this was a doing, he himself went to Samaria, and there consummated his marriage with Mariamne. He had betrothed her four years before; but his troubles hindered that he did not marry her till now. She was the daughter of

Alexander, the son of king Aristobulus, by Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus II., and therefore was grand-daughter to both those brothers. She was a lady of extraordinary beauty and great virtue, and in all other laudable qualifications accomplished beyond most others of her time. The Jews of those times having generally a zealous affection for the family of the Asmoneans, Herod thought that, by marrying this lady out of it, he should the easier reconcile that people to him; and this made him so earnest for the consummating of the marriage at this time.

Sosius, governor of Syria for Antony, marches to the assistance of Herod. — On Herod's return to his army before Jerusalem, Sosius, the governor of Syria, came thither to him. For being ordered by Antony to do his utmost for the subduing of Antigonus, and the putting of Herod in full possession of the kingdom of Judea, he marched into that country with the best of his forces for this purpose, and having joined Herod before Jerusalem, they both together pushed on the siege of that place with the utmost vigour and a very numerous army. For both of them together had no fewer than eleven legions, and six thousand horse, besides the Syrian auxiliaries. However, the place held out several months with a great deal of resolution; and had the military skill of those that defended it been equal to their valour, they could not have been subdued. But their defence being made rather with boldness, than due order and good conduct according to the art of war, the Romans herein much outdid them, and by means hereof at length carried the place, after a siege of above half a year.

Capture of Jerusalem, 37. — For it was not till the year next after following that the place was taken. For then the Jews being beaten out of all their places of defence, the city was broken up, and the enemy entering

---

it on every side, made themselves thorough masters of it; and being exasperated by the length of the siege, and the great labour and hardship which they had endured in it, for the revenging thereof, they filled all the quarters of the place with blood and slaughter, and ravaged it all over with rapine and devastation. Herod did all he could to hinder both, but without success, Sosius encouraging the soldiers in what they did. Hereon Herod

went to him with heavy complaints about it, alleging, that if the city were thus destroyed by plunder and slaughter, the Romans would make him only king of a desert; and therefore desired that a stop might be put to this ravage and cruelty: but receiving no other answer, but that the spoils of the city were due to the soldiers for the reward of their labour and valour in the taking of it, he was forced, by a sum of money, to redeem the city from all further devastations, which otherwise would have been utterly ruined and destroyed.

Surrender and death of Antigonus, and end of the sovereignty of the Asmoneans. — Antigonus, seeing all lost, surrendered himself to Sosius, and cast himself in a very submissive and abject manner at his feet to pray his compassion. But Sosius, despising his cowardice and meanness of spirit, rejected him with scorn; and looking on such a behaviour as more becoming a woman than a man, instead of Antigonus, by way of contempt called him Antigona, and forthwith ordered him to be put in chains; and as soon as Antony was returned out of Italy, and came again to Antioch, Sosius sent this captive king thither to him. Antony at first intended to have reserved him for his triumph. But Herod, not thinking himself safe in his kingdom as long as this remainder of the old royal family continued alive, never left soliciting Antony, till at length by a great sum of money he obtained that this poor prince was put to death; to which he having been condemned by a formal sentence in judicature, this sentence was executed upon him in the same manner as upon a common criminal, by the rods and axe of the lictor, which the Romans never before subjected any crowned head to. And here ended the reign of the Asmonæans, after it had lasted, from the beginning of Judas Maccabœus's government to this time, one hundred and twenty-nine years; and with it I shall end this book.

BOOK VIII.

JEWISH AND ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT TILL THE

FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR OVER THE

ROMAN EMPIRE, B. 0. 37 TO 24.

I. ESTABLISHMENT OF HEROD ON THE THRONE, B. C. 37.

Massacre of all the members of the Sanhedrim, excepting Pollio and Sameas, 37. — On the taking of Jerusalem, Herod was put in thorough possession of the kingdom of Judæa. But the greater part of the Jews, as long as Antigonus was alive, partly out of the affection they had for the old royal family of the Asmoneans, and partly out of their hatred to Herod, could not be induced by any means to own him for their king; which conduced much to the hastening on the death of that captive prince. As Herod was forced to make his way to the throne of this kingdom through a great deal of blood, so he found it necessary to establish himself in it by the same means, putting daily to death such of the opposite faction as he most feared, among whom were all the councillors of the great Sanhedrim, except Pollio and Sameas. These two had during the whole siege declared for the receiving of Herod to be king, and the rendering of the city to him; telling the people, that their sins being grown to so very great a height as they then were, they had nothing else to expect, but that God would deliver them into the hands of this man for the punishment of them, and that therefore it was in vain for them to resist him. But the rest of the Sanhedrim, running violently the other way, cried up, "The temple of the Lord! the temple of the Lord!" as if for the sake thereof God would

certainly protect that city; and on this conceit they did all they could to excite and encourage the people to a fierce and obstinate resistance; and hereto it was owing that the siege held on so long. And therefore Herod, when he had gotten them into his power, put them all to death for it. To this he is also said to have been provoked by another reason, that is, for their having called him before them upon a trial for his life for the death of Hezekiah the robber, when he was governor of Galilee under Hyrcanus; of which mention hath been above made. But if that influenced him in this matter, he would not have spared Sameas, who was of all the most violent against him in that cause.

Celebrity of Pollio and Sameas under the names of Hillel and Shammai. — These two men are by the Jewish writers called Hillel and Shammai; and their names are of the greatest note among them of all their Mishnical doctors, that is, of all those who taught their traditions from the time of Simon the Just, to the compiling of the Mishnah by R. Judah Hakkadosh; and they make the sixth link in their cabalistical chain from the said Simon: for he, they said, delivered their traditions

---

to, 1. Antigonus of Socho; Antigonus of Socho delivered them to, 2. Joses Ben Joezer and Joseph Ben Jochanan; these to, 3. Joshua Ben Perachiah and Nathan the Arbelite; these to, 4. Simon Ben Shetach and Jehudah Ben Tabbai; these to, 5. Shemaiah and Abtalion; and these to, 6. Hillel and Shammai. Of these pairs, the first in each of them was **Nasi**, that is, president of the great Sanhedrim, and the other **Ab Beth Din**, that is, vice-president of the same; and both of them were, while in these offices, the chief teachers in their schools of divinity. The Jewish writers ascribe to Shemaiah and Abtalion only six years, but to their immediate predecessors a full hundred and one over, which gives that link in the chain of their traditional succession a stretch beyond credibility. Shemaiah and Abtalion are said to have been both proselytes, and sons of the same father, by whom they derived their descent from Sennacherib, king of Assyria; but they had for their mother a woman of Israel, otherwise they could not have been members of the great Sanhedrim, or have held any place of judicature in the Jewish nation. Herod at this time putting to death all the members of the

great Sanhedrim, excepting Hillel and Shammai, it is not to be doubted but that these two, Shemaiah and Abtalion, perished in that slaughter; after whose death Hillel was made president and Shammai vice-president of the Sanhedrim that was afterwards formed.

Hillel president of the Sanhedrim: his birth, learning, rule, and posterity.—This Hillel, whom Josephus calls Pollio, was one of the eminentest that ever was amongst the Jewish doctors for birth, learning, rule, and posterity. For as to his birth, he was by his mother of the seed of David, being by her descended from Shephatiah the son of Abital, David's wife. For his learning in the Jewish law and traditions, the Jewish writers, by an unanimous suffrage, give him the first place of eminency among all the ancient doctors of their nation. As for rule, he bore it in the highest station of honour among his people for forty years together; for so long, as president of the Sanhedrim, he sat in the first chair of justice over the whole Jewish nation, and discharged himself therein with greater wisdom and justice than any that had, from the time of Simon the Just, possessed that place before him. And as for his posterity, he was so happy therein, that for several descents they succeeded him in the same eminency of learning, and thereby gained also for several descents to succeed him in the same station of honour: for those of his family were presidents of the Sanhedrim, from father to son, to the tenth generation. For after him succeeded Simeon his son, who is supposed to have been the

---

same who took Christ in his arms on his being first presented in the temple, and then to have sung over him his Nunc Dimittis. After Simeon succeeded Gamaliel his son, who presided in the Sanhedrim at the time when Peter and the apostles were called before that council (Acts v. 34), and was the same at whose feet Paul was bred up in the sect and learning of the Pharisees (Acts xxii. 3). He is called in the Jewish writings Gamaliel the Old, because of his long life; for he lived down to the eighteenth year before the destruction of Jerusalem. After him succeeded Simeon his son, the second of that name in this line, who perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. The next successor after him was Gamaliel his son, the second of that name. To him succeeded Simeon his son, the third of that name.

After him was R. Judah Hakkadosh his son, who composed the Mishnah, and on that account his name hath ever since been had in great veneration among all of the Jewish nation. His son and successor in the same office was Gamaliel, the third of that name; and after him, his son Judah Gemaricus; and after him his son Hillel the Second, who was the compiler of the present calendar of the Jewish year. How long after him this office continued in that family is not said. And no doubt it was with respect to the family of David that Hillel had this honour so long continued among his posterity. But he was descended from it only by his mother's side; for by his father he was of the tribe of Benjamin. He was born in Babylonia, and there lived till the fortieth year of his life; at which age he came to Jerusalem, and there betook himself to the study of the law; in which he grew so eminent, that after forty years more he became president of the Sanhedrim, being then eighty years old, and continued in that office for another forty years after; so that according to this account he lived full one hundred and twenty years. The time he first entered on his presidentship was about one hundred years before the destruction of Jerusalem. The Jewish writers make it a complete hundred years; but those people are far from being exact in their chronological computations; for the sake of a round number, or an imaginary mystery, they often in such matters shoot under or over the truth at their pleasure. He is said, on his first entering on this office, to have had for his vice-president one Manahem, a learned man of those times; but he not long after deserting this station to enter into the service of Herod, Shammai was chosen in his place. And what we have in Josephus agreeth herewith; for he makes mention of a Manahem that was a person of eminent note in those times; of whom he tells us, that being of the sect of the Essenes, he had the spirit of prophecy: and one time meeting with Herod among his schoolfellows when he was a boy, greeted him with this salutation, "Hail, king of the Jews;" and laying his hand gently on his shoulder, foretold to him that he should be advanced to that honour. Herod for many years had no regard to this prediction, it being a thing he had no expectation of. But afterwards, when he came to be king, remembering the matter, he sent for Manahem, and was very solicitous to know of him how long he should reign; concluding, that he who foretold that he should be king, could also foretell how long he should be so. Manahem at first not returning

him a certain answer, Herod put it to him, whether he should reign ten years; Manahem answered, Yea, ten; yea, twenty; yea, thirty; with which Herod being contented, asked no further; but from this time had Manahem in great esteem, and no doubt, on this occasion, drew him into his service; and thereon Shammai was appointed to be vice-president in his room.

Shammai vice-president of the Sanhedrim: quarrels between the rival schools of Shammai and Hillel terminated by a bath kol.—This Shammai had been for some time the scholar of Hillel, and came the nearest to him in eminency of learning of all the Tannaim or Mishnical doctors. But when he became his vice-president, he did not always concur in opinion with him; for there were many points wherein they differed, which caused the like contests and disputes between their followers, as there are between the Thomists and Scotists among the schoolmen. For in a great many things the school of Hillel went one way, and the school of Shammai another. This produced such divisions and quarrels between their scholars, that at length it came to the effusion of blood, and several were slain on both sides. But in the conclusion the school of Hillel carried it against the school of Shammai; a determination being given for the former, they say, by a bath kol, that is, by a voice pretended to come from heaven; and by this fiction all disturbances between them were appeased. Hillel was of a mild and peaceable temper; but Shammai, on the contrary, was of a very angry and fiery spirit; and from hence proceeded most of the oppositions and disputes that were between the schools of these two great doctors; of which Shammai growing at length weary, was contented to have them all ended by the fiction I have mentioned.

Scholars of Hillel.—Hillel bred up above one thousand scholars in the knowledge of the law, of which eighty were reckoned to be of greater eminency above the rest. For of them, say the Jewish writers, thirty were worthy on whom the divine glory should rest, as it did upon Moses; and thirty for whom the sun should stand still, as it did for Joshua; and the twenty others were of a middling size. The eminentest of them all was Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the author of the Chaldee paraphrase upon the prophets; with whom was contemporary Onkelos, who was the author of

the Chaldee paraphrase upon the law. But whether he was a scholar of Hillel's or no is not said. There are other Chaldee paraphrases besides these two; but what or how many they were, or for what use they served, not being as yet anywhere mentioned in this work, it is proper I here give the reader an account of them.

II. ACCOUNT OF THE TARGUMS, OR CHALDEE PARAPHRASES OF THE SCRIPTURES.

Signification of the word "targum."—The Chaldee paraphrases are translations of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, made directly

---

from the Hebrew text into the language of the Chaldeans; which language was anciently used through all Assyria, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine; and is still the language of the churches of the Nestorian and Maronite Christians in those eastern parts, in the same manner as the Latin is the language of the popish churches here in the West. And therefore these paraphrases were called Targums, because they were versions or translations of the Hebrew text into this language; for the word targum signifieth in Chaldee an interpretation or version of one language into another, and may properly be said of any such version or translation: but it is most commonly by the Jews appropriated to these Chaldee paraphrases; for being among them what were most eminently such, they therefore had this name by way of eminency especially given unto them.

Origin of the Targums.—These Targums were made for the use and instruction of the vulgar Jews after their return from the Babylonish captivity; for although many of the better sort still retained the knowledge of the Hebrew language during that captivity, and taught it their children, and the Holy Scriptures that were delivered after that time, excepting only some parts of Daniel and Ezra, and one verse in Jeremiah, were all written therein; yet the common people, by having so long conversed with the Babylonians, learned their language and forgot their own. It happened,

indeed, otherwise to the children of Israel in Egypt; for although they lived there above three times as long as the Babylonish captivity lasted, yet they still preserved the Hebrew language among them, and brought it back entire with them into Canaan. The reason of this was, in Egypt they all lived together in the land of Goshen; but on their being carried captive by the Babylonians, they were dispersed all over Chaldea and Assyria, and being there intermixed with the people of the land, had their main converse with them, and therefore were forced to learn their language; and this soon induced a disuse of their own among them; by which means it came to pass, that after their return the common people, especially those of them who had been bred up in that captivity, understood not the Holy Scriptures in the Hebrew language, nor their posterity after them. And therefore when Ezra read the law to the people, he had several persons standing by him well skilled in both the Chaldee and Hebrew languages, who interpreted to the people in Chaldee what he first read to them in Hebrew. And afterwards, when the method was established of dividing the law into fifty-four sections, and of reading one of them every week in their synagogues (according as hath been already described), the same course of reading to the people the Hebrew text first, and then interpreting it to them in Chaldee, was still continued. For when the reader had read one verse in Hebrew, an interpreter standing by did render it in Chaldee; and then the next verse being read in Hebrew, it was in like manner interpreted in the same language as before; and so on from verse to verse was every verse alternatively read, first in the Hebrew and then interpreted in Chaldee, to the end of the section: and this first gave occasion for

---

the making of Chaldee versions for the help of these interpreters. And they thenceforth became necessary, not only for their help in the public synagogues, but also for the help of the people at home in their families, that they might there have the Scriptures for their private reading in a language which they understood.

Use of the Targums in synagogues and private families.—For first, as synagogues multiplied among the Jews beyond the number of able interpreters, it became necessary that such versions should be made for the

help of the less able. This was done at first only for the law, because at first the law only was publicly read in their synagogues, till the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes; but after that time, lessons being read out of the prophets in those religious assemblies, as well as out of the law, the same reason rendered it necessary that Chaldee versions should be made of these Scriptures also. And secondly, the use of the people (which was the other reason for the composing of those versions) made this necessary for all the Scripture, as well as for the law and the prophets. For all Scripture being given for our edification, all ought for this end to have them in a language which they understood. For when God gave his law unto Israel, he enjoined that they should have his commandments, statutes, and judgments always in their hearts; that they should meditate on them day and night; teach them their children; and talk of them when they did sit in their houses, and when they walked by the way, and when they lay down, and when they rose up; and that all might be the better enabled to perform all this, it was strictly enjoined, by a constitution of the elders from ancient times, that every man should have by him at his home a copy of the Holy Scriptures, fairly written out, either by his own or, if he could not write himself, by some other hand, for his instruction herein. But how could this be done, if they had those Scriptures only in a language which they did not understand? It was necessary, therefore, that as they had the Hebrew text for the sake of the original, so also that they should have the Chaldee version for the sake of helping them to understand it. Indeed the letter of the law, which commands what I have here mentioned, extends no further than to the five books of Moses; for no more of the Holy Scriptures were then written when that law was given; and also the constitution above-mentioned, which was superadded by the elders, is by positive words limited thereto. But the reason of the thing reacheth the whole word of God. For since all of it is given for our instruction, we are all equally obliged to know each part of it as well as the other; and therefore this caused, that at length the whole Scriptures were thus translated from the Hebrew into the Chaldean language, for the sake of those who could not otherwise understand them. For to lock up from the people in an unknown language that word of God, which was given to lead them to everlasting life, was a thing that was not thought agreeable either with reason or piety in those times.

The eight Targums.—This work having been attempted by divers persons at different times, and by some of them with different views (for some of them were written as versions for the public use of the synagogues, and others as paraphrases and commentaries for the private instruction of the people), hence it hath come to pass, that there were

---

anciently many of these targums, and of different sorts, in the same manner as there anciently were many different versions of the same Holy Scriptures into the Greek language, made with like different views; of which we have sufficient proof in the Octapla of Origen. No doubt anciently there were many more of these Targums than we now know of, which have been lost in the length of time. Whether there were any of them of the same composure on the whole Scriptures is not anywhere said. Those that are now remaining were composed by different persons and on different parts of Scripture, some on one part, and others on other parts; and are in all of these eight sorts following:—1. That of Onkelos on the five books of Moses: 2. That of Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the prophets, that is, on Joshua, Judges, the two books of Samuel, the two books of Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets: 3. That on the law, which is ascribed to Jonathan Ben Uzziel: 4. The Jerusalem Targum on the law: 5. The Targum on the five lesser books called the Megilloth, i. e. Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah: 6. The second Targum on Esther: 7. The Targum of Joseph the One-eyed, on the Book of Job, the Psalms, and the Proverbs; and 8. The Targum on the First and Second Book of Chronicles. On Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel there is no Targum at all. The reason given by some for this is, because a great part of those books is written in the Chaldee language, and therefore there is no need of a Chaldee paraphrase upon them. This indeed is true for Daniel and Ezra, but not for Nehemiah; for that book is all originally written in the Hebrew language. No doubt anciently there were Chaldee paraphrases on all the Hebrew parts of those books, though now lost. It was long supposed that there were no Targums on the two books of Chronicles, because none such were known till they were lately published by Beckius at Augsburg in Germany; that on the first book, A. D. 1680, and that on the second, A. D. 1683.

1. The Targums on the Pentateuch, by Onkelos.—As the Targum of Onkelos is the first in order of place, as being on the Pentateuch, which is the first part of the Holy Scriptures, so I think it is not to be doubted but that it is the first also in order of time, and the ancientest that was written of all that are now extant. The Jewish writers, though they allow him to have been for some time of his life contemporary with Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the author of the second Targum above-mentioned, yet make him much the younger of the two; for they tell us that Jonathan was one of the prime scholars of Hillel, who died about the time when our Saviour was born; but that Onkelos survived Gamaliel the elder, Paul's master (who was the grandson of Hillel, and died not till eighteen years before the destruction of Jerusalem); for they relate that Onkelos assisted at the funeral of this Gamaliel, and provided for it seventy pounds of frankincense at his own charge. But there are several reasons which prevail with me to

---

think Onkelos the ancienter of the two; the chief and principalest of them is the style in which his Targum is written. That part of Daniel and Ezra which is in Chaldee is the truest standard whereby to try the purity of the Chaldee language: for this language, as well as all others, being in a constant flux, and in every age deviating from what it was in the former, it follows from hence, that the farther any Chaldee writing doth in its style differ from that ancient standard, the later certainly it is; and the nearer it comes to it, we may as certainly conclude the ancienter it is. But no Chaldee writing now extant coming nearer to the style of what is written in that language by Daniel and Ezra than the Targum of Onkelos, this to me proves that Targum of all others to be the most ancient. And I can see no other reason why Jonathan Ben Uzziel, when he undertook to compose his Targum, should pass over the law, and begin with the prophets, but that he found Onkelos had done this work before him, and with that success in the performance which he could not exceed. This Targum of Onkelos is rather a version than a paraphrase: for it renders the Hebrew text word for word, and for the most part accurately and exactly; and it is by much the best of all this sort: and therefore it hath always been had in esteem among the Jews much above all the other Targums; and being set to the same musical notes with the Hebrew

text, it is thereby made capable of being read in the same tone with it in their public assemblies. And that it was accordingly there read alternatively with the text, in the manner as is above described, Elias Levita tells us, who of all the Jews that have handled this argument hath written the most accurately and fully of it; for he saith, "That the Jews, holding themselves obliged every week in their synagogues to read twice that parashah, or section of the law, which was the lesson of the week (that is, in the Hebrew original first, and then in the Chaldee interpretation after it), made use of the Targum of Onkelos for this purpose; and that this was their usage even down to his time (which was about the first part of the sixteenth century). And that for this reason, though till the art of printing was invented there were of the other Targums scarce above one or two of a sort to be found in a whole country, yet then the Targum of Onkelos was everywhere among them."

Some say this Onkelos was a proselyte, and hold him to have been the same with Akilas, another proselyte, who is quoted in Berishith Rabba to have written a Targum: and others, that he was the same with Aquila of Pontus, who composed one of the Greek versions of the Holy Scripture, which was in Origen's Octapla, as if the Akilas mentioned in Berishith Rabba, and Aquila of Pontus, were two distinct persons. For the setting of all this at rights it is to be observed, 1. That the Akilas whose Targum is quoted in Berishith Rabba, and elsewhere from it by the rabbins, can be none other than Aquila of Pontus; for the name is the same, ʾΑκύλας in Greek, and Akilas in Hebrew; the time in which

---

they are said to live is also the same, that is, about the year of Christ 130; and both are said to be proselytes; and these three characters joined together sufficiently prove them to be both the same person. 2. That this Akilas could not be Onkelos; for not only the names are different, and the times in which they lived different, but also the Targums which they are said to have written; for Onkelos wrote on the law, but the Targum of Akilas, which is quoted in Berishith Rabba, is on the Prophets and the Hagiographa. 3. That the Targum of Akilas quoted by the author of Berishith Rabba, and other rabbins from him, is not a Chaldee Targum, but the Greek version or

Targum made by Aquila of Pontus; for although the word Targum be restrained by its most common use among the Jews to the Chaldee versions of the Hebrew Scriptures, yet in its general signification it takes in any translation from one language to another, whatsoever those languages may be; and that therefore there was never any such Chaldee Targum as is supposed to be quoted by the author of Berishith Rabba, or any such person as Akilas a proselyte, distinct from Aquila of Pontus, to be the author of it; but that the Targum so quoted was the Greek Targum, or Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures made by the said Aquila of Pontus, of which I have above given a full account. 4. That the representing of Onkelos to have been a proselyte seems to have proceeded from the error of taking him to have been the same with Aquila of Pontus, who was indeed a Jewish proselyte: for having, from being an heathen, embraced the Christian religion, he apostatized from it to the Jews. The excellency and accuracy of Onkelos's Targum sufficiently prove him to have been a native Jew; for without having been bred up from his birth in the Jewish religion and learning, and long exercised in all the rites and doctrines thereof, and being also thoroughly skilled in both the Hebrew and Chaldee languages, as far as a native Jew could be, he can scarce be thought thoroughly adequate to that work which he performed.

2. The Targum on the Prophets, by Jonathan Ben Uzziel: its real author unknown.—The next Targum to that of Onkelos is the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Prophets; which is next it also in the purity of its style, but is not like it in the manner of its composure. For whereas the Targum of Onkelos is a strict version, rendering the Hebrew text word for word, Jonathan takes on him the liberty of a paraphrast, by enlargements and additions to the text: for therein are inserted several stories, and also several glosses of his own, which do not much commend the work; and more of this is to be found in that part which is on the latter prophets than in that which is on the former; for in that latter part he is more lax and paraphrastical, and less accurate and clear, than in the other. The books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings are called the former prophets; and the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, the latter. The Jews speak highly of this Jonathan; for they do not only give him the first place of eminency among all the disciples of Hillel, but equal him

even to Moses himself, and tell many miraculous things of him, which they say happened while he was employed in this work; as, that nothing was

permitted to give him any disturbance herein; that if any bird happened to flee over him, or any fly to light upon his paper, while he was writing this Targum, they were immediately burned up by fire from heaven, without any hurt done either to his person or his paper. And they tell us also, that on his attempting to write a Targum upon the Hagiographa, after his having finished that on the Law, he was hindered by a voice from heaven, which forbade him to proceed in that work, giving this reason for it, because therein (that is, in the Hagiographa) was contained the end of the Messiah; which some Christians laying hold of against the Jews, by interpreting it of the death of Christ predicted in the prophecies of Daniel (which they place among the Hagiographa), some of the latter Jews have taken upon them to alter that passage, for fear this fabulous story should hurt their cause. Many other fables the Jewish writers tell us of this Jonathan and his Targum, which I think not proper to trouble the reader with.

3. The Targum on the Law, said to be by Jonathan Ben Uzziel.—The third Targum in the order above mentioned is that on the Law, which is ascribed to Jonathan Ben Uzziel. But that it is none of his is sufficiently proved by the style, which is wholly different from that wherein is written the true Targum of Jonathan (that upon the Prophets, which all allow to have been his), as will thoroughly appear to all such as shall thoroughly compare them together; and besides, its enlargements in the paraphrastical way, by glosses, fables, prolix explications, and other additions, are much beyond what we find practised by Jonathan in that Targum which is truly his. But that which thoroughly cuts the throat of this pretence is, that there are several things mentioned in this Targum which had no being, or at least no name, till after Jonathan's time: for therein is mention made of the six orders or books of the Mishnah: but they could have no being till the Mishnah was made by R. Judah, near two hundred years after Jonathan's time; and therein we also find mention made of Constantinople and Lombardy: whereas there was no such city as Constantinople, nor any country called by the name of Lombardy, till several hundred years after the

time wherein Jonathan flourished. Who was the true author of this Targum, or when it was composed, is utterly unknown. It seems long to have lain in obscurity among the Jews themselves: for Elias Levita, who wrote most fully of the Chaldee paraphrases, knew nothing of this paraphrase; for he says nothing of it, though he tells us of all the rest: neither was it taken notice of till first published in print at Venice, about one hundred and fifty years since: and the name of Jonathan, it is probable, was for no other reason then put to it, but to give it the more credit, and the better recommend it by that specious title to the buyer. Most of those prophecies which are in the Pentateuch concerning the Messiah being in this Targum interpreted in the Christian way, some Christians for this reason would maintain it to be the genuine work of the author whose name it bears; and to make this out, assert it to be as ancient as that author, and that therefore it might, according to its title, be truly his: and their argument for it is, that it is quoted by St. Paul, and that therefore it must

---

be composed before his time, and the age before his time was that in which Jonathan Ben Uzziel lived. For whereas St. Paul in his Second Epistle to Timothy, chap. iii. 8, makes mention of Jannes and Jambres, as the names of those Egyptian magicians who withstood Moses in the presence of Pharaoh (Exodus vii. 2), they would have it believed that St. Paul had those names from this Targum on the Law which is ascribed to Jonathan; and that therefore it was composed before St. Paul wrote that Epistle to Timothy. It is true, the names of Jannes and Jambres are twice made mention of in this Targum (Exodus i. 15, vii. 2); but it doth not follow that St. Paul had them from this Targum, and that therefore the author of this Targum was ancienter than St. Paul, any more than it doth that he had them from Pliny or Numenius, and that therefore these two heathen philosophers were, contrary to all the faith of history, ancienter than this apostle: for both these authors make mention of those Egyptian magicians in the time of Moses, with this only variation, that instead of Jannes and Jambres, Pliny writes their names Jamnes and Jotapes. The true answer hereto is, that as the sacred penmen of the New Testament make mention of several things which they had only from the current tradition of the times in which they lived, so

this of Jannes and Jambres was of that sort. These names either by oral tradition, or rather by some written records of history, being preserved among the Jews, St. Paul from thence had them, and so had this Targumist after him. And an account of these persons having been by the said names propagated by the Jews to the heathens, among whom they were dispersed, it came this way to the knowledge of Pliny and Numenius; the first of which lived in the first century after Christ, and the other in the beginning of the third. They that would know what were the traditions of the Jews concerning these two magicians may consult Buxtorf's Rabbinical Lexicon, p. 945—947; for there they will find a full account of all that is said of them in the Talmud and other rabbinical writings; which being long and wholly fabulous, I avoid here troubling the reader with it.

4. The Jerusalem Targum on the Law: differences between the Babylonian, Antiochian, and Jerusalem dialects of the Chaldean language.—The fourth Targum is on the Law, written by an unknown hand; for no one pretends to tell us who the author of it was, or when it was composed. It is called the Jerusalem Targum; and seems to have that name for the same reason for which the Jerusalem Talmud is so called, that is, because it is written in the Jerusalem dialect. For there were three different dialects of the Chaldean or Assyrian language. The first was that which was spoken at Babylon, the metropolis of the Assyrian empire; an example of this in its greatest purity we have in Daniel and Ezra; and the style of the Babylonish Gemara may be reckoned its highest corruption. The second dialect of this language was the Commagenian or Antiochian, which was spoken in Commagene, Antioch, and the rest of Syria; and in this dialect were written the versions of the Holy Scriptures and the liturgies which were in use among the Syrian and Assyrian Christians,

---

and are still used by them, especially by the Maronites, a people inhabiting Mount Libanus, where the Syriac still lives among them as a vulgar language. The third dialect was the Jerusalem dialect, that which was spoken by the Jews after their return from Babylon. The Babylonian and Jerusalem dialects were written in the same character; but the Antiochian in a different, that which we call the Syriac. And for the sake of this different

character is that dialect reckoned a different language, which we call the Syriac; whereas in truth the Syriac and the Chaldee are one and the same language in different characters, and differing a little only in dialect. As all these three dialects were made by so many several degeneracies from the old Assyrian language which was anciently spoken in Nineveh and Babylon, so they all, with time, degenerated from what they at first were. The purest style which we have of the Jerusalem dialect is in the Targums, first of Onkelos on the Law, and next of Jonathan on the Prophets; for in them the Chaldee is without any mixture of words from any other language, saving from the Hebrew only. This mixture of Hebrew words with the Chaldee was that only which first made the Jerusalem dialect to differ from the Babylonian: for though the Jews on their return from Babylon brought back with them the Chaldee language, and made it their vulgar tongue, yet the Hebrew was still the language of the church, and the language of all those that were bred up in learning for its service; and therefore many of its words crept into the Chaldee, which was vulgarly spoken by them; and this mixture constituted the Jerusalem dialect of the Chaldee tongue; and as long as it continued with this mixture only, it was the Jerusalem dialect in its best purity. But in process of time, the mixture of the Jews with other nations, especially after our Saviour's time, brought in the mixture of many exotic words from the Latin, Greek, Arabian, Persian, and other languages, and thereby so far corrupted their former speech, that it made it almost another language. And a view of this corrupt state of it we have in the Jerusalem Talmud, the Jerusalem Targum, and in all the other Targums, excepting those of Onkelos on the Law and Jonathan on the Prophets. For all these are written in this corrupt style of the Jerusalem dialect; and those Targums are much more so than the Jerusalem Talmud, which proves them all (except the two above excepted) to have been written after that Talmud. This Jerusalem Targum is not a continued paraphrase, as all the rest are, but only upon some parts here and there, as the author thought the text most wanted an explication; for sometimes it is only upon one verse, sometimes only upon a piece of a verse, and sometimes upon several verses together, and sometimes it skips over whole chapters. In many places it writes word for word from the Targum said to be Jonathan's on the Law, which made Drusius think they were both the same. There are several things in this Jerusalem Targum which are in the same words delivered in the New

Testament by Christ and his apostles: as for example, Luke vi. 38, Christ saith, "With the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again;" the same is in this Targum, Gen. xxxviii. 26. In the

---

Revelation, xx. 6. 14, there is mention of the "first and second death;" the same distinction is in this Targum, Deut. xxxiii. 6. In the Revelation, v. 10, the saints are said to be "made unto our God kings and priests;" the same is said in this Targum, Exod. xix. 6. In the Gospel of St. Matthew, vi. 9, our Saviour teacheth us to say, "Our Father which art in heaven;" the same expression is in this Targum, Deut. xxii. 6. Hence some would infer the antiquity of this Targum, as if it had been written before our Saviour's time, and that he and his apostles had these and other like expressions from it; and others will have it, that the author of this Targum had them from the New Testament. But neither of these seems likely: not the first, because, the style of this Targum being more impure and corrupt than that of the Jerusalem Talmud, this proves it to have been composed after that Talmud, which had no being till above three hundred years after Christ; and not the second, because the Jews had that detestation of all contained in the New Testament, that we may be well assured they would borrow nothing from thence. The truth of the matter most probably is, these were sayings and phraseologies which had obtained among the Jews in our Saviour's time, and continued among them long after; and hence our Saviour and his apostles, and afterward the author of this Targum, had them as from the same fountain.

5, 6, and 7. The Targum on the Megilloth; the second Targum on Esther; and the Targum of Joseph the One-eyed, on Job, Psalms, and Proverbs. —The fifth Targum, which is that on the Megilloth; the sixth, which is the second Targum on Esther; and the seventh, which is that on Job, the Psalms, and the Proverbs; are all written in the corruptest Chaldee of the Jerusalem dialect. Of the two former no author is named: but the author of the third they say was Joseph the One-eyed; but who this Joseph was, or when he lived, is not said; and some of them tell us, the author of this Targum is as much unknown as of the other two. The second Targum on Esther is twice as large as the first, and seems to have been written the last

of all those Targums, by reason of the barbarity of its style. That on the Megilloth (part of which is the first Targum on Esther) makes mention of the Mishnah and the Talmud with the explication; if thereby be meant the Babylonish Talmud, as undoubtedly it is, this Targum must have been written after that Talmud, that is, after the year of Christ 500: for this is the earliest time which is assigned for the composure of the Babylonish Talmud.

8. **The Targum on the two books of the Chronicles.** —The eighth and last of these Targums, in the order I have above mentioned them, is that on the two books of the Chronicles, which is the last that hath been published; for it was not known of till the year 1680, when Beckius, from an old manuscript, first published at Augsburg in Germany that part of it which is on the first book; and three years after he published at the same place the other part also, that which is on the second book. Till then all that have written of the Chaldee paraphrases have given us to understand, as if there had never been any Targum at all written upon these books. But only Walton tells us, he had

---

heard that there was in the public library in Cambridge a manuscript Targum on the Chronicles, but had no notice of it till his Polyglot was finished, and therefore never examined it. I find there is in that library, among Erpenius's books, bought by the Duke of Buckingham, and given to that University, a manuscript Hebrew Bible in three volumes, which hath a Chaldee Targum on the Chronicles, as far as the sixth verse of the twenty-second chapter of the first book. But it is no continued Targum, for it contains no more than some short glosses added here and there in the margin. This manuscript was written in the year of Christ 1347, as appears by a note at the end of it; but when or by whom the marginal Chaldee gloss therein was composed is not said.

The Targums of Onkelos on the Law, and Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Prophets, proved to have been composed before Christ. —That the Targums of Onkelos on the Law, and Jonathan on the Prophets, are as ancient as our Saviour's time, if not ancienter, is the general opinion of both

Jews and Christians. The Jewish historians positively say it: for they tell us that Jonathan was the most eminent of all the scholars of Hillel, who died about the time that our Saviour was born; and that Onkelos was contemporary with Gamaliel the elder (the same that was St. Paul's master), as is above mentioned. For although the Jewish writers are very wretched historians, and often give us gross fables instead of true narratives, yet whenever they do so, there is either something internal in the matter related, or else external to it from other evidences, that convicts them of the falsity; but where there is nothing of this, the testimony of the historian is to stand good in that which he relates of the affairs of his own country or people. And therefore, there being nothing concerning these two Targums which can be alleged, either from what is contained in them, or from any external evidence, to contradict what the Jewish historians tell us of their antiquity, I reckon their testimony is to stand good concerning this matter. And this testimony is strongly corroborated by the style in which they are penned: for it being the purest and the best of all that is written in the Jerusalem dialect, and without the mixture of those many exotic words which the Jews of Jerusalem and Judæa afterwards took into it from the Greek, Latin, and other languages, this proves them to have been written before those Jews had that common converse with those nations from whom these words were borrowed, and especially before Jerusalem and Judæa were made a province of the Roman empire. For although the Jews of the dispersions had long before conversed with those nations, and learned their languages, yet this did not affect the Jews of Jerusalem and Judæa; but they still retained their vulgar tongue in the same dialect in which it had been formed after their return from Babylon, till Pompey had subjected them to the Roman yoke; but after that, Greeks, Romans, and Italians, and other subjects of the Roman empire, either as soldiers or civil

---

officers, or on other occasions, coming into that country, and there mixing themselves among them, from that time they first began to borrow from them those words which corrupted their language. And therefore, since these Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan are the clearest of this corruption of all that we have in the Jerusalem dialect, this may assuredly convince us,

that they were written before this corruption had obtained any prevalency among that people. And for this reason I reckon them both to have been composed before our Saviour's time, and the Targum of Onkelos to be the ancienter of the two, because it is the purer, though the other comes very little behind it herein, which evidently shows it to have been written very soon after it.

The Jews speak very magnificent things of Jonathan, but say little of Onkelos; though they manifestly prefer the Targum of Onkelos before that of the other, as indeed it deserves they should, it being by much the more exact of the two: the reason of this is, they all hold Jonathan to have been a natural Jew; but the general vogue among them being that Onkelos was a proselyte, and sister's son to Titus who destroyed Jerusalem: for both these reasons, though both are gross mistakes, they have lesser regard to his memory than to that of the other, though they have the greater for his work.

Reasons why these two Targums were not mentioned by any of the ancient Fathers. —The only thing that can be alleged against the antiquity of these two Targums is, that neither Origen, nor Epiphanius, nor Jerome, nor any of the ancient fathers of the Christian church, make any mention of them. These three which I have named were well skilled in the Jewish learning; and therefore it is thought they could not have avoided taking some notice of them, had they been extant in their time; especially not Jerome, who lived in Judæa a great part of his life, and there conversed with the learnedest rabbies of that sect, and was very inquisitive after all that was to be learned from them, for his better understanding of the Hebrew Scriptures: and yet in all his writings we find no mention of any Targum or Chaldee paraphrase; nor doth he make use of any such in any of his commentaries, in which they would have been very useful unto him; and therefore from hence they conclude, that certainly they were not in being in his time. But this being a negative argument, it proves nothing; for there might be many reasons which might hinder Jerome from knowing anything of them, though in common use among the Jews of his time. For, 1st, though Jerome understood Hebrew well, it was late ere he studied the Chaldee, and therefore it was with difficulty that he attained to any knowledge in it, of which he himself complains; and therefore might not be sufficiently skilled to read those Targums, had he known anything of them.

But, 2ndly, it is most probable that he knew nothing of them; for the Jews were in those times very backward in communicating any of their books or their knowledge to the Christians; and therefore though Jerome got some of their rabbies to help him in his studies about the Hebrew Scriptures, yet he could not have them for this purpose, without bribing them to it with great sums. And what assistance they gave him herein was contrary to the established rules

---

and orders then made and received among that people; and therefore when these rabbies came to Jerome to give him that assistance in his Hebrew studies which he hired them for, they did it by stealth, coming to him only by night, as Nicodemus did unto Christ, for fear of offending the rest of their brethren. And this being at that time the humour of those people, we may hence conclude that those rabbies served Jerome very poorly in the matter he hired them for, and communicated nothing further to him than they saw needs they must to earn his money. And 3rdly, as to the other fathers, none of them understood the Chaldee tongue; and besides, there was in their time such an aversion and bitter enmity between the Christians and the Jews, as hindered all manner of converse between them, so that neither would willingly communicate anything to each other; and no wonder, then, that in those days these Targums were concealed from all Christians, as being doubly locked up from them, that is, not only by the language in which they were written, but also by the malice and perverseness of the Jews, who had the keeping of them. But, 4thly, besides their malice and perverseness, they had also some very good reasons to be cautious as to this matter: for there being many prophecies of the Old Testament concerning the Messiah explained in these Targums in the same manner as we Christians do, it behoved those of that sect not to communicate them to any Christians, lest thereby they should give them an advantage for the turning of their own artillery against them, and the cutting of the very throat of their cause with their own weapons. And for this reason it happened, that it was much above one thousand years after Christ ere Christians knew anything of those Targums; and scarce three centuries have passed since they have become common among us; and therefore it is not to

be wondered at, that the ancientest fathers of the Christian church knew nothing of them. And all this put together, I think, may be sufficient to convince any one that these Targums may be as ancient as is said, though neither Jerome nor any of the ancient fathers of the Christian church say anything of them, and that their silence herein can be no argument to the contrary.

Later date of the other Targums proved. —As to all the other Targums besides these two, of Onkelos on the Law and Jonathan on the Prophets, they are all most certainly of a much later date. This is above shown of some of them from the matters therein contained; but the style in which they are written proves it of all of them: for it being in every one of them more barbarous and impure, and much more corrupted with exotic words and grammatical irregularities, than that of the Jerusalem Talmud, this shows them to have been written after the composure of that Talmud, that is, after the beginning of the fourth century after Christ. It is also to be observed of these later Targums, that they abound much with talmudic fables; if these were taken out of the Babylonish Talmud, this will bring down their date much lower, and prove them to have been written after that Talmud also, as well as after the other, that is, after the beginning of the sixth century after Christ. This hath been already proved of the Targum on the Megilloth, which is one of them that I now treat of in this paragraph

---

graph: and possibly it may be true of some of the rest also. By reason of the barbarity of the style in which these later Targums are written, and the great mixture of exotic words with which they abound, they are badly understood among the Jews, even by the most learned of their rabbies, and therefore are not much regarded by them. But of late, Cohen de Lara, a Jew of Hamburgh, and the most learned of that sect which the last century hath produced, hath published a lexicon for their help, in which he expounds all the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Gallic, German, Saxon, Dutch, and English words, which anywhere occur in their talmudic and rabbinical writings. This book was a work of forty years' labour and study, and first published at Hamburgh, A. D. 1668, where the author some years after died.

Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan esteemed by the Jews to be of equal authority with the Scriptures. — The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan are in so great esteem among the Jews, that they hold them to be of the same authority with the original sacred text; and for the support of this opinion, they feign them to be derived from the same fountain. For they say, that when God delivered the written law unto Moses from Mount Sinai, he delivered with it at the same time the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, in the same manner as they say he then did the oral law; and so that when by his Holy Spirit he dictated unto the prophets the Scriptures of the prophetical books, he delivered severally to them, upon each book, the Targum of Jonathan at the same time. And that both these Targums were delivered down by tradition through such faithful hands as God by his providence had appointed, the first from Moses, and the other from the prophets themselves, who were the writers of these prophetical books, till at length through this chain of traditional descent they came down to the hands of Onkelos and Jonathan, and that all they did was only to put them into writing. This shows the high opinion and esteem which they have of them; but the true reason of it, and of their equalling them with the text was, that they were every sabbath day read in their synagogues in the same manner as the original sacred word itself, of which they were versions. It hath been above already shown, that after the Chaldee became the vulgar tongue of the Jews, the weekly lessons out of the law and the prophets in their synagogues, having been first read in Hebrew, were by an interpreter standing by the reader rendered into Chaldee. This continued for some time, but afterwards, when Targums were made, the interpretation was read out of them, without any more employing interpreters for this purpose; that is, the readers did first read a verse out of the sacred Hebrew text, and then the same again out of the Chaldee Targum; and so went on from verse to verse, till they had read out the whole lesson: and the Targums of Onkelos on the Law, and Jonathan on the Prophets, having obtained an approbation beyond all the other Targums on these Scriptures, they at length were alone used in this service. And this use of them was retained in their synagogues even down to late times, and in places where the Chaldee was among the people as much an unknown language as the Hebrew.

For Elias Levita, who lived about two hundred years since, tells us that they were thus used in his time in Germany and elsewhere; that is, that they were read in their synagogues after the Hebrew text, in the same manner as I have described: and agreeable to this purpose, though only for private use, they had some of their Bibles written out in Hebrew and Chaldee together, that is, each verse first in Hebrew, and then the same verse next in Chaldee; and thus from verse to verse in the same manner through the whole volume. In these Bibles the Targum of Onkelos was the Chaldee version for the Law, and that of Jonathan for the Prophets, and for the Hagiographa the other Targums that were written on them. One of these Bibles thus written Buxtorf tells us he had seen at Strasburgh; and Walton acquaints us that he had the perusal of two others of the same sort, one in the public library of the church of Westminster, and the other in the private study of Mr. Thomas Gataker.

Targums used in the time of our Saviour. — Whether the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan were received for this use so early as in our Saviour's time, I cannot say; but this seems certain, if not these particular Targums, yet some others then were in hands for the instruction of the people, and were among them in private as well as in public for this purpose; and that they had such not only on the Law and the Prophets, but also on all the other Hebrew Scriptures. For, as I have said before, it was never a usage among the Jews to lock up the Holy Scriptures, or any part of them, from the people in a language unknown to them; for when dispersed among the Greeks, they had them in Greek; and where the Chaldee was the vulgar language, they had them in Chaldee. And when Christ was called out to read the second lesson in the synagogue of Nazareth, of which he was a member, he seems to have read it out of a Targum; for the words then read by him out of Isaiah lxi. 1, as recited by St. Luke, iv. 18, do not exactly agree either with the Hebrew original or with the Septuagint version in that place; and therefore it seems most likely that they were read out of some Chaldee Targum, which was made use of in that synagogue: and when he cried out upon the cross, in the words of the Psalmist (Psalm xxii. 1), "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani," i. e. My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me! (Matt. xxvii. 46), he quoted them not out of the Hebrew text, but out of the

Chaldee paraphrase; for in the Hebrew text it is, "Eli, Eli, lama azabtani:" and the word sabachthani is nowhere to be found but in the Chaldee tongue.

Targums the ancientest Jewish books next to the Hebrew Scriptures. —Those Targums are the ancientest books the Jews have next the Hebrew Scriptures. This is certain of the Targums of Onkelos on the Law, and of Jonathan on the Prophets: and although the others are of a later date, yet they were for the most part transcribed and composed out of other ancient glosses and Targums, which were in use long before. Such I have shown they had soon after the time of Ezra; but these, being written in the pure Jerusalem dialect of the Chaldee language, must in those times, in which the language of the Jerusalem Talmud and of the

---

later Targums was spoken, be as much an unknown language to the people as formerly the Hebrew was to them on their return from the Babylonish captivity. And therefore they seem to have been composed in this corrupted style of that dialect of purpose for their help; and from hence it is that I take them to be no other than as Targums of the old Targums, that is, the old Targums which were in use before the time of Onkelos and Jonathan, translated and written over again from the purer Jerusalem dialect (which was in the time of the composure of those later Targums no longer understood by the people), into that which they then did understand, that is, that corrupt language of the Jerusalem Chaldee dialect in which they were composed. And that therefore these old Targums, with the addition of some rabbinical fables and rabbinical fooleries which are interspersed in them, are the whole of their contexture; and that all of them, that is, all the later Targums (I mean all excepting Onkelos on the Law, and Jonathan on the Prophets), were composed within the compass of one and the same age. The uniformity of their style plainly proves this; and the corruptness of it proves that it was after the composure of the Jerusalem Talmud, as hath been already shown; but in what age it was after that composure is uncertain. It seems most probable to me, that it was in that in which the Babylonish Talmud was compiled, and that some of them were written a little before, and some of them a little after the publication of it; for that Talmud making mention of some of them, proves these to have been written before it; and

some of them making mention of that Talmud, proves these to have been written after it.

Use of the Targums for the better understanding both of the Old and New Testaments. — They are all of them of great use for the better understanding, not only of the Old Testament, on which they are written, but also of the New. As to the Old Testament, they vindicate the genuineness of the present Hebrew text, by proving it the same that was in use when these Targums were made, contrary to the opinion of those who think the Jews corrupted it after our Saviour's time. They help to explain many words and phrases in the Hebrew original, for the meaning whereof we should otherwise have been at a loss; and they hand down to us many of the ancient customs and usages of the Jews, which much help to the illustrating of those Scriptures on which they are written. And some of these, with the phraseologies, idioms, and peculiar forms of speech which we find in them, do in many instances help as much for the illustrating and better understanding of the New Testament as of the Old. For the Jerusalem Chaldee dialect, in which they are written, being the same which was the vulgar language of the Jews in our Saviour's time, many of its idioms, phraseologies, and forms of speech, which from hence came into the writings of the New Testament, are found in these Targums, and from thence are best to be illustrated and explained. The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan must certainly be allowed to be useful for this purpose, as being written just before the time of our Saviour; and although the others were much later, and written in a corrupted style, much differing from that of the other, yet the same idioms, phrases, and forms of speech still remaining, they serve

---

for this use, as well as the other, especially where transcribed from other ancienter Targums, as I suppose they mostly were.

Conformity of the interpretations of the prophecies of the Messiah in the Targums with those adopted by Christians. — They also very much serve the Christian cause against the Jews, by interpreting many

of the prophecies of the Messiah in the Old Testament in the same manner as the Christians do. I shall here instance in some of them.

Prophecy respecting the bruising of the serpent's head, Gen. iii. 15.— God saith unto the serpent, "It (that is, the seed of the woman) shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." Christians interpret this of the Messiah and his kingdom; and the Jerusalem Targum, and that called Jonathan's on the Law, do the same.

Prophecy respecting the coming of Shiloh, Gen. xlix. 10. —Jacob prophesieth that "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come." Christians understand this of the Messiah, and from thence prove against the Jews, that the Messiah must, according to this prophecy of him, have been long since come, because long since, that is, for many ages past, there hath been no regal power in Judah, no prince of that nation ruling with the sceptre over them; nor any from between their feet, that is, any born of that people, to make laws or administer justice among them; because for many ages past the whole Jewish polity hath utterly ceased from among them, and they have nowhere since the time of Jesus Christ, the true Messiah, been governed by their own princes or their own laws, but everywhere by strangers and the laws of strangers among whom they have lived. The Jews, to evade the force of this manifest argument against them, object, first, that the word shebet in the Hebrew text, which we interpret a sceptre, the instrument of rule, signifieth also a rod, which is the instrument of chastisement; and therefore say, that though this should be understood of the Messiah, the meaning would be no more than that their chastisement, that is, the banishment which they now suffer in their dispersions among strange nations, should not cease (as they all reckon it will not) till their Messiah shall come to deliver them from it. But in the second place they object, that they do not allow that the Messiah is meant by the words Shiloh in this prophecy. But in both these particulars the Chaldee paraphrases are against them: for the words of Onkelos in this text are, "There shall not be taken away from Judah one having the principality, nor the scribe from the sons of his children, till the Messiah shall come." And the Jerusalem Targum or paraphrase, and that called Jonathan's, agree with him in both these particulars: for they both interpret

shebet of the principality, and Shiloh of the Messiah; and therefore all three of them help the Christian cause in this matter.

Prophecy of Balaam, Numb. xxiv. 17.—Part of the prophecy of Balaam there recited is, "There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall bear rule over all the children of Seth." We Christians interpret this of the Messiah: and so doth Onkelos in his Targum on that place; for his words are, "A king shall rise out of the house of Jacob, and the Messiah shall be anointed out

---

of the house of Israel, who shall rule over all the sons of men." And the Targum called Jonathan's interprets this of the Messiah in the same manner also as that of Onkelos doth: and it is here to be observed, that the Targumists rightly render this phrase, "all the children of Seth," by the phrase, "all the sons of men;" for all the children of Seth since the flood are the same with all the children of Adam, and these are all men. And this shows that, according to this prophecy, the kingdom of the Messiah was not to be a peculiar kingdom for the Jews, but universal for all mankind. And agreeable hereto, Maimonides interprets this whole text. His words are as follow, "'A sceptre shall rise out of Israel;' this is the King Messiah: 'and shall smite the corners of Moab;' this is David, as it is written (2 Sam. viii. 2), 'and he smote Moab,' &c. 'And he shall bear rule over the children of Seth;' this is the King Messiah, of whom it is written (Psal. lxxii. 8), 'He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth.'" In Tract. Melakin, cap. , s. 1.

Prophecies of Isaiah, ix. 6, 7.—The words of the prophet are, "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it and to establish it with judgment and with justice, from henceforth even for ever." Christians all hold that this is spoken of the Messiah; and Jonathan, in the Targum which is truly his, doth on that place say the same.

Isaiah xi. —This whole chapter we Christians understand to be of the Messiah, and the peaceableness and happiness of his kingdom. Jonathan doth the same in his Targum thereon; and in it doth twice make expression hereof, that is, on the first verse and on the sixth.

Isaiah lii. and liii.—What is contained in these two chapters, from the seventh verse of the first of them to the end of the other, is all a continued prophecy of the Messiah. So St. John in his Gospel, xii. 38, and St. Paul to the Romans, x. 16, do teach us; and so all Christians hold, having so great authority for it. But the description there given of a suffering Messiah not agreeing with the notion which the Jews have of him, who expect a Messiah reigning and triumphing in temporal pomp and power, several of them reject this interpretation, and wrest the whole prophecy to other meanings; some of them understanding it of Josiah, some of Jeremiah, and others of the whole people of Israel. But the Targum of Jonathan interprets it of the Messiah, as the Christians do, and twice within the compass of the prophecy (i. e. chap. lii. 13, and chap. liii. 10) applies it to him. And Jonathan having composed this Targum before Christ's time, the serving of neither party can be supposed then to have influenced him to have written otherwise than appeared to him to be the plain truth of the matter; and that this prophecy can be understood of none other than the Messiah is manifest from the whole tenor of it; and it is as manifest that it was all completed in Christ our Lord. And therefore others among the Jews, having rightly judged that the wrestings above mentioned are not sufficient to baffle the true meaning of this prophecy, have for the evading hereof invented another device; that is, that

---

there are to be two Messiahs, and both yet to come; one of which, they say, is to be of the tribe of Ephraim (and they therefore call him Messiah the son of Ephraim, and sometimes Messiah the son of Joseph), and the other of the tribe of Judah, and the lineage of David; and they therefore call him Messiah the son of David. The first of these (who they say will be the forerunner of the other) they make to be a suffering Messiah; and tell us of him, that he is to fight against Gog, and having overcome him, shall afterwards be slain by Armillus, whom they hold to be the greatest enemy

that shall ever appear against the church of God in this world. And of this Messiah the son of Ephraim they interpret all that is foretold in the Old Testament of the sufferings of Christ our Lord, especially what is foretold of him in this prophecy of Isaiah, and in that of Zechariah xii. 10; in which last they interpret the words, "whom they have pierced," of his being to be pierced and run through by the sword of Armillus, when he shall be slain by him. The other Messiah, that is, Messiah the son of David, they make to be a conquering and reigning Messiah, that shall conquer and kill Armillus, and restore the kingdom of Israel, and there reign in the highest glory and felicity; and of him they interpret all that is said in the Scriptures of the Old Testament of the glory, power, and righteousness of Christ's kingdom. But all that they thus tell us of their twofold Messiah is a mere fiction, framed without as much as a pretence to any foundation in Scripture for it; a vile and most pitiful fetch, invented only to evade what they cannot answer; and their being forced to have recourse to such a wretched shift is a plain giving up of the cause they make use of it for.

Prophecies of Micah, v. 2. — The words of the prophet are, "And thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, shalt be chief among the thousands of Judah; out of thee shall come forth unto me he that is to be ruler in Israel." This is the true translation of the Hebrew text, and this all Christians understand of the Messiah: and so anciently did the chief priests and scribes of the people of the Jews when consulted by Herod. But since that time, in opposition to the Gospel, Jewish writers have endeavoured to give this text another meaning; some interpreting it of Hezekiah, some of Zerubbabel, and some otherwise. But Jonathan, who perchance was one among those scribes whom Herod consulted, gives the true meaning of it by interpreting it of the Messiah, in the same manner as we Christians do: for his version of this text is, "Out of thee shall come forth before me the Messiah, who shall exercise sovereign rule over Israel."

Prophecies in Psalm ii. — This psalm we Christians interpret to be a prophecy of the Messiah, and hold it to be all fulfilled in our Saviour, and the erection of his kingdom against all opposition which it met with from Jews, heathens, and the princes and rulers of the earth. And so the holy apostles understood it of old (Acts iv. 25—27, and chap. xiii.

33; Hebrews i. 5). In opposition hereto, the Jews apply it wholly and solely to David himself, and will allow it no other meaning, either literal or typical, but what is terminated in his person. But the Targum is on our side; for it interprets this psalm to be a prophecy of the Messiah, as all Christians do.

Psalm xlv. — This psalm also Christians interpret to be of the Messiah, and they have for it the authority of the holy penman of the Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. i. 8. In opposition hereto, the Jews apply it wholly and solely to Solomon, and will allow it no other meaning, either literal or typical, but what is terminated in his person, and the marriage which he made with the daughter of Pharaoh: but the Targum is on our side in this matter also, and interprets it to be a prophecy of the Messiah, as all Christians do.

Psalm lxxii. — This psalm also the Jews interpret of Solomon; but Christians understand it as a prophecy of the Messiah: and the Targum is on our side herein; for it applies it to the Messiah in the same manner as we do.

Reply to the argument of Richard Simon, against Christians using the Targums in their controversies with the Jews. — Many other instances might be produced out of these Targums, wherein the prophecies of the Old Testament are illustrated and explained for the advantage of the Christian cause against all opposers. But these are sufficient to give the reader a taste of all the rest, and also to show how useful these Targums may be to a Christian divine in all controversies about the Messiah, especially against the Jews. For these Targums being their own books, all arguments taken out of them, if anything can convince that obstinate people, must be of a very convincing force against them, especially when they are out of the Targums of Onkelos on the Law and Jonathan on the Prophets; for these they hold to be of the same authority with the sacred word itself. Richard Simon, the Frenchman, is against Christians making any use at all of those Targums in their controversies with the Jews: for he thinks that our urging of any arguments against them out of those books may seem to authorize them; which will, saith he, be much to the disadvantage of Christianity, because those books being written with the

sole view of establishing the Jewish ceremonies and religion, they will operate much stronger to the support of the Jewish cause than the Christian. But I can see no reason in all this; for certainly we may make use of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan for the proving of the ancient and true interpretation of the prophecies of the Messiah explained in them, and of the other Targums also for the same purpose, without our incurring thereby that ill consequence which that Frenchman would guard against; our using them for this purpose no more authorizing all else contained in them, than our using the prophecies of the Pentateuch against the same Jews can be said to authorize their present rites and ceremonies contained in that book, now they are wholly abolished by the gospel. Besides, when we make use of any quotations out of these Targums in our controversies with the Jews, they are chiefly used as argumenta ad homines. And thus we may use arguments out of the Alcoran against the Mahometans, and out of the Talmud against the Jews, without giving in the least any authority or approbation thereby to either of them.

Argument of Simon against the use of the Targums for the proof of the Christian meaning of the "Word." — With much better reason the same Frenchman disapproves of the use of the Targums for the proof of the **Λόγος**, or Word, in that sense in which we find it expressed in the first chapter of the Gospel of St. John. For through all those Targums, in a great number of places where mention is made of God in the original Hebrew, it being rendered "the Word of God" in the Chaldee interpretation, hence the Chaldee *Memra*, which in that phrase signifieth "the Word," hath been thought to correspond with the Greek **Λόγος** in that Gospel, and both exactly to denote the same thing. And therefore several learned men have endeavoured to explain the one by the other, and from hence to prove the divinity of our Saviour. But others, as well as Monsieur Simon, being sensible that this phrase in the Chaldee being an idiom of that language, which may be otherwise explained, they are against pressing any argument from it for this point, because it is capable of an answer to which we cannot well reply.

Buxtorf's edition of the Targums with points. — These Targums are published to the best advantage in the second edition of the great Hebrew Bible set forth at Basil by Buxtorf the father, anno 1620; for that learned man hath therein taken great pains, not only to rectify the Chaldee text, but also to reform the vowel pointings in it. At first these Targums were written, as all other Oriental books, without vowel points; but at length some Jews attempted to add points to them: but this being done very erroneously, Buxtorf undertook to mend it according to such rules as he had formed from the punctuation which he found in those parts of the books of Daniel and Ezra which are written in the Chaldee language. But some think that the Chaldee which is contained in those two books is too little from thence to frame rules in this matter for the whole language: and that therefore it had been better if Buxtorf had let this matter alone, and printed those books without any points at all, but left us wholly to be directed by the four letters, Aleph, He, Vau, Yod (which they call *Matres Lectionis*), for the reading of those books. But that great and learned man knew better what was fit to be done than any that shall take upon them to censure his performances. The world is more beholden to him for his learned and judicious labours than to any other that lived in his time, and his name ought ever to be preserved with honour in acknowledgment of it. But to return again to our history.

III. REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT, CONTINUED, B. C. 37—24.

Syrian history: Plancus succeeds Sosius in the government of the province, 37. — Sosius, whom Antony had left governor of Syria on his going to Italy, finding that Ventidius had lost his favour by meriting too much from him in the Parthian war, for the avoiding of the like

---

envy, as soon as the war with the Jews was over, industriously avoided doing anything more, and lay by in quiet all the rest of the year. But he

having done too much already by taking Jerusalem, reducing Judæa, and placing Herod in full possession of that country, and being otherwise a man of merit, Antony could no more bear him than he had Ventidius; and therefore, as soon as he returned into Syria, he removed him from that government, and put Plancus, governor of Asia, into his place, and sent C. Furnius to govern Asia in his stead. And thus it frequently happens to other under-governors and ministers, either of state or war, they being as often undone by meriting too much from the princes they serve, as by demeriting from them.

Parthian history: Phraates, nominated to the succession, murders his father Orodes. — Orodes king of Parthia, being in some measure recovered from that disturbance of mind which his great grief for the death of Pacorus his beloved son had cast him into, fell into as great perplexity, whom of his other sons he should name his successor instead of him whom he had lost. He had thirty of them born to him of the several wives he had married. All these women pressed hard upon the old king, each soliciting for a son of their own. At length, to put an end to this matter, he determined it by the seniority, and appointed Phraates, the eldest of them, who was also the wickedest and worst of the whole number, to be king in his stead; who, as soon as he was possessed of the regal power, made the wickedness of his disposition fully appear in it. The first thing which he did was to put to death those of his brothers which were born to his father of a daughter of Antiochus Eusebes king of Syria; for which he had no other reason, but that they were by their mother of a more noble descent, and otherwise of greater merit, than himself. And finding that his father was much offended at it, he put him to death also. At first he attempted it only by giving him hemlock; but that, instead of killing him, became a medicine to cure him of the dropsy, which he then laboured with; for it working off in a violent purgation, it carried off the disease with it. And therefore, to make sure work of it, the parricide caused him to be stifled to death in his bed; and after that he put to death all his other brothers, and raged with that cruelty towards the nobility, as well as all others, that he made himself the odium of all his people; whereon fearing lest they should depose him, and place a son of his, then grown up to man's state, upon the throne instead of him, he put him to death to prevent it. Hereon great numbers of the nobility of Parthia,

dreading his cruelty, fled the country to avoid it; several of which took refuge in Syria, under the protection of Antony; among whom Monæses was the most eminent, who growing much into the confidence of Antony, thereby became the chief promoter of that war with Parthia, which Antony the next year engaged in.

Jewish history: Ananelus appointed by Herod to the high priesthood in the room of Antigonus, 36. — Herod on the death of Antigonus made Ananelus high priest in his stead. He was an obscure priest, residing

---

among the Jews of Babylonia, and a descendant of those who had settled in that country after the Babylonish captivity; but being of the pontifical family, and formerly well known to Herod, he sent for him from Babylonia, and put him into this office; and that which chiefly recommended him to this choice, was the obscurity and meanness of the man, that being a person without credit or interest at Jerusalem, he might not there, by virtue of his high station and dignity, be in a capacity of interfering with the regal authority.

Hyrcanus, released from his captivity by Phraates, returns to Jerusalem. — In the interim Hyrcanus continued a prisoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till Phraates came to the crown. Amidst the cruelties which he exercised among his own people, he showed kindness and generosity towards this captive prince: for as soon as he was informed of his quality, he ordered him to be released from his chains, and allowed him to live at full liberty among the Jews of that country; who respecting him as their king and their high priest, he seemed to have been as much a king among them, and to have as ample a kingdom, as when he reigned at Jerusalem. For the Jews who were then settled in Babylonia, Assyria, and other countries beyond the Euphrates, which were then parts of the Parthian empire, were as numerous as those in Judæa. And all these honoured him as their king, and supplied him with a maintenance suitable thereto; so that he lived there in full honour, ease, and plenty. But on hearing of Herod's being advanced to be king of Judæa, the love which he had for his country so prevailed with him, that nothing could content him but to return again

thither. Having been the preserver of Herod's life, when he was arraigned before the Sanhedrim for the death of Hezekias, and the founder of all his fortunes, he expected this man would have treated him as gratitude obliged, and returned him all the kindnesses he had received; and therefore was desirous of putting himself under his protection in Jerusalem; and Herod was as earnest to have him there, as the other to desire it, but with quite another view. He feared some turn might happen to bring Hyrcanus again upon the throne, and therefore desired to have him in his power, that he might cut him off to prevent it, when he should see an occasion for it; and for this end, not only invited Hyrcanus to him with great earnestness and greater promises, but sent an embassy to Phraates of purpose to solicit his permission for him to come; and he having succeeded in both these particulars, that is, with Phraates to grant him his dismission, and with Hyrcanus to accept of it, the unfortunate old prince, contrary to the advice of all his friends, left Babylonia and returned to Jerusalem; where Herod for some time treated him with all seeming respects, till at length he found a pretence to put him to death, in the manner as will be hereafter related.

Antony, assisted by Monæses, prepares for the conquest of the Parthians. — Publius Canidius, one of Antony's lieutenants, having vanquished the Armenians, the Iberians, and the Albanians, and carried his victorious arms as far as Mount Caucasus, the name of Antony hereon became very famous and terrible among all the nations of those parts; with

---

which he being much elated, was blown up thereby into a confidence of having the same success against the Parthians; and therefore resolved forthwith to prosecute that war against them, which he had long designed, and which was at Rome earnestly expected from him, for the revenging of the cause of Crassus, and those Romans that perished with him at Carrhæ; and he accordingly set himself on the making of all manner of preparations for it, in which he made great use of Monæses, forming all his schemes for the carrying of it on by his advice; and to engage him to be the more serviceable to him herein, he allowed him the revenues of three cities for his maintenance, as Xerxes had Themistocles, and promised him also, on his conquering the country, to make him king of it.

Monæses recalled by Phraates. — But while these projects were a framing came ambassadors from Phraates to invite Monæses home; for the Parthians, very ill resenting the banishment of this great man, and Phraates himself dreading the advantage which the enemy might have against him from the advice of so wise and able a counsellor, and one so well acquainted with the country to direct an invasion into it, this produced a resolution of recalling him; and such terms being offered him as he thought fit to accept, he prepared for his return. Antony had great indignation hereat; and though he had him still in his power, yet thought it not for his interest to put him to death, because this would discourage all others from revolting to him; but to make the best advantage of this incident for his own interest, he, on his dismissing of Monæses, sent ambassadors with him to Phraates to treat of peace, hoping that by amusing him herewith, he might divert him from making preparations for the war, and so find him unprovided to make any resistance on his invasion upon him.

Antony's unsuccessful expedition: loses his battering-rams and other military engines. — But he wholly failed of his aim in this matter; for intending to have invaded the Parthians by the nearest cut over the Euphrates, on his coming to that river he found all the passes so strongly guarded on the other side, that he durst nowhere attempt the leading of his army that way; whereon he marched off to the left, and passed Mount Taurus into Armenia, purposing from thence to invade first the Medians, and after that the Parthians. And this he was induced to by the solicitations of Artabazes, king of Armenia: for that prince, having made a breach with Artavasdes, king of Media, for the revenging of his cause upon him, pressed Antony to come this way, and on his failing of the other over the Euphrates, he accepted of the invitation. And had Artabazes acted faithfully with him, the expedition in all likelihood would have had all the success which was proposed. But instead of conducting him the direct way, which from Zeugma on the Euphrates (the place from whence he did first set out on this northern march) to the river Araxis, that parted Media from Armenia, was about five hundred miles, he led him over mountains and difficult passes, and by ways so far about, that he made his march to be of double the length before he arrived on the borders of Media, at the place intended for the

beginning of the war; whereby not only the army was fatigued, but so much of the year spent that it left him not time sufficient for the

executing of what was designed. However, to make all the expedition possible, that so he might be back again soon enough to spend his winter with Cleopatra, he overmarched all his heavy carriage (among which were three hundred waggons, loaded with battering-rams and other military engines for sieges), leaving Statianus, one of his lieutenants, with a guard of ten thousand men, to bring them after him. With the rest of his army he hastened forward, by long marches, till he arrived at Praaspa (otherwise called Phraata), the capital of Media, which was within the country, at the distance of three hundred miles from the river Araxis, where the first borders of it began. This city he immediately besieged; but it being a very strong place and well fortified, he soon found the error he had committed, in leaving his battering-rams and his other military engines behind him, for he could do nothing without them; and therefore, when the Median and Parthian army came up to him, finding him thus in vain spending himself in this siege, they stayed not to give him any disturbance for the raising of it, but passing him by, marched forward to fall on Statianus, who was coming up with the heavy carriages; and having surprised him in the way, cut him off and all his ten thousand men with him (excepting only some few who had quarter given them in the end of the carnage), and took all the engines of war, and all the rest of the baggage that was with them; which was a loss and disappointment that mostly contributed to the making the whole expedition miscarry, next the ill measures by which it was conducted.

Harassing retreat of Antony to Syria. — As soon as Antony heard of the danger Statianus was in, he made all the haste he could to his assistance, but came too late to give him any; for on his arrival he found him and all his men dead on the field of battle; but no enemy appearing to oppose him, he supposed them fled for fear of him; and this making him resume his courage, he returned again to the siege; but was there attended with the same ill success as in all things else during this expedition; for the enemy, lying near at hand, continually harassed him with fresh assaults, taking all advantages for it, especially in his foragings. If he sent out few

for this purpose, they were usually cut off in their return; and if he sent many, the remainder were galled by the sallies of the besieged. He thought to have remedied all this by drawing the Parthian army to a general battle; and twice he attained his aim herein, but with little advantage to him; for although in both conflicts he put the enemy to a thorough rout, yet the Parthians being all horsemen, they made their retreat with that swiftness, and thereby so well escaped the damages usually suffered in such defeats, that in the last of them, when Antony thought his victory absolute, and pursued it to the utmost, he found that there were only eighty of the enemy slain and thirty taken prisoners in the whole action. However he continued the siege, till, having eaten up all the country round, he was forced to depart for want of provision; but his retreat being to be made through the enemy's country for three hundred miles (for at

---

that distance Phraata lay from the borders of Armenia), it was attended with great difficulties and continual dangers. He was much beholden to a guide which he had of the Mardians (a people living near the confines of Media and Armenia), who being well acquainted with the country, faithfully conducted him through it. The Parthian army followed him as far as the river Araxis, where the territories of the Medians ended, and harassed him all the way with assaults, as often as they had an advantage for them. Eighteen times they fell on him with all their forces, and although he as often repulsed them, yet it was every time with greater loss to himself than to the enemy; for as soon as they perceived themselves worsted, they made quick retreats, as being all horsemen, so as to sustain no loss in the pursuit. Three times he was in danger of being absolutely undone by ambushes laid in the way for him, which he could not have escaped, but that he had notice given him of them from the enemy's quarters. Twice Monæses served him this way by a special messenger sent to him for this purpose, in return to the kindness he had received from him in his banishment: and the other time he had his intelligence from an old Roman soldier, who, having been a captive among the Parthians ever since the defeat of Crassus, came to the Roman army to acquaint him of the danger. Although he made many errors in his conduct of the other parts of this war, there were none of them in this

retreat: for he managed it with all the art and success that it was capable of; and after a march of twenty-seven days from the walls of Phraata, he brought his army back again into Armenia, though not without great loss. For on his taking a review of his army, after his repassing the Araxis, he found he brought back of his foot twenty thousand and of his horse four thousand, fewer than he first carried over that river for this war, more of which perished by the hardships of the campaign than by the sword of the enemy. And although, on his entering Armenia, he was there out of the enemy's country, and had free passage for his army without molestation, yet winter being now advanced, and Armenia all covered with snow, by continuing his march through it during this hard season he lost several thousands more of his men; so that, on his return to Antioch, Florus tells us, he scarce brought back a third part of the number he carried out. And yet he had the vanity on his return to boast, as if he had come back with victory, and assumed the honours due thereto. He was not at any time indeed during this expedition vanquished in battle, as Crassus had been, but came back alive at the head of his army, and without that disgrace to the Roman arms which attended the absolute defeat of that other general. But if their losses be compared together, this of Antony's will appear the more unfortunate expedition of the two. When Crassus was vanquished by the Parthians at Carrhæ, there were slain with him twenty thousand, and ten thousand taken prisoners; but in this campaign of Antony's against the same people, the number of those that were lost in it was much greater. According to Florus's account it was about twice as

---

much; for he went out with a hundred thousand men, and if he brought back only a third part, then above sixty thousand must have perished of them in this destructive undertaking.

Desertion of Artabazes, king of Armenia. — Had Artabazes, who marched with Antony into Media with sixteen thousand horse, continued them in his service, that reinforcement would have enabled him to have pursued the Parthian horse as often as they were repulsed, and to have taken thereby all the advantages of these defeats for the making of that campaign fully fortunate. But that faithless man, who had drawn Antony into this war,

was the first that deserted him in it; for hearing of the ill fate of Statianus, and those that were cut off with him, he immediately withdrew into his own country, giving all for lost on the Romans' side, and thereby did all that in him lay to make it so; for which Antony at last revenged himself upon him in his utter ruin.

Disasters of the war to be attributed to Antony's passion for Cleopatra. — But the main cause of all the misfortunes of this war, as well as of all others that befell this noble Roman after his obtaining the chief command of the East, was that wicked woman Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. On his last return out of Italy into Syria, he forthwith sent for her thither, against the advice of all his friends. On her arrival, she influenced him to many unjust and wicked things for the gratifying of her avarice; and many of the nobility of Syria were on false pretences put to death through her means, for no other reason but that she might have their forfeited estates; among whom one was Lysanias, the son of Ptolemy Mennæus, prince of Chalcis and Ituræa, whom she having caused to be put to death, on a false accusation of confederating with the Parthians, had thereon his dominions granted to her. The stay which she then made with him much retarded this Parthian expedition: for that he might the longer enjoy her conversation, he so long delayed his first setting out on it, and by reason hereof came into Armenia so late in the year, that he could not have time enough to do any great feats in this campaign, had he been fully fortunate in it: and although he sent her away again into Egypt before he marched forth with his army, yet he went to this war with his heart so bewitched to her, that he precipitated everything to make the more haste to return to her again. And this precipitation was the cause that made the undertaking so miserably miscarry, as hath been above related. A great part of the summer having been spent ere he came to the river Araxis, instead of passing it so late in the year, he should have put his army there into quarters among the Armenians. After so long and fatiguing a march as they made of it from Syria thither, they needed such a refreshment; and winter being so near, had he continued them still there in the same quarters till the rigour of it had been over, and began the war early in the spring following, in all likelihood he would have had better success in it, and would then have had time

enough before him for the making of the best advantage of it. This was the best course he could then have taken, and he was accordingly advised

---

to it; but the eager desire which he then had of being speedily back again with that wicked woman, would not permit him to hearken thereto, but hurried him on to enter into a war in a cold country, when the cold season was there beginning. And when the heavy carriages hindered him in his march from making that speed with which he desired, for the same reason, to despatch everything, he left them behind to be brought after him; which not only made the siege of Phraata miscarry, for want of the engines of battery which were with those carriages, but also was the cause of the loss of all those carriages, and of Statianus and his convoy, who were appointed to bring them to him, they being all through this ill conduct cut off and destroyed in the manner as above related. And when the unlucky beginning of the war with so great a loss had made everything else miscarry in it, and Antony was with great difficulty got back again into Armenia, and ought at least then to have put the remainder of his army into winter quarters, it being the middle of winter, for the sake of getting speedily back again into Syria, to join Cleopatra, he obstinately continued his march over that mountainous country, then covered all over with snow; which lost him eight thousand of his men more, who perished in that march by reason of the hardship of the season; which completed the ruin of his army, and reduced them to that small number I have mentioned.

Changes in the western provinces: deposition of Lepidus from the triumvirate, and division of the Roman empire between Octavianus and Antony. — While these things were a doing in the East, a great change happened in the West; Sextus Pompeius being driven out of Sicily, and Lepidus deposed from the triumvirate. Octavianus and Lepidus had jointly carried on the war against Sextus Pompeius; and they having had that success in it, as utterly to subdue him both by sea and land, and deprive him of all he had, excepting only seven ships, with which he fled into Asia, Lepidus vainly arrogated the whole honour of the victory to himself, and would have seized all Sicily, as what he thought was due solely unto him, as the just reward of it. But Octavianus, having hereon drawn over all his army

to desert to him, reduced him to a necessity to beg his life, and be content to lead the remainder of it in a private and mean condition at Circeii, a small maritime town among the Latins, where he was sent into banishment. That he attained to be one of the three supreme governors of the Roman empire was wholly owing to fortune, he being without any merit in himself of either wisdom, valour, or activity, to entitle him thereto; and therefore, after he had thus fallen from what fortune had thus raised him unto, he had nothing more left to recommend him to any further regard, but ended his life in the place of his confinement, in obscurity and contempt. After this, Antony and Octavianus held the whole Roman empire divided between them; the former had all the east, from the borders of Illyrium and the Adriatic Gulf, and the latter all the rest. And it is remarked, that Octavianus was no more than twenty-eight years old when he attained to all this, and owed it all wholly to the wisdom of his own conduct; and with the

---

same wisdom whereby he obtained this empire, he governed it ever after to the end of his life, through a long and prosperous reign.

Antony proceeds to Egypt with Cleopatra, 35.—As soon as Antony had gotten back again into Syria from his late expedition, he retired to Lucecome, a castle in Phœnicia, lying between Sidon and Berytus, and there sent for Cleopatra to him, waiting for her coming with great impatience; and for the relief of it, wearing away the time in the interim with feasting, revelling, and drunkenness, till her arrival, without being touched with any concern for the losses of his late unfortunate expedition, or with any other passion but that of his inordinate love for this wanton woman. On her coming to him, she brought with her great quantities of garments for the new clothing of his shattered army. These, with a large donative in money, were distributed among the soldiers in Cleopatra's name. The clothes only, it is said, were from Cleopatra, but the money all from Antony; but both were distributed in her name out of complaisance to her. As soon as this was done, Antony returned into Egypt with her; and there they spent the remainder of the winter in all manner of luxury and voluptuousness together.

Jewish history: appointment of Aristobulus, brother of Mariamne, to the high priesthood in the room of Ananelus. —The making of Ananelus high priest, and the putting by from that office Aristobulus the son of Alexander, to whom it belonged in right of succession, caused great disturbances in Herod's family; for Alexandra, Aristobulus's mother, could not bear the disappointment, and Mariamne his sister, Herod's best beloved wife, was continually teasing and soliciting him about it. But he was most embarrassed by the dangers and troubles which Alexandra created him; for she wrote to Cleopatra about this matter, and began also, by the means of one Dellius, a favourite of Antony's, to engage him in it; so that Herod found it necessary, for the securing of his safety and quiet, to gratify the two ladies in what he found them so earnest for; and therefore having deposed Ananelus, he made Aristobulus, then a lad of seventeen years old, high priest in his stead. This satisfying the two ladies, and also pleasing the generality of the people, it restored peace again to Herod's family, and prevented for the present all those dangers and difficulties from Antony, which he was then threatened with about this matter.

Intrigues of Alexandra for placing Aristobulus on the throne. —But the active genius of Alexandra would not permit this calm long to continue; for she was a woman of a great spirit, as well as of a great understanding; and knowing that her son had as good a claim to the kingdom as he had to the high priesthood, could not bear his being deprived of either; for by her he was grandson to Hyrcanus, and by Alexander, his father, he was grandson to Aristobulus, and therefore had the interest and right of both those brothers centring in him: by his descent from the latter he had the high priesthood (that going in the male line), but by his descent from both he claimed the crown; and

---

Alexandra having succeeded in her gaining of the one, pursued the same means for the obtaining of the other also; that is, by intriguing with Cleopatra, that so by her interposition she might gain over Antony to her. But Herod, smelling out this correspondence, and guessing at the purport of it, confined her to the palace, and set spies upon her, who so narrowly

watched all her steps, that none of them escaped their observation; whereon, looking on herself as a prisoner, she resented it with great indignation, and for the remedying of it, formed a plot for hers and her son's escape into Egypt to Cleopatra, who on this occasion had invited them thither; in order hereto a ship was provided at the next seaport town, and they were to be carried out in two coffins for their escaping thither. Herod had an account of all this design, and permitted it to go on till it was actually put in execution; but then seizing them on the road, brought them both back again. He durst not openly resent what was done for fear of Cleopatra; and therefore making a virtue of necessity, he pretended, out of clemency, to pardon that in both which he could not punish in either.

Herod procures the death of Aristobulus.—From that time, however, Herod resolved to rid himself of the young man as soon as he should have a convenient opportunity for it. Aristobulus was right heir to the crown which Herod, by the favour of the Romans, had usurped from him; and being also a very beautiful young man, the usurper had reason to fear, should he come into the presence of Antony and Cleopatra, how far he might gain on persons so lasciviously affected for the carrying of the point which Alexandra proposed. And further he observed, that the young man grew much into the favour of the people; and the gracefulness of his person, as well as their affection for the Asmonæan family, of which he was the sole male remainder, much recommended him hereto. Of which an instance was soon given on a very public occasion: for the feast of tabernacles approaching, and Aristobulus then officiating in the office of high priest, he discharged himself with so good a grace, and the splendour of the pontifical robes did so much set forth the beauty of his person, that by both these he captivated the affection of the whole assembly, and every man's mouth was full of his praises. This raised the jealousy of the tyrant to so high a degree, that he had not patience any longer to bear him; but immediately after the festival was over, took care to have him drowned at Jericho. He went thither with Herod to take part of an entertainment there provided for them. After dinner was over, several of Herod's attendants bathing themselves in a fishpond, Aristobulus was persuaded to bathe with them; but he was no sooner plunged into the water, but those that were there before him, according as directed by Herod, ducked and dipped him so long under

water, till he was then drowned to death. This was pretended to be done only by way of sport and play, without any intending of that which followed; and therefore endeavours were made to have his death to pass for an unfortunate accident, which happened by chance without any design; and none laboured more to have this believed than Herod himself; for he acted the part of a great mourner for the deceased, shedding abundance of tears, and otherwise expressing great grief for his death, and expending great sums in a splendid funeral for him. But everybody saw through this hypocrisy, and abhorred him

---

for it; and none more than Alexandra, who was inconsolable for this loss, and could not have survived it, but for the hopes of having an opportunity of being revenged on the tyrant for it. In order hereto she put all her wits to work, and being well stored with such as were proper for the effecting of such a design, she had near brought it to pass for the utter ruin of the murderer and all his fortunes, as will be by and by related.

Antony's fatal passion for Cleopatra: commencement of his breach with Octavianus. —But all this while Antony lay idle at Alexandria, spending the whole year in dalliances with Cleopatra; and although fair opportunities were offered him for the revenging of the Roman cause upon the Parthians, and utterly subduing that nation, yet he neglected them all for the company of this vile woman: for Antony was no sooner returned from his late expedition, but Artavasdes king of Media and Phraates king of Parthia fell out about the prey which they had taken from him on the defeat of Statianus, the latter depriving the other of his share in it; whereon the Median sent an embassy to Antony offering to join with him against the Parthians, and to assist him with all his forces. This offer Antony gladly accepted of, as wanting the Median horse to enable him to cope with the Parthians, whose whole strength lay in their horse. And at the same time he had an account that the affairs of the Parthians were in great disorders and distractions, by reason of several commotions, seditions, and rebellions, then in that country, caused by the tyranny and cruelty of their king. Both these junctures coming together, offered Antony a very advantageous opportunity, by a new expedition against the Parthians, to make amends for

the miscarriage of the former; and therefore resolving to lay hold of it, he forthwith put himself upon his march into Syria, there to make preparations for it. But Octavia being come as far as Athens in her way to Antony, Cleopatra feared that, in case they should meet, the wife might again recover the affection of the husband, and she be thenceforth excluded from it; and therefore for the preventing hereof, she put all her arts to work, feigning herself, after his departure, to be sick in love of him, that his absence had cast her into a languishing condition, of which she must die, unless he would return to her again; for she pretended she could not live without him. This brought Antony back again to Alexandria; and the Median expedition being laid aside, he devoted this whole year to the gratifying his adulterous love with this woman; and as soon as he was returned to her, he sent his order to Octavia at Athens, that she should not proceed any farther; which being resented by Octavianus, became the first cause of that war between them, which ended in the ruin of both these lovers, for they both perished in it.

Family and faction of Pompey ended by the death of Sextus Pompeius.—This year did put an end to the family and faction of Pompey the Great. It hath been above related, that at his death he left two sons, Cneius and Sextus; and that Cneius was slain in Spain after the battle of Munda. Sextus the younger of them, having escaped from thence, supported himself for some time in a piratical way at sea; but after the death of Cæsar and the battle of Philippi, having gotten together out of the remains of his party such a naval force as made up three

---

hundred and fifty sail, he seized Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia. From whence being driven by Octavianus and Lepidus, in the manner as hath been related, he fled to Lesbos, and there lived for some time in quiet among the Mitylenians. But hearing of the ill success of Antony's expedition against the Parthians, he thought this a favourable opportunity for him again to raise himself; and therefore passing over into the continent of Lesser Asia, he there got together a small army, and with it made several desperate pushes for the restoring of his fortunes; but failing in them all, he was this year taken and put to death by Titius, one of Antony's lieutenants. As soon

as Antony had notice of his being taken, he wrote to Titius to put him to death; but a little after repenting of it, he sent a second letter to have him saved alive. But the messenger that carried the letters of mercy, making haste with them, arrived before the other messenger that had the letters of death; and therefore Titius, executing them not in the order of their date, but in the order as he received them, did put the unfortunate captive to death. After this, the parties of Octavianus and Antony divided the Roman empire, and those of Pompey and Cæsar were no more spoken of. Titius had formerly been an adherent of Sextus Pompeius; but having treacherously revolted to Antony from him, he feared that if Sextus's life were spared, he might some time or other be in a condition to be revenged on him for it; and therefore perversely interpreting the last order that came to hand to be the last that was sent, put him to death by virtue of it; which rendered him so odious to the Roman people, by reason of the great regard and affection which they had to the memory of Pompey and his family, that they could not after this bear the sight of him in the public theatre, but drove him out of it with their hisses and curses, even then when he was there exhibiting to them games and shows at his own expense and charges.

Antony proceeds to Syria: summons Herod to account for the death of Aristobulus, 34.—Alexandra, having by letters acquainted Cleopatra of the murder of her son, possessed her so effectually with the whole villany of Herod in this matter, as fully engaged her to do all that in her lay for the revenging of her cause; so that she never left soliciting Antony about it, till at length she prevailed with him to call Herod to an account for it: and therefore Antony going early this year into Syria (in which journey Cleopatra accompanied him), he cited Herod there to appear before him to answer this accusation against him. But Herod on his arrival, by fair words and large presents, so mollified Antony, that nothing could be done against him, though Cleopatra failed not to pursue this cause to the utmost. But this not being so much to gratify Alexandra, as out of a greedy desire to have Herod's kingdom granted to her in case he were cast in this cause, and put to death for it, as he deserved, Antony satisfied her avarice by giving her Cœle-Syria instead of Judæa: and hereon she dropped all the rest, and no further prosecution was made herein.

Herod's orders to his uncle Joseph respecting Mariamne. — Herod, on his leaving Judæa to go unto Antony, appointed Joseph his uncle to have the administration of the government and the care of his family during his absence, and gave him particularly in charge, that in case

---

Antony should put him to death, he should not permit Mariamne, his best beloved wife, to survive the first news of it; but immediately cut her off. This he ordered, that no one might possess so rare a beauty but himself, especially not Antony; for he had been acquainted that Antony had professed a passion for her upon the very fame of her beauty; and therefore concluded, that if the matter went hard with him, it would be for her sake, that after his death Antony might have the free possession of her; and therefore, should death be now his case, he ordered her death also, that he might thereby deprive Antony of the prey intended; and so, by this disappointment in her death, as far as in him lay, revenge on him his own. During Herod's absence Joseph frequently waited on Mariamne, sometimes upon business, and at other times to pay his respects to her as queen; in which visits he would often take occasion to magnify and extol the love of Herod to her; and at one time especially, to make this out, he told her that she was so dear to him, that as he could not live without her, so he was resolved that death should not part them, and so blabbed out the whole secret; which exceedingly angering Mariamne and Alexandra, as well it might, the latter immediately put her busy head to work how to prevent the mischief intended. And soon after a flying report running through the city, that Herod was put to death by Antony, she forthwith contrived to flee for protection to a legion of the Romans, who then, for the safeguard of the country, under the command of one Julius, lay encamped without the walls of Jerusalem. But while this was in agitation, came letters from Herod, which dashed the whole plot; for they brought an account that he was not only alive and in safety, but also in great favour with Antony, and soon after he returned.

Herod's jealousy aggravated by Salome: Joseph put to death, and Alexandra imprisoned. —On Herod's arrival, Salome his sister told him all that had been a doing in his absence, and filled his head with jealousy as

to Mariamne, accusing her of having too great a familiarity with Joseph, and thereby endeavoured to work the destruction of both, though Joseph was both her uncle and her husband; but she was content to sacrifice him, so she might obtain her revenge upon the other for Mariamne being a lady of excellent beauty, and high born, as being descended of the royal stock of the Asmonæan kings, and on both these accounts of as high a spirit, she looked down upon Salome as one of a low original in respect of her, and had reproached her with it; which the other not brooking, resolved to be revenged on her for it, in order whereto, she never left laying plots for her ruin, till at length she effected it; and this was that which was the reason of her present accusation against her. This at first put Herod into a furious fit of jealousy against his wife: for as his love to her was very great, so his jealousy was proportionable to it; but when the first heat of it was over, and he had in a cooler temper examined Mariamne about it, he soon found that there was no reason for this accusation against her, and therefore earnestly begged her pardon for his too easy credulity herein, and for the better obtaining of her reconciliation, made great profession in passionate embraces

---

of most ardent love and affection to her. "Yes, indeed," says she, "it is a notable sign of your love, to order the putting your innocent wife to death, in case you should die yourself." At these words, Herod flew out of her arms in the utmost fury, and his jealousy all returned again upon him in greater excess than before; for he concluded that nothing but an adulterous conversation could bring Joseph to betray this secret to her, which he had with the utmost caution committed to his trust; and in this transport of his passion, was just on drawing of his dagger to have immediately struck her to the heart; but his love to her checking this first start of his wrath against her, he vented it all upon Joseph and Alexandra: for the first of them he put to death without as much as allowing him a hearing to speak for himself; and the other he clapped into chains, and locked her fast up in prison, as looking upon her to be the root and cause of all the mischief that disturbed his family.

Antony's large grants to Cleopatra.—Cleopatra, following Antony into Syria, was there continually soliciting him for new grants of provinces and countries to be made over to her, she being as insatiable in her covetousness as she was in her wantonness. She had already obtained from him all Cyrene, Cyprus, Cæle-Syria, Ituræa, and Phœnicia, with a great part of Cilicia and Crete, and would fain have had also Judæa from Herod, and Arabia from Malchus, and solicited hard for the putting of these two kings to death, that she might thereon have their kingdoms for a prey. But Antony would not comply with her in this last proposal: however, for the quieting of her, he was forced to give her out of Malchus's kingdom that part of it which bordered upon Egypt, and out of Herod's the territory of Jericho, with the balsam gardens which there grew. By these large grants he much offended the Roman people, especially since they were made the price of that conversation which he carried on with this wicked woman.

Cleopatra attempts to captivate Herod.—Antony from Syria marching into Armenia, Cleopatra accompanied him as far as the Euphrates, from whence returning by the way of Apamea and Damascus, she came to Jerusalem, and was there very splendidly entertained by Herod. While she was there she pretended to be in love with him, and would have drawn him into a guilty intercourse with her. The impudence of this attempt created in him an abhorrence of the woman, which, joined with the hatred he justly had of her for the ill offices she had endeavoured to do him with Antony for the depriving him of his kingdom and his life, provoked him to a resolution, now he had her in his power, to put her to death; and it was only the fear of Antony's resentments (the danger of which his friends whom he advised with about it laid fully before him) that deterred him from putting it in execution. And therefore laying this aside, he went on to compliment and entertain her with all manner of respects and splendour, as long as she stayed with him, and on her departure waited on her in person as far as the borders of her kingdom. However, fearing the malice of this wicked woman, as well as the tumultuous temper of the Jews, and their aversion to him, he fortified Massada, the strongest castle in Judæa, and

furnished it with arms for ten thousand men, that there he might have a place of refuge for his security against all events.

Antony revenges himself on Artabazes. —In the mean time, Antony in Armenia having by treachery drawn Artabazes king of that country into his power, made him his prisoner, and seized all his kingdom. He had deserted him in his late Median expedition, as hath been above related. This Antony greatly resented, and that justly enough, it having been undertaken on the solicitation and for the sake of Artabazes; and therefore he had ever since entertained resolutions in his mind of being revenged on him for it: in order hereto, he had several times, under pretence of friendship, endeavoured to draw him within his power; but Artabazes, being sensible how ill he had deserved from him, suspected the worst, and therefore kept out of his way. But now finding it was brought to this pass, that it could be no longer avoided, but that he must either go to him, or enter into a disadvantageous war with him, and having all the securities for his safe return that solemn promises and sacred oaths could give him, he ventured his person within his power; but he was no sooner entered into his camp, but he was clapped into chains, and, contrary to all the obligations of faith and honesty, made a prisoner. The Armenians, resenting this with the indignation which it deserved, immediately put Artaxias, the eldest son of the captivated king, on his throne, and marched under him with all their forces to revenge the perfidy; but Antony having overthrown them in battle, and driven Artaxias to take shelter in Parthia, most of the country submitted to him, and the rest were reduced by force. But the perfidy of this act, in thus seizing a confederate king contrary to faith given, was looked on at Rome as dishonourable to the Roman name, and it was on this account so ill resented by the people, that Octavianus, in his speeches both to them and the senate, made it one of the reasons for the war that afterwards broke out between them.

Antony makes a triumphant entry into Alexandria: —alienates the affections of the Romans. After this he contracted a marriage for Alexander, one of his sons by Cleopatra, with a daughter of the king of Media; and then, leaving the gross of his army in Armenia, he returned with the rest to Alexandria. On his arrival thither, he entered the city in a triumphal chariot, causing the prey which he had taken in Armenia, with king Artabazes, his

wife and children, and other prisoners, to be carried before him in the same manner as used to be done in the triumphs at Rome; only with this difference, that whereas at Rome the procession ended at the temple of Jupiter in the capitol, here it ended at the person of Cleopatra; who being seated in public on a golden throne placed on a scaffold overlaid with silver, and surrounded by the people on every side, had there Artabazes and all the other prisoners presented in chains to her. It was expected that they should all have kneeled down before her, and they were pressed so to do; but they too much remembered their former dignity to submit to so low an obeisance; and this refusal caused that they were afterwards used the worse for it. The Romans, looking on the ceremony of triumphing

---

as appropriated wholly to their city, took it grievously ill at the hands of Antony, that he should carry it elsewhere for the gratifying of an infamous woman. A little after this, Antony, having feasted the people of Alexandria, called them together into the gymnasium, or place of public exercise, where, having on such a scaffold as before mentioned seated himself in a throne of gold, and Cleopatra by him in another, he made an oration to them, and then declared Cæsarion, the son of Cleopatra, to be king of Egypt and Cyprus, in conjunction with his mother; and whereas he himself had three children by the same Cleopatra, Alexander and Cleopatra at one birth, and Ptolemy, whom he surnamed Philadelphus, at another, he at the same time gave unto Alexander, Armenia, Media, Parthia, and the rest of the eastern countries from the Euphrates to India, when they should be subdued; and to Cleopatra, the twin-sister of Alexander, Libya and Cyrene; and unto Philadelphus, Phœnicia, Syria, Cilicia, and all the countries of Lesser Asia, from the Euphrates to the Hellespont; and conferred on each of them the title of king of kings; and about the same time he also gave unto Cleopatra the name of Isis, and assumed to himself that of Osiris; the first of which was the great goddess, and the other the great god, of the Egyptians; and from that time both frequently appeared in public, habited in such a dress as was then thought proper only to those heathen deities. By these doings and follies Antony daily diminished his character among all that were either sober or wise, and further and further alienated the

affections of the Romans from him; of which Octavianus took the advantage, as of everything else, to work his ruin.

Antony's projected Parthian expedition hindered by his quarrel with Octavianus, 33.—Antony went early the ensuing year into Armenia, with purpose from thence to make war upon the Parthians, and in order thereto marched as far as the river Araxis. But about this time the quarrel growing high between him and Octavianus, this hindered his making any further progress that way. Octavianus took the advantage of being present at Rome to excite all there against him, accusing him in several speeches both to the senate and people. Antony, hearing of this, laid aside his intended expedition against the Parthians, and forthwith sent Canidius, one of his lieutenants, with sixteen legions, down to the coasts of the Ionian Sea; and after having renewed his league with the Median king, he himself hastened after them to Ephesus, there to be ready for the vindicating of his cause against Octavianus, should it come to a breach between them, as all things now seemed to tend thereto. In this journey he carried Cleopatra with him, which proved the ruin of all his affairs. His friends earnestly advised him to send her back to Alexandria, there to wait the event of the war. But Cleopatra, fearing lest in her absence a peace should be made upon terms of Antony's again receiving Octavia, and excluding her, put the utmost of her interest to work for the obtaining that she might stay; and accordingly prevailed herein. Her chief argument for it was, that since she contributed most to the expenses of the war

---

(for she had advanced twenty thousand talents towards it), it was all reason that she should be allowed at her desire to be present in it. Antony had provoked Octavianus against him by the wrong done to Octavia his sister, whom, having married, he rejected through his adulterous love with Cleopatra, though Octavia was much the handsomer of the two. But that which touched Octavianus most was, Antony had declared Cleopatra to have been married to Julius Cæsar, and Cæsarion, whom she had by him, to be his lawful son. For this tended to the bringing of a lawful son over his head, to the dispossessing him of the inheritance which he held only as the adopted son of that great man. These and many other particulars were

objected against him by Octavianus; and Antony by his agents and letters recriminated as fast. But these were only pretences for the gaining of parties on each side. There was only one true cause of the present breach; neither of these two great men being contented with one half of the Roman empire, each would have all, and accordingly agreed to throw the die of war for it.

Antony proceeds to Athens, to prepare for the war with Octavianus.—From Ephesus Antony passed over to Samos, and having there rendezvoused the greatest part of his forces, sailed from thence to Athens, and in these two places he spent the most part of the year. At both of them he lived after his usual rate, in all manner of luxury, pomp, and voluptuousness, having Cleopatra with him, who was the chief cause of his immersing himself in these excesses. But at the same time he omitted nothing of making all suitable preparations, both by sea and land, for the war ensuing, and Octavianus did the same, and both parties called in all their friends and allies to their assistance herein.

Antony sends a divorce to Octavia: ruins his cause by procrastinating the war, 32. —Sosius (whom we have afore spoken of in the wars of Judæa) and Domitius Aenobarbus being consuls at Rome the next ensuing year, both embraced the interest of Antony; and taking the advantage of Octavianus's being then absent from Rome, promoted a decree to the people against him; whereon Octavianus returning, and in his defence making a speech in the senate against Antony and the consuls, assigned a day for them again to assemble, when he promised he would exhibit to them letters and other evidences, to make good all that he had said; but before that day came, both the consuls and several other senators that were of Antony's party left the city, and repaired to him; and Octavianus, instead of hindering them, gave out that they went with his permission, and caused it publicly to be declared, that all else who were so inclined should have free liberty to do the same; whereby having rid the city of all opponents, he was there left at full scope to say and do whatsoever he thought fit for the advancing of his own interest, and the depressing of that of his adversary: of which Antony having an account, called together the chief men of his party, and after consultation had with them about this matter, by their advice

declared war against him, and sent a bill of divorce to Octavia, and messengers to Rome to drive her out of his house in that city, in which she had hitherto lived. And in pursuit of the war, he had by this time so far advanced his preparations for it beyond those of Octavianus, that had he forthwith pushed it to a final decision, he must unavoidably have carried the day, Octavianus being then in no readiness to stand before him either at sea or land: but the gratifying of his luxury, and the indulging of his pleasures, at Samos and Athens, causing a procrastination of this matter, it was deferred till the next year after; which proved the loss of all; for by that time Octavianus had gotten together those forces whereby he ruined him at Actium, as will be by and by related. And besides, while he thus delayed, many of his friends and partisans deserted him, and went over to Octavianus; the principal of which were Planchus and Titius, whom Cleopatra's ill usage drove from him: which tended very much to his damage; for they having been made privy to all his counsels and secret designs, on their revolting from him disclosed them all to Octavianus, whereby he much served his cause, especially by the discovery which they made to him of Antony's will. For he having made a very extravagant will in favour of Cleopatra and her children, to the damage and dishonour of the Roman state, and lodged it with the vestal virgins at Rome, they informed Octavianus of it; whereon, having gotten this will out of the hands of those with whom it was intrusted, and openly read and recited all the offensive particulars of it to the people, he thereby very much excited them against Antony; they who had hitherto been well affected to him, as well as all others, expressing great indignation hereat. And this very ill thing being from the authentic instrument undeniably made out against him, it operated much further to his hurt, in that it made everything else that was charged upon him, how false soever, to be believed also; and advantage was taken herefrom to load his reputation with many vile imputations that had not the least foundation of truth in them; for nothing was thought bad enough not to be believed of him after this matter.

Octavianus declares war against Cleopatra only.—Octavianus, having gotten a fleet and army ready, which he thought sufficient for the encountering of the adversary, no longer delayed declaring war; but caused it to be decreed only against Cleopatra: for though the war was in reality

against Antony, yet he craftily took care that his name should not be mentioned in this decree, for several reasons relating to his interest at that time; for this would less provoke the friends of Antony; this would make him the more odious at Rome, by putting it upon him to be the aggressor in this war against his own country; and this would in several other particulars best serve the designs of Octavianus against him. Both called all their friends and allies to their help. Octavianus had all the West, and Antony all the East, on their sides, and both brought

---

great armies into the field, and both also set forth as great fleets at sea for the decision of this quarrel. For Antony's forces, at land and sea, consisted of one hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, and five hundred ships of war; and Octavianus's of eighty thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and two hundred and fifty ships of war; and with these preparations they began their hostilities against each other both by sea and land. In order hereto, Octavianus rendezvoused both his fleet and army at Brundusium, and Antony came as far as Corcyra to meet him; but the summer being now spent, and the tempestuous season of the year advanced, they were forced both to retreat, and put their armies into winter quarters, and lay up their fleets in winter stations, till the next spring.

Jewish history: Herod wars against Malchus king of Arabia Petræa.—While the preparations for this war were thus carrying on, Herod had provided an army for the assistance of Antony; but when he was ready to put himself on his march towards him, came letters from Antony, which excusing him from this expedition sent him to make war nearer home, against Malchus, king of Arabia Petræa. It hath been above related, how Cleopatra extorted from Antony a grant of that part of Malchus's dominions which bordered upon Egypt. Malchus, instead of quarrelling with her about it, agreed, out of fear of Antony, to hold that territory of her for a certain tribute; this tribute he duly paid while Antony was in power, and at liberty to force him to it; but now finding him involved in this war with Octavianus, and expecting he would perish in it, as it accordingly happened, he withheld his hand, and would pay it no longer; and for this reason Antony, at the instigation of Cleopatra, ordered Herod to make war upon

him. But this wicked woman had further view in this matter than the bare recovering of her tribute. She concluded, that when these two kings should be thus put together by the ears, one of them would be killed in the war, and then she should have the kingdom of the slain for a prey to her. Herod, on the receipt of these orders, marched with all his forces into Arabia, and there, after a sharp fight with Malchus, obtained a very signal victory over him; but in a second engagement with him at Cana in Cœle-Syria, he had not the same success; for Athenion, who was Cleopatra's lieutenant in those parts, out of hatred to Herod joining with Malchus in the battle against him, he was there overthrown with a great slaughter, and he himself hardly escaped with some remains of his vanquished army, the rest being all cut in pieces.

Terrible earthquake in Judæa: defeat of the Arabians, 31.—And not long after another calamity happened to Herod from a terrible earthquake, which shaking the whole land of Judæa in a more grievous manner than had been before known, destroyed about thirty thousand of the inhabitants in the ruins of the houses which it overthrew. Herod, being much afflicted herewith, sent to the Arabians to crave peace; but they having it rumoured among them that the destruction was

---

much greater than it was, despised the message; and therefore putting the ambassadors to death, invaded the land, as expecting not to find a sufficient number left alive to defend it against them. But Herod's forces having been all encamped abroad when this earthquake happened, they suffered nothing from it, save the overthrowing of their tents, which killed nobody. And therefore, he having gotten them together, and encouraged them with a speech proper for the purpose, marched with them over Jordan to meet the enemy, and in the first encounter overthrew them with the slaughter of five thousand of their men, and besieged the rest in their camp; where he distressed them so far for want of water, that he drew them to another battle, in which he slew seven thousand more, and forced all the remainder to yield themselves prisoners to him: whereon the Arabians were necessitated to sue in their turn for peace to Herod, and were glad to accept what they lately despised, on such terms as he thought fit to demand from them; whereby

Herod, having obtained all that he intended by this war, returned with victory and full triumph again to Jerusalem.

War between Octavianus and Antony: utter defeat of Antony at Actium, September 2nd.—In the interim, Octavianus and Antony were hastening to bring their contest to a final decision. As soon as the season would permit, their armies again took the field, and their fleets the sea, and several encounters happened between parties sent out from each side both by sea and land; in all which victory declared in favour of Octavianus. This caused that many of Antony's side, despairing of his success, especially since they saw him so much under the conduct of Cleopatra, went over from him to Octavianus. This made Antony distrustful of all the rest, and therefore resolved to push the matter to as speedy a decision as he could; and the other being as eager for it as he, this brought on the battle of Actium, which was so called from the place near which it was fought. This was a small city lying on the south side of the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf in Epirus. There Antony with the gross of his army lay encamped, having his fleet near him on the shore; and on the opposite side Octavianus was encamped at a place where afterwards, in commemoration of the victory which he there obtained, he built a city, which he called Nicopolis; and there he had his fleet also near him on the shore; so that the stations in which both fleets anchored were not above a mile's distance from each other. Canidius, who had the chief command of Antony's army, persuaded him to decamp from Actium, and march into the inland country of Thrace, or Macedon, and there try his fortune in a battle at land, as being much stronger in his army by land than in his fleet by sea; for Antony had been forced to burn many of his ships for want of rowers and mariners to navigate them, most of those who first came out with them being dead through want of necessaries whereby to subsist, and the rest were but ill manned. But notwithstanding this, Cleopatra's advice prevailed to have the matter decided by a fight

---

at sea: for in case of the worst she thought she might better escape in her shipping by sea, than she could by a flight at land; and therefore, either foreboding or fearing the worst, she prevailed with Antony to try his fortune

by sea: and accordingly, on the second of September this year, both fleets engaged before the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf near Actium, in the sight of both armies at land, the one being drawn up on the north side and the other on the south side of the straits entering this gulf, there to wait the event of this battle. The fight for some time continued dubious, and with as fair a prospect of success for Antony as for the other, till Cleopatra deserted him: for she, being affrighted with the noise and terror of the battle, as being what ladies use not to be acquainted with, fled before there was any reason for it, and drawing after her all her Egyptian squadron, to the number of sixty tall ships of war, sailed off with them towards Peloponnesus: hereon Antony, giving all for lost, made after her; and this flight gave the victory entirely up to Octavianus. However, he came not easily by it: for Antony's ships fought so valiantly for him, even after he was fled, that although the fight began at noon, it was night ere it was ended; so that the victors were forced to lie on board their ships all night. Next morning, Octavianus, finding his victory complete, sent a squadron of his ships in pursuit after Antony and Cleopatra; but they soon finding them to be gone out of reach too far to be overtaken, returned again to the rest of the fleet.

Flight of Antony and Cleopatra to Laconia.—In the interim, Antony and Cleopatra got to Tænarus in Laconia. Although Antony, as soon as he came up with Cleopatra's ship, was taken on board it, yet he saw her not through all this voyage; but setting himself down in the prow of the ship, and there leaning his elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, as one confounded with anger and shame for the ill conduct and miscarriage of his affairs, continued in this melancholy posture for three days together, till his arrival at Tænarus. But after this, being brought again together, they again conversed with each other in the same manner as before: for Antony was so bewitched to this woman that he still continued his fondness for her, even at this time, when he had all the reason in the world to detest and abhor her to the utmost, as having been in the manner above related the cause of his ruin.

Antony had not been long at Tænarus, till some of his ships that had escaped the fight, and several of his friends, there repaired to him: by whom having an account of the total defeat of his fleet, but that his army at land was still safe, he wrote to Canidius to retire with it through Macedonia into

Asia, purposing there to renew the war. Canidius for seven days made the march which Antony directed him to: but being then overtaken by Octavianus, he fled by night to Antony; whereon the army, finding themselves deserted by their generals, went over to Octavianus, and were listed by him among the rest of his forces.

Proceedings of Octavianus.—After this defeat, the foreign auxiliaries, that helped Antony in this war, fled all home to their respective

---

countries, and afterwards made their peace with Octavianus upon the best terms they could. Some of the princes he deposed, and some of them he continued in their former state; but on all of these last, as well as on the free cities that had joined with Antony, he imposed heavy mulcts, wherewith he discharged the expenses of the war. But as to the Romans that were of Antony's party, some of them he pardoned, and some he fined, and others he put to death, according as their conduct had been towards him. Among those whom he put to death was Cassius Parmensis, the last survivor of Cæsar's murderers, and he perished in as calamitous a manner as did all the rest: for after the battle of Actium he fled to Athens, where being terrified with the like apparition as Brutus had been at Philippi, he was soon after overtaken by those whom Octavianus sent to execute that vengeance upon him which he deserved. In cases of murder it seldom happens that Providence permits any that are guilty herein to escape its vindictive hand, especially in the murder of princes; of which this of Cæsar was a very signal instance: for of all those who conspired his murder in the senate house (who are said to have been sixty persons), it is remarked not one died in his bed, but all of them came to their end in a violent and calamitous manner. And although this Cassius escaped the longest, yet at length vengeance overtook him also, and he perished as miserably as did all the others.

Antony and Cleopatra return to Alexandria.—From Tænarus Cleopatra sailed to Alexandria, and Antony to Libya. He had formerly sent thither Pinarius Scarpus to be governor of that province; and there placed an army under his command for the guarding of the western borders of Egypt

against all that should come that way to disturb it. This army he thought to have had for his service, which was the end of his going thither. But on his landing there, he found Scarpus and all with him had revolted to Octavianus; which disappointment casting him into despair, he would have slain himself, and it was with difficulty that he was diverted from it by his friends. All therefore that was now left for him to do was to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she was returned a little before. On her arrival thither, fearing she might not be received were her misfortunes known, she entered the harbour with her ships crowned, as if she had come back with victory; by which means she got again into full possession of that city, and also of the whole kingdom with it; and as soon as she had so, she put to death all those of the nobility who were any way averse to her, thereby to prevent the tumults which she feared they might raise against her on the discovery of the true state of her affairs. Antony, on his coming to Alexandria, found her engaged in a very extraordinary undertaking: for fearing she might fall into the hands of Octavianus on his pursuit of her into Egypt, for the preventing hereof, she projected the drawing of her ships that were in the Mediterranean from that sea into the Red Sea, over the isthmus of seventy miles which lay between them; and

---

after having joined them with other ships which she then had in the Red Sea, to put on board them all her treasure, and sailing down the Red Sea with them, to seek some other place for her habitation. But the Arabians, who dwelt on that sea, having at the instigation of Q. Didius (who had then seized the presidency of Syria for Octavianus) burned all those ships, this wholly disappointed her of that design.

Antony, when he arrived at Alexandria, went not to the palace, but shut himself up in a house on the sea-shore near Pharus; and there sequestered himself from the company and conversation of all men: for being forsaken by almost all his friends, he pretended to act the part of Timon the man-hater, and therefore called this house his Timonium, and there solitarily spent his time in meditating hatred and detestation against all mankind, for the sake of those who had now deserted him—wrongfully imputing to them his ruin, which his own ill conduct and folly had brought him to. But he did

not long relish this way of living. He was soon again found with Cleopatra at the palace; and there with her revelled away the remaining part of his life in all those excesses of luxury, voluptuousness, and folly, in which he had spent the former.

Octavianus prepares for the conquest of Egypt, 30.—In the mean time, Octavianus, having settled the affairs of Greece and Lesser Asia, repaired to Samos, and there took up his winter quarters. But in them he did not long continue; some disturbances in Italy called him thither in the midst of winter to appease them. After the battle of Actium, he had dismissed a great part both of his own and Antony's soldiers. The veterans he sent into Italy, and others elsewhere, without giving them any pay, having not then sufficient for it; for want hereof, those in Italy raised a mutiny; for the quelling of this, he sent Agrippa his chief confident into Italy; but the work being too hard for him, Octavianus was forced, in the most tempestuous season of the year, to hasten after him to Brundusium. On his arrival at that place, he was there met by the senate and a great part of the better rank of the people of Rome, and having there called the mutineers to him, he distributed to some money, as far as what he then had would go, and to others lands, and made such promises of speedy satisfaction to the rest, as induced them all to be contented for the present; and accordingly, after the conquest of Egypt, he paid them all out of the spoils of that country, and added donatives over and above. And having thus settled all matters in Italy, he returned again within thirty days; and for the more speedy passage, and to avoid the tempests of the sea round Peloponnesus, he sailed into the gulf of Corinth, and drawing his ship over the isthmus of Peloponnesus, passed that way by the shortest cut into Asia, and again arrived there before Antony and Cleopatra had any notice of his going thence.

Herod deserts the cause of Antony, and joins Octavianus at Rhodes: puts Hyrcanus to death.—On the coming of Octavianus to Rhodes Herod king of Judæa there made his address to him. It hath been above related how much he was in friendship with Antony; neither did he leave him till his case was grown absolutely desperate. On his return into Egypt, Herod sent an especial messenger to him, with the best advice the

state of his affairs was then capable of, that was, to kill Cleopatra, seize her kingdom, and with her treasure raise a new army to carry on the war; and promised him in this case to stand by him to the utmost. But when he found this advice was neglected, and that Antony was fallen again into the snares of Cleopatra as much as ever, he thought it high time to look to himself, and endeavour to make his peace with Octavianus on the best terms he could. But Hyrcanus being still alive, who was the only remaining person of the male line of the Asmonæans, and who had himself reigned in Judæa under the protection of the Romans, till deposed by the Parthians, Herod had suspicion, that if anything went hard with him, it would turn in favour of Hyrcanus for the restoring of him again to the kingdom; and therefore, for the preventing of it, having trumped up a sham plot against that old prince, as if he held correspondence with Malchus king of Arabia for the accomplishing of treasonable designs against him, caused him under this pretence to be put to death, after he had passed the eightieth year of his age. But still fearing what might happen, to provide the best he could for the worst, should that be his fate, he lodged Mariamne and Alexandra her mother in the castle of Alexandrium with a strong guard, under the command of Joseph and Sohemus, two of his most trusty confidents, and sent his mother and sister, with the rest of his kindred, to Massada, the strongest fortress in Judæa; and committing them and the government of his kingdom to the care of Pheroras his brother, ordered him, in case he should miscarry, to assume the crown to himself, and keep it as well as he could. And having thus settled all matters at home, he set forward on his journey to meet Octavianus; and having found him at Rhodes, and there obtained audience of him, on his entering into his presence laid aside his diadem, and in his speech of address to him freely owned all "that he had done for Antony, and what further he was ready to have done for his interest, both by his counsel and assistance, would he have accepted of them. This, he said, he thought himself obliged to by the friendship that was between them; and would he be pleased to think the like friendship worthy of his acceptance, he should, now he saw Antony was wholly lost, be ready with the same fidelity to serve him." Octavianus, being much taken with this generous and frank way of Herod's thus delivering himself before him, told him that he readily accepted the friendship which he offered, and, ordering him again to resume his diadem, confirmed him in the kingdom. Whereon he made very

large and magnificent presents to Octavianus and all his friends; and after this had more of his favour and friendship than any other tributary prince of the Roman empire as long as he lived.

Herod returns to Judæa: increased aversion of his wife Mariamne.—Hereon Herod, being much pleased with this good success, went back into Judæa with much joy; but on his arrival thither found all this soured with troubles in his own family. For he found Mariamne, his most beloved wife, in whose conversation he most delighted, so far embittered against him, that she rejected all his caresses with the utmost aversion; and when he thought to please her by relating to her the manner of his journey, and the success which be obtained in it, instead of taking any satisfaction herein, she answered him only with sighs and groans, and such a behaviour as plainly expressed she would have been better pleased had he never returned from this journey, but had utterly perished in it. The cause of this was, when Herod committed her and her mother to the charge of Sohemus, ou his going to Octavianus, he ordered him, that in case he should be put to death, he should immediately, on his having certain notice of it, put both of them to death also, and do the utmost he could to preserve the crown for Pheroras, to whom he had in this case disposed it. And this he did, not only that no one else might have the possession of the beautiful Mariamne, but that none might be left alive of the Asmonæan family, to claim the crown in opposition to that disposal which he had made of it to Pheroras his brother, she and her mother being the only persons remaining of that house for the opposing him herein. And Alexandra, being a lady of an aspiring spirit, thought herself as capable of governing that realm as her grandmother of the same name, who as queen had presided over it with great wisdom and prudence for nine years together. And to give her her due, she had the best head-piece for craft, design, and political intrigue, of any woman of her time; and Herod, well knowing this, thought he could not be sure that any part of the scheme which he had laid for the succession could take place, if either she or her daughter were left alive after him; and therefore ordered that both of them should be put to death, in case it should happen to him as he feared; and Sohemus having blabbed this out to Mariamne, though

committed to him under the greatest charge of secrecy, this was that which created in her that aversion and hatred to him which I have mentioned; which behaviour Cyprus, Herod's mother, and Salome his sister, who had always been upon ill terms with her, taking the advantage of to exasperate him against her, prevailed with him at length to put her to death in the manner as will be by and by related.

Octavianus refuses all terms with Antony: treachery of Cleopatra. —From Rhodes Octavianus passed through Lesser Asia into Syria, from thence to invade Egypt on that side, while Cornelius Gallus his lieutenant, whom he had appointed to succeed Scarpus in Libya and Cyrene, invaded it on the other. On his arrival at Ptolemais, Herod there waited on him, and entertained him and all his army with great magnifience, and furnished them with necessaries till their arrival into Egypt, and over and above presented Octavianus with eight hundred talents; by which hospitality and munificence he very much ingratiated himself with him and all his followers. In the interim Antony and

---

Cleopatra tried all they could to obtain peace with Octavianus, but without any success. Three times they sent ambassadors to him for this purpose, and went so far as to offer to resign all, and be contented with a private life in any place which Octavianus should appoint; only the kingdom of Egypt was desired for Cleopatra's children: but neither of these embassies could obtain any answer for Antony; but to Cleopatra some hopes were given: Octavianus was desirous of having her treasure and her person in his power, the former for the discharging of the expenses of the war, and the other for the adorning of his triumph; and therefore would not make her desperate, lest she should destroy both for the preventing of this, several kind messages were sent to her, and by them she was made to expect much favour in case she would kill Antony: this she would not do; but after this she betrayed him in all things, till at length she forced him thereby to kill himself. The first instance of her treachery to him was at Pelusium; for on Octavianus's approach to that city, it was by her order, without any resistance, delivered up unto him. This on the eastern side of Egypt, and Peritonium on the western, were the two gates of that country, and no

enemy, but through one of them, could enter thither with a land army. Pelusium being a very strong place, Antony expected it should have held out a long time, and therefore went to secure Peritonium. Cornelius Gallus then held this place for Octavianus. The army which Gallus there commanded having been in the pay and service of Antony, till carried over from him to Octavianus by the desertion of Scarpus, he hoped that on his appearing before Peritonium, they would again return to their former master, and deliver up the place to him; but when he approached to the walls, and would have spoken to the soldiers, Gallus caused all his trumpets to sound, so that not a word of what he said could be heard by them; and Gallus, immediately after sallying out upon him, not only repelled his land forces, but having by a stratagem hemmed in all his ships in the port, took or destroyed every one of them: for on the approach of this fleet, he dropped chains by night to the bottom of the entrance of this port, and permitted them to sail into it without opposition; but on their being gotten in, having, by engines provided on each side, strained those chains so as to bring them up to the surface of the water, he thereby hindered their return, and then forthwith assaulting them on every side, both from sea and land, obtained over them the victory mentioned.

Octavianus advances upon Alexandria: Antony's fleet and army desert him.—Antony, after this defeat, hearing of the taking of Pelusium, and that Octavianus was advancing towards Alexandria, hastened thither for the defence of that place: and there falling on Octavianus's horse on their first coming, while under the fatigue of their march thither, he put them to a total route; but in a second engagement with the foot, he was vanquished and driven back into the city with a great loss: whereon early the next morning he went down to the harbour, there to put his fleet in order, with purpose to vanquish the enemy at sea, or else, in case of failure, to sail with it for Spain, and there renew the war.

But when both fleets were drawn up in line of battle, that on Antony's side, instead of engaging the enemy, all went over to them; whereon Antony, returning into the city, had this further mortification, that he there found all his land forces, both horse and foot, had also deserted from him; and

perceiving all this to have been effected by the treachery of Cleopatra, he could no longer forbear expressing his resentments for it with loud complaints; whereon Cleopatra, for fear of him, fled to a monument, which she had caused to be built of a great height and wonderful structure near the temple of Isis.

Suicide of Antony and Cleopatra: their several characters.— Thither she had before removed the best of her treasure, and there having now shut herself up with two of her maids and one of her eunuchs, caused it to be given out that she was dead; which Antony hearing of, fell on his sword, and thereby gave himself the wound of which he died; but living some few hours after, and hearing that Cleopatra was still alive, he caused himself to be carried to her monument; where being with ropes drawn up to her, by the hands of herself and her two maids, he there died in her arms, on the first of August, eleven months after the battle of Actium. He was a person of a benign temper, and of great generosity, and of eminent note for his military abilities; the two great victories of Pharsalia and Philippi being chiefly owing to his valour and conduct: and he was also an eloquent speaker; but exceeding corrupt and vicious in his manners, especially in his passion for women; which Cleopatra observing, laid hold of him on this weak side, and for the gratifying of her avarice and her ambition, which were two predominant passions in her, sacrificed herself to his desires; and when she could no longer serve her designs of him, was content to give him up to ruin for the saving of her own interest. But she succeeded not herein according to her expectations: for although Octavianus gave her fair hopes, thereby to have her treasure preserved for his occasions, and her person for his triumph, yet when he had gotten both into his power, he no longer regarded her; which she being sensible of, and having private notice given her that she was to be carried to Rome within three days to make a part in the show of Octavianus's triumph, she caused herself to be bitten with an asp, and so died of it for the avoiding of this infamy, after she had reigned from the death of her father twenty-two years, and lived thirty-nine. She was a woman of great parts, as well as of great vice and wickedness. She readily spoke several languages; for, besides being well skilled in Greek and Latin, she could converse with Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Jews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, and Persians, without an interpreter, and always gave to

such as were of these nations, as often as they had an occasion to address to her, an answer in

---

their own language. In her death ended the reign of the family of the Ptolemies in Egypt, after it had there lasted from the death of Alexander two hundred and ninety-four years; for after this, Egypt was reduced into the form of a Roman province, and was governed by a prefect sent thither from Rome. Cornelius Gallus was, by the appointment of Augustus, the first that had this prefecture; and under this form of government Egypt continued a province of the Roman empire six hundred and seventy years, till it was taken from them by the Saracens in A. D. 641.

Policy of Octavianus towards the family and party of Antony.— Octavianus having thus made himself master of Egypt, and thereby put an end to the civil wars of the Romans, he cut off all such of the opposite party as he thought might again revive them; among whom were Antyllus, Antony's eldest son by Fulvia, Cæsarion, Cleopatra's son by Julius Cæsar, and Canidius, Antony's general; others he impoverished with great mulcts, and others he pardoned. Cæsarion having claimed to be the lawful heir of Julius Cæsar, for that reason could not be borne by the adopted son. What was the especial cause of Antyllus's being cut off is not said; but he having espoused Julia, the daughter of Octavianus, and all manner of endeavours having been made to save him, we may from hence infer that he would not have been put to death, but that there was some extraordinary reason that caused it. To Antonius, the younger brother of Antyllus by the same mother, and to all the rest of Antony's children, whether by Fulvia, Octavia, or Cleopatra, Octavianus showed great kindness, especially to Antonius, who afterwards became one of the chiefest of his favourites, and he gave him in marriage one of the daughters of Octavia his sister, which she had by Marcellus her first husband; and he continued in his favour, till at length being convicted to have been an adulterous corrupter of Julia, Augustus's only daughter, he was deservedly put to death for it. The children which Antony had by Octavia were two daughters; the eldest was called Antonia Major, and the youngest Antonia Minor; from the latter of which were descended Caligula and Claudius, and from the former Nero, who all three

afterwards became Roman emperors. For Antonia Minor being married to Drusus the younger brother of Tiberius, bore him Germanicus the father of Caligula, and Claudius who succeeded Caligula; and Antonia Major being married to L. Domitius Ænobarbus, bore him Cnæus Domitius, who by Agrippina the daughter of Germanicus, and sister of Caligula, was the father of Nero. And therefore, though Octavianus now obtained the empire, yet Antony's posterity afterwards enjoyed it. And thus it often happens to victories and the conquests of kingdoms, the same as to riches; those that gain them know not who shall afterwards enjoy the fruits of them; and yet it is the general inclination of mankind to be more concerned for their posterity than for themselves; and it must be reckoned as one of the mercies of Providence that it is so, for otherwise the world could not be supported.

Sepulchre of Alexander the Great in Egypt. — While Octavianus was in Egypt, he went to the sepulchre of Alexander, and there saw his body, which, being embalmed, was there still preserved in a case of glass. It had formerly been kept in a case of gold, but that having been taken away by Seleucus Cybiosactes (as hath been above related), it was afterwards put into a case of glass, and in that Octavianus saw it, and paid great honour and reverence thereto; but he would not see the sepulchres of the Ptolemies who had reigned in Egypt; neither could he be induced to make a visit to the Egyptian Apis, but told them who pressed him hereto, that he worshipped the gods, but not beasts.

Commencement of the Actiac era. — As Octavianus came to Alexandria in the beginning of August, so he had there settled all the affairs of Egypt by the end of it; and in the beginning of September again marched thence to return by the way of Syria, Lesser Asia, and Greece, again unto Rome. From this conquest of Egypt begun the era of the Actiac victory, by which the Egyptians afterwards computed their time till the first year of the emperor Diocletian, A. D. 284. From that time what was before called the era of the Actiac victory, was afterwards called the era of Diocletian, and by the Christians of those parts, the era of the martyrs; because in the reign of that emperor began the tenth persecution, in which a very great number of Christians suffered martyrdom for their holy religion. Although this era had

its name from the Actiac victory, yet it had not its beginning till near a full year after it, that is, from the time that Egypt was reduced: for the day from whence it commenced was the twenty-ninth of August; and therefore, that was ever after the first day of the year through all the years by which these eras, that is, the era of the Diocletian, or the martyrs, as well as that of the Actiac victory, did calculate the times through which they were used. The reason which fixed the beginning of this era, and of all the years in it, to the twenty-ninth of August, was, say some, because on that day Cleopatra died; and the Macedonian empire in that country thereby ending, the Roman began: but this is only a modern conjecture, for none of the ancients say it all that we can learn from them is, that she died about the end of that month, but none of them tell us on what day it happened. The true reason of fixing it at this day was, because this was then the first day of their month Thoth, which was always the new-year's day of the Egyptians, from whence they began all their annual calculations; and therefore it was thought the properest time from whence to begin all the alterations in their era and their year, which the Romans, on the conquest of their country, made in both; and that especially since the time of that conquest fell in therewith.

Change in the form of the Egyptian year. — For at that time the form of their years, as well as the era by which they calculated them, was changed by the order of the conqueror. The old era, which was till now in use among them, was the Philippic, which commenced from the death of Alexander, and the beginning of the reign of Philippus Aridæus his successor: and the form of their year was the same with the Nabonassaræan, made use of by the Chaldeans, which consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, and five additional days subjoined to them; that is, it consisted in the whole of three hundred and sixty-five days without a leap-year, the want whereof made this year to be a moveable year, which after every four years begun a day sooner than it did in the four years immediately preceding; so that in the space of one thousand four hundred and sixty years, this form carried back the beginning of the year through all the different seasons of summer, spring, winter, and autumn, till it brought it about again to the same point of time, with the loss of one whole year in the cycle. For the

remedying hereof, the Romans, on their subduing this country, made a leap-year in the Egyptian calendar in the like manner as in the Julian, by adding at the end of every fourth year one day more than had been in the other three. For whereas the other three had only five days superadded at the end of each of them, the leap-year had six; that is, it consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, and six additional days subjoined to them; whereas all the other years that were not leap-years had the said number of like months, and only five of those days added after them. And hereby the Egyptian year was made to consist exactly of the same number of days as the Julian, though not exactly in the same form. For in all other particulars the old form of the Egyptian year was retained, after this reformation, in the same manner as before. And the first of Thoth, which was always the first day of the Egyptian year, falling on the twenty-ninth of August, and about the same time when the Romans, on their conquest of Egypt, ordered this reformation; this induced them, that they fixed the beginning of the new year where they found the beginning of the old; and the twenty-ninth of August ever after continued to be the first day of the Egyptian year, as long as the empire of the Romans continued in that country; and from thence also, that is, from the twenty-ninth of August of this year, the new Egyptian era of the Actiac victory, as well as their new reformed year, for the same reason, had its commencement. But against this it is objected, that in this year the first of Thoth did not fall on the twenty-ninth of August, but on the thirty-first of that month; and that, therefore, this cannot be the reason why the beginning of the Egyptian era of the Actiac victory, or the beginning of the year thenceforth used in that country, was fixed to that day. And it must thus far be acknowledged, that according to the exact calculation of the time this objection is true. For according to that, the first of Thoth fell this year in the Roman calendar on the thirty-first, and not on the twenty-ninth of August; but the Romans

---

then used the form of the Julian year erroneously, whereby it came to pass, that the same day which was the thirty-first of August in their true calendar, was the twenty-ninth in their erroneous calendar: which error proceeded from hence, that after the death of Julius Cæsar, the pontifices at Rome (as

hath been above mentioned), mistaking the time of the intercalation, made every third year to be the leap-year, instead of every fourth; by which error, six hours were added every third year more than should be; which in the sixteen years that intervened from the first use of that form to this year, amounting to a day and a quarter, this erroneous addition had then protruded the twenty-ninth of August in the erroneous calendar into the place of the thirty-first of August in the true calendar; and according to this erroneous calendar the Romans then computed, and so continued to do for thirty-six years after the first forming of this year by Julius Cæsar; till at length Augustus, on the discovery of this error, took care, that by making no leap-year for twelve years together, all the time that was erroneously added was again left out, whereby the protruded days in the erroneous calendar were all brought back again to their proper places, where they ought to have been according to the true calendar. But the protrusion of the day making no alteration in its number or name, hence it came to be said, that it was the twenty-ninth of August, whereas truly it was the thirty-first of that month, from whence this Egyptian era of the Actiac victory, and all the years by which it computed, had their beginning. This era truly had its beginning from the conquest of Egypt, and therefore ought to have been called the era of the Alexandrian victory, whereby that country was reduced under the Roman yoke. But the Egyptians, to avoid the disgrace of thus owning this conquest, rather chose to call it the era of the Actiac victory, though that was gained a whole year before; and since this era was only used in Egypt, they had it there in their full power to call it by what name they pleased.

Herod visits Octavianus in Egypt, and accompanies him to Antioch. — Herod, hearing of the death of Antony, and that Octavianus had hereon made himself master of Egypt, hastened thither to him, where he was received with great kindness; and on Octavianus's leaving Egypt, having accompanied him as far as Antioch, he so far ingratiated himself with him on the way, as to gain a chief place in his friendship, the effect whereof he found in the grants which he made him of large augmentations to his dominions. For he not only restored to him the territory of Jericho, which, with the balsam gardens therein, had been taken from him by Antony to gratify Cleopatra, but gave him also Gadara, Hippon, and Samaria, in the inland country, with the towns of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa,

and Straton's Tower on the sea-coast, which added a very considerable enlargement to his kingdom.

Octavianus in Syria: rival embassies from Tiridates and Phraates. — Octavianus on his arrival at Antioch found there Tiridates (who had been set up to be king of Parthia in opposition to Phraates) waiting his coming thither; and there also he found ambassadors from Phraates on the same errand, that is, to solicit his assistance against each other.

It hath already been related, how after Antony's unfortunate expedition into Media, a breach was made between Artavasdes king of Media and Phraates king of Parthia, about dividing the prey then taken from the Romans. Hereon Artavasdes, making a league with Antony, called him to his assistance, who accepting the invitation marched into Armenia, and from thence furnished Artavasdes with such a body of Roman soldiers, as enabled him to overthrow Phraates in a great battle. This happened in the year B. C. 33. But the next year following, Antony, on his entering into war with Octavianus, having not only recalled those soldiers from him, but also retained those which Artavasdes had sent him out of Media in lieu of them, this so far weakened Artavasdes, that in the second battle he was not only overthrown, but also taken prisoner, and Phraates in pursuit of this victory made himself master of all Media and Armenia, and reinstated in the latter Artaxias, the son of Artabazus, again in his kingdom, out of which he had been driven by Antony. With which success, as well as with that which he had before obtained over Antony, Phraates being much puffed up and elated, carried himself with such tyranny, cruelty, and proud oppression, that the nobility of Parthia, being no longer able to bear him, in the year B. C. 31 conspired against him; and having driven him into banishment, chose the above-mentioned Tiridates to reign over them in his stead. But the next year after (that is, in this present year, B. C. 30) Phraates returned with an army, and having vanquished Tiridates, recovered again his crown, and forced the usurper to flee into Syria for refuge; where he being followed by the ambassadors from Phraates, which I have mentioned, both parties accosted Octavianus at Antioch on his return thither out of Egypt, to crave that assistance from him against each other which they wanted. Octavianus

gave to each a friendly answer, without intending to help either, but rather to dash the one against the other, and thereby waste and weaken both so far as to make the Parthian nation no longer formidable to the Romans. And with a view hereto, he gave leave to Tiridates to continue in Syria, till he should be in a condition again to return, accepting of him a son of Phraates that had fallen into his hands, whom he carried to Rome, there to reserve him as a hostage against Phraates. After this, having appointed Messala Corvinus to be prefect of Syria, he marched from Antioch into the province of Proper Asia, and there took up his winter quarters.

Octavianus enters Rome in three triumphs, and obtains the title of Imperator, 29. — In the beginning of the next year Octavianus entered his fifth consulship, and had therein many great honours decreed to him at Rome. In the summer following, having settled all the affairs of the several provinces of Lesser Asia and the isles adjoining, he passed into Greece, and from thence returned to Rome, where he arrived in the month of Sextilis, afterwards called August, and

---

entered it in three triumphs, which were celebrated three days together; the first for his victories over the Dalmatians, Pannonians, and some other German and Gallic nations, whom he had vanquished and brought under, before his war with Antony began; the second for his sea victory at Actium; and the third for his victories in Egypt, and the subduing of that country; which last was the most splendid of the three. In it were led before him the children of Cleopatra; and although he could not have her in person to adorn this triumph, as he much desired, yet she was carried before him in effigy, with an asp hanging at her arm, to denote the manner by which she died. At this time such vast riches were brought to Rome from Egypt on the reducing of that country, and the return of Octavianus and his army from thence, that the value of money fell one half, and the prices of provisions and all vendible wares were doubled thereon. After his triumph Octavianus had the title of **Imperator**, that is, Emperor, conferred on him; not in the common sense, wherein it was formerly understood (for in that it imported no more than a compliment given by the soldiers to their general, after a victory obtained by them under his command), but in a much higher. For in

the sense in which it was given to Octavianus at this time, it carried with it the same meaning in which all that afterwards governed the Roman empire were called emperors.

Herod's wrath against Mariamne inflamed by his mother Cyprus and sister Salome. — Herod on his return from the late visit which he made unto Octavianus, how much content and satisfaction soever he had therein, and the success of it, found nothing but trouble and vexation at home in his own house. Mariamne still retained her resentments for the cruel commission given by him to Sohemus against her and her mother, and carried them on so far, as to treat with equal aversion him and all his relations, especially Cyprus his mother and Salome his sister. Them she frequently upbraided with the meanness of their birth in respect of hers, which was provoking enough to a female spirit; and him she as often reproached with the death of her father, her grandfather, and her brother. In this humour he left her on his last going unto Octavianus, and in this humour he found her on his return, without knowing the cause (for that Mariamne had concealed for the sake of Sohemus). On his offering her his caresses and the kindest tenders of his affection, she still rejected them with neglect and aversion; and nothing that he could do for the sweetening of her embittered spirit, and the reconciling her again to him, could have any effect. This last injury soured her to such a degree, as to frame her mind for the reception of the utmost resentments which his former wrongs, done her and her family, deserved. The commission formerly given against her to Joseph his uncle, and the above-mentioned murders of her nearest relations, were all brought to her remembrance on this occasion; and all worked together to exasperate her against him to the utmost. Herod bore this humour for a whole year after his return from Rhodes, and was exceedingly perplexed by it. Sometimes in a rage he would

---

be ready to run into extremities against her; but as often as he was so, his wrath was checked by the great love he had for her; and thus he was harassed between two opposite passions, till at length an occasion happened, which gave his mother and his sister an advantage for the exciting of him to her ruin, and he had near effected his own by it. For

being at one time, in the heat of the day, retired to his chamber to repose himself, he called for Mariamne. She so far obeyed as to go into the chamber to him, but rejected his caresses with the utmost aversion, and added over and above such bitter reproaches for the death of her relations, as provoked and enraged the tyrant to so high a degree, that he had much ado to forbear laying violent hands immediately upon her for the revenging of the indignity. Salome, on her understanding how the matter went, took the advantage of this fit of rage he was then in, to send in his butler to him, whom she had before suborned for this purpose, to accuse Mariamne of tempting him to administer to him a poisonous cup. This adding to the rage with which he was then so much excited against her already, he forthwith ordered her favourite eunuch, without whose privity he knew she did nothing, to be put on the rack; but all that could be extorted from him was, that it was something which Sohemus had told Mariamne that had put her into so ill a humour.

Mariamne brought to trial and executed: Herod's subsequent remorse. — Herod, on his hearing of this, from his rage of anger fell into as violent a rage of jealousy: and therefore crying out, that Sohemus, who had hitherto been so faithful to him, could never have been induced to betray this secret to her but at the price of an adulterous conversation, he ordered him immediately to be put to death; and having packed a bench of judges out of such as were his creatures, brought Mariamne before them to be tried for her life: who finding, by the vehemency with which Herod in person prosecuted the accusation, that no other sentence but that of death would be acceptable to him, accordingly passed it upon her; but none thought, nor did he then intend, that the execution should be precipitated, but that she should be confined to some of his castles; and this at first was his resolution. But the malice of his mother and his sister was so bitter against her, by reason of the affronts she had put upon them, in upbraiding them with the meanness of their extraction, and for other womanish quarrels had between them, that they would not let him be quiet till she was put to death. They urged, that if she was kept alive, the people would rise in her behalf; and that there was no other way to keep things quiet, but by cutting her off. By which suggestions Herod being terrified, ordered her execution. In the way as she was led to it, she was accosted by Alexandra her mother, who fell on her

with bitter railings, accusing her of being wicked and ungrateful towards a kind and affectionate husband, and telling her that she had what she deserved: and all this she expressed with such a seeming emotion of spirit, as if she would fly in her face all the way as she went. She feared her turn might come next, and therefore, to save her life, she acted this scandalous and shameful part; but her daughter, without answering her a word, passed on in silence, only by her looks she expressed some shame and concern for her mother's exposing herself in so odd and extravagant a manner in this case; otherwise she went on to her execution with an intrepid mind,

---

without changing colour upon the approach or apprehensions of death, but died as she had lived, great, firm, and fearless to her last. And thus ended the life of this virtuous and excellent princess. In the beauty and other charms and graces of her person she excelled all the women of her time, and would have been a lady without exception could she have carried it with some better temper and complaisance towards her husband. But considering that he had built his fortunes upon the ruin of her family; that he had usurped from them the crown which he wore; that he had caused or procured her father, her grandfather, her brother, and her uncle, to be put to death, for the serving of his designs, and had twice ordered her death in case of his own, it would put difficulties upon the most patient and best tempered woman in the world, how to bear such a husband with any affection or complaisance.

But Herod's rage being quenched with her blood, his love to her again revived: whereon followed such a bitter scene of late repentance, as is scarce anywhere else to be met with. As soon as his wrath was allayed, instead of it, agonies of sorrow, regret, and tormenting remorse for what he had done filled his mind, which would not let him rest either day or night: wherever he went, the thoughts of Mariamne pursued him, and caused bitter reflections in his breast. These he endeavoured to stifle by wine, company, feastings, and other divertisements; but none of them effecting his relief, he at length fell into downright distraction, and in his fits of it would often call for Mariamne, and order his servants to bring her to him, as if she were still alive.

Pestilence in Judea, 28. — Hereupon also there happened a grievous pestilence, which carried off great numbers both of the common people and nobility of the land; which all there reckoned as a just judgment from God for the death of the queen. This further added to Herod's grief and disorder, so that not knowing what to do, he flung up the care of all business, and retired to Samaria, where he fell into a great sickness. After having languished under it for some time, he at length got rid of it with difficulty, and returned again to Jerusalem and the care of his kingdom; but never again recovered his former temper: for after this he was observed to act with greater rigour and cruelty than he ever had before, and continued so to do to his life's end.

Alexandra plots against the government: her death. — While Herod lay sick at Samaria, Alexandra, whose active and busy head could never be at rest, reckoning that Herod would die of this sickness, immediately laid plots for the seizing of the government; in order whereto, she treated with the governors of the two castles of Jerusalem, that of Antonia on the mountain of the temple, and the other in the city, to have them delivered into her hands; knowing that whoever had these two castles, had with them the mastery of Jerusalem and all Judæa. Her pretence was to secure the kingdom in case of Herod's death for his sons by Mariamne; but the governors of those castles, liking neither Alexandra nor her designs, sent an account hereof to

---

Herod, who immediately gave order to have her put to death. So she got nothing by that hypocritical and infamous part which she acted at her daughter's execution: for notwithstanding that, and the court which she made thereby to Herod's favour, she was the next that was executed after her.

Octavianus obtains the Roman empire for ten years, under the name of Augustus, 27. — Octavianus having at Rome filled the senate with his creatures, whose fortunes depended on his holding on the government, then proposed to them to resign his authority, and put all again into the hands of the people, upon the old foundation of the Roman

commonwealth, craftily making this offer for the gaining of the applause of the people, and the cloaking of his own ambition, when he knew that all of that assembly (their interest lying on the other side) would unanimously press him to the contrary; and so accordingly it happened. For he had no sooner in a set speech made the proposal, but the whole senate with a unanimous voice dissuaded him from it, and pressed him with all manner of arguments to take upon him alone the whole government of the Roman empire, which at length he yielded to with a seeming reluctancy, and by that management brought it about, that the monarchy of the whole Roman empire was at this time, by the unanimous consent both of the senate and people of Rome, conferred on him for ten years. For he would not accept of it for any longer term; pretending that by that time he hoped he should have settled all things in such peace and order, that there would be no further need of him, but that he might then, with safety to the commonwealth, ease himself of the burden, and put the government again into the hands of the people and senate, as it formerly had been. This method he took to make the matter go the more plausibly, but with intention, when those ten years should be expired, again to renew his lease; and so accordingly he did, from ten years to ten years, as long as he lived, all this while governing the whole Roman empire alone with an absolute authority. And therefore here ended the ancient republican government of the Roman state: for all the authority of the people and senate being now vested in Octavianus, it continued in him and his successors ever after, as long as the Roman empire continued, without being ever again retrieved. With this new power it was resolved to confer on him a new name; some were for his assuming that of Romulus, thereby to import that he was as another founder of Rome; and others offered other names; but Munacius Plancus having proposed the name of Augustus, which signifieth something that above human is sacred and venerable, that was made choice of, and conferred on him by the general suffrage of the senate; and it was always after this borne by him and his successors; so that, instead of the name C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus, which he had hitherto borne, he from thenceforward took that of C. Julius Cæsar Augustus. And therefore, whereas I have hitherto mentioned him by the name of Octavianus, I shall henceforth always give him that of Augustus, as often as there shall be an occasion to speak of him in the future series of this history.

Division of the Roman provinces into senatorial and imperial. — That Augustus might seem not to take the whole power of the Roman empire to himself, he made a show of allowing the senate a share of it with him. For having divided the empire into two parts, the one containing those provinces which were quiet and peaceable, and the other those which, lying upon the outskirts of the empire, and bordering upon the barbarous nations, were exposed to troubles and wars; the former of these he assigned to the senate, to be governed by such of them as had been consuls and prætors, according to their former usage; and the others he reserved to himself, to be governed by his presidents, and other officers whom he should appoint; whereby it seemed, and so he would have it thought, as if he desired to leave the sweet of the government still to the senate, and reserve only the troublesome and dangerous part to himself. But herein he showed his great wisdom and sagacity; for by this method he secured all the armies and military power, wherein consisted the whole strength of the empire, to himself, they all lying in those provinces which he had chosen; whereas the others being without them, such as governed those provinces could have no power from thence to create him any danger or disturbance. The latter were called the senatorial provinces, and the other the imperial; and of this imperial sort were particularly Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Egypt, in the East, besides others in the other borders of the empire.

Jewish history: Salome sends her husband Costobarus a divorce, and procures his death, 26. — Salome, falling out with Costobarus the Idumæan, her second husband, whom she had married after the death of Joseph, her first husband, sent him a bill of divorce, contrary to the law and usage of the Jews. For according to that, the husband might divorce the wife, but not the wife the husband: but Salome, by Herod's authority, made that go for law which best pleased her. On her having thus abdicated her husband, she returned to her brother, and to make herself the more acceptable to him, pretended that she had discovered Costobarus to be conspiring against him with Lysimachus, Antipater, and Dositheus, men of note in that country, and that for this reason she left him, as preferring the love of her brother before that of her husband. And to gain the better credit

to her accusation, she discovered where Costobarus had concealed the sons of Babas, contrary to his order and interest. These being the chief sticklers for the interest of the Asmonæans, Herod at the taking of Jerusalem gave strict orders to have them cut off, and intrusted Costobarus with the executing of them; but he, for some by-ends of his own, saved them alive, and giving out that they had made their escape, conveyed them to a place of safety, where he had kept them concealed ever since. Herod, on Salome's information, sent to that place which she named, and there finding all to be true which she had told him concerning them, he believed her as to all the rest: and therefore forthwith ordered not only them, but also Costobarus, Lysimachus, Antipater, Dositheus, with several others who were accused as being their accomplices, to be put to death.

Cornelius Gallus succeeded by Petronius in the prefecture of Egypt. — Cornelius Gallus being recalled from Egypt, Petronius was made

prefect in his place. Gallus on his return to Rome being too lavish of his tongue against Augustus, was for this reason forbid his house and the provinces under his command, and noted with infamy. After this, other accusations coming against him of concussions, rapines, extortions, and other misdemeanours committed by him while governor of Egypt, he was, by the unanimous vote of the senate, condemned to banishment; but he prevented the execution of this sentence by falling on his sword and slaying himself. He was an eminent poet, and a familiar friend of Virgil's, as appears by his tenth Eclogue, which was written on him.

Herod attempts to Romanize the Jews: builds a theatre at Jerusalem, and celebrates games in honour of Augustus. — Herod having cut off all of the Asmonæan party without leaving any alive that had been favourers of it, thought himself now secure against all future dangers; and therefore made bold in many things to deviate from the Jewish usages, by bringing in foreign rites and customs: for he built at Jerusalem a theatre and an amphitheatre, and in honour of Augustus celebrated games, and exhibited shows in them, which were much misliked by the generality of the Jews, as things which they thought inconsistent with the legal

constitutions and religion of their country. But nothing offended them more than some trophies which he had set up round his theatre in honour of Augustus, and in commemoration of his victories: for they taking them to be images, for that reason could not bear them. Herod, to convince them of this folly, having called several of the principal of them upon the place, caused the armour to be taken off in their presence, and when they saw nothing appeared under but a naked stem of a tree, their indignation was turned into laughter, and so this matter went off.

Conspiracy of Ten suppressed, 25. — But the other innovations stuck hard with many of the Jews, and gave such great offence, that some of them, to the number of ten persons, entered into a conspiracy against Herod, for the cutting of him off by an assassination; for which purpose, having provided themselves with daggers under their garments, they went to the theatre, where Herod was then to come, designing there to fall upon him and slay him. But one of Herod's spies (of which he had great numbers abroad) having gotten some inkling of the matter, made discovery of it to him as he was going to enter the theatre, just when the plot was ready to have been executed on him, whereon, the conspirators being seized, they were all put to death by most exquisite torments. And he that made the discovery did not fare any better. For he having hereby incurred the general odium of the people, some of them meeting with him in a convenient place, fell on him, and tore him to pieces. But Herod never left making inquiry after this matter till he had discovered all that were concerned in it, and he did put every one of them to death for it.

Herod resolves on garrisoning the country: restores Samaria, under the name of Sebaste. — To secure himself the better against all such tumults and conspiracies for the future, Herod thought it would be safest

---

for him to have other places of strength in the land to depend upon besides Jerusalem; and therefore setting himself on the building of several other strong cities in the land, he began with that of Samaria. This city, once famous for being the capital of the kingdom of Israel, was destroyed by John Hyrcanus, as hath been above related. When Gabinius was made

president of Syria, he ordered the rebuilding of it: from him it was some time called the city of the Gabinians, that is, of those whom Gabinius had planted there; but under them the place advanced no further than to be a small village. Herod first made it again a city, and restored it to its pristine splendour; and, in honour of Augustus, called it Sebaste; for Sebastos in Greek is the same with Augustus in Latin; and therefore Sebaste is as much as to say, the city of Augustus. This place he planted with six thousand new inhabitants, invited thither from all parts, and divided among them the country about it, which being of a very fertile soil, as soon as it was cultivated it brought forth such plenty, as in a short time rendered the place rich and populous, and made it fully answer all the purposes for which he intended it. He also put a garrison into Straton's Tower (which in honour of Cæsar Augustus was afterwards called Cæsarea); and he did the same in Gabala, and in some other fortresses which lay convenient for the keeping of the country in quiet.

Ambassadors reach Augustus from India and China. —The name of Augustus growing famous all over the world, the remotest nations of the north and the east, that is, the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Indians, and the Seres, sent ambassadors, with presents to him, to pray his friendship: the last of which, Florus tells us, were four years on their journey, which is to be supposed, coming and going. The Seres were the farthest people of the East, the same whom we now call the Chinese. They being anciently famous for the making of silk, and silken manufactures: hence Serica became the name of silk, and Sericum of a silken garment, both among the Greeks and Latins.

Great calamities in Judæa: Herod increases in popularity and reputation. —This year, being the thirteenth of the reign of Herod, great calamities fell upon the people of Judea. A long drought produced a famine, and that famine a pestilence, which swept away great numbers of the inhabitants. Herod, for the remedy hereof (his treasury being then empty), melted down all the plate of his palace, even that which was most valuable for its fashion and workmanship, and making money of it, sent it into Egypt to buy corn, where there was then great abundance of it; and by the

friendship of Petronius the Roman prefect, got sufficient from thence, not only to supply the wants of all his own people, but also wherewith to relieve the necessities of his neighbours in Syria, who were under the same distress. And whereas most of the flocks of Judæa were consumed by the drought, so that there was not wool enough in the land for the clothing of the inhabitants against winter, he took care that such quantities were imported from foreign countries, that every one, before the approach of the cold season, was provided with sufficient to fence him against all the severities of it: by which acts of charity and generosity, he not only reconciled unto him the affection of his people, with whom till now, by reason of the severities and cruelties of his government, he stood upon very ill terms, but also made his name famous among all the neighbouring nations, gaining among them the reputation of a wise, gracious, and generous prince.

But he was not of a temper long to hold this character among his own people; for the tyrannical maladministrations of his government still continuing after this good deed in the same excess as before, what he gained by the one was soon again lost by the other: and therefore he continued to make himself, to his life's end, the general odium and aversion of those over whom he reigned; and it was owing only to the protection and power of Augustus and the Romans that he was supported against it.

BOOK IX.

JEWISH AND ROMAN HISTORY, FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AUGUSTUS CESAR OVER THE EMPIRE, TILL THE CRUCIFIXION OF OUR LORD, B. C. 24 TO A. D. 33.

I. REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT CONTINUED, B. C. 24—13.

Augustus invested by the Roman senate with absolute power, 24.—AUGUSTUS, with the beginning of this year entering into his tenth consulship, had a decree of the senate made in his behalf, which freed him from the obligation of all laws, and set him above them all, with an absolute power to do all things in the government of the empire according to his arbitrary will and good pleasure; and many things else were decreed in his honour, through the flattery of some who courted his favour, and the fear of others who dreaded his power.

Herod builds a palace on Mount Sion.—Herod, being now at peace and in full prosperity, set himself on the building of a stately palace on Mount Sion, which was the highest part of the city of Jerusalem, and made it a structure of that largeness and magnificence, that in some manner it exceeded herein even the temple itself. And it was more especially famous for two large and sumptuous apartments erected in it, the one of which he called Cæsareum, in honour of Augustus Cæsar, and the other Agrippeum, in honour of Agrippa, Augustus's principal favourite.

Roman expedition against Arabia: Felix joined by 500 men sent by Herod.—This same year Herod furnished Augustus with five hundred men out of his guards, for the carrying on of an expedition against the southern Arabs. He, having heard of the wealth of those people, that they abounded in gold and silver and other riches, proposed either by treaty to make them his friends, and so open a way for commerce with them, or else

by conquest to make them his subjects; and could he compass either of them, he expected thereby much to augment the wealth and riches of his empire. And he had also this further view, that in case he should, either as friend or conqueror, gain a footing in that country, he should through it have an easy way open for the subduing of the Troglodytes, their country being separated from the southern Arabia only by the narrow straits now called the Straits of Babelmandeb, through which the Arabian Gulf dischargeth itself into the Southern Ocean. For as the Arabs dwell on the eastern side of those straits, the Troglodytes did then dwell over against them on the western side. Ælius Gallus, a Roman of the equestrian order, was the general sent on this expedition, for which Augustus furnished him with ten thousand men; to these were added the five hundred men from Herod above mentioned, and a thousand more that were brought him

---

by Syllæus from Obodas, king of the Nabathæan Arabs. This Obodas had succeeded Malchus in that kingdom, and Syllæus was his chief minister, and a person of great craft, vigour, and application. He, knowing the country, undertook to be Gallus's guide in this expedition, and thereby made it miscarry, by betraying him in it. It was proposed to march through the country of the Nabathæans, and from thence to enter on this expedition; but Syllæus falsely informing Gallus that there was no safe passage thither by land, this put him on building a fleet to pass thither by sea; and therefore having provided one hundred and thirty transports at Cleopatris, a port at the bottom of the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea, he there put his army on board them, and sailed to Leucocome, a port of the Nabathæans, lying on the eastern side of that sea. This being a very dangerous navigation, by reason of the many rocks and shelves that are in that part of the Arabian Gulf, and Syllæus piloting him the worst way through it, he was fifteen days in the passage, and lost several of his ships in it: and when he was landed, all his army falling sick of a disease common in that country, he was forced to lie by all the remaining part of the summer and the winter following, to wait their recovery.

Failure of the expedition through the treachery of Sylleus, 23.— Early the next spring Gallus set out from Leucocome in the expedition on

which he was sent, and after a march of six months southward, came into those parts of Arabia where he intended vanquishing in his march all that opposed him: but through the difficulties of the way which Syllæus treacherously led him, the heat of the climate, and the unwholesomeness of the air, water, and herbs of the country, he had by this time lost the better half of his army, and therefore was forced again to return without effecting anything of what was designed, through want of sufficient strength to execute it. But by this time perceiving the treachery of Syllæus, he marched back under the conduct of other guides, and by their assistance returned in sixty days to the same parts of the Nabathæan country from whence he had been six months in marching out, and there shipping his forces at the next port, called Negra, crossed the Arabian Gulf in eleven days, and landed at Myos Hormus on the Egyptian side, and from thence by the way of Coptus led back the remainder of his army again to Alexandria, after having been two years on this expedition. The miscarrying of it being wholly owing to the treachery of Syllæus, he was at length for this, among other crimes then laid to his charge, publicly executed at Rome by the rod and axe of the lictor. But this was not till several years after. In the interim there will be occasions of speaking again of him more than once in the future series of this history.

Egyptian history: invasion of Southern Egypt by Candace queen of Ethiopia driven back by Petronius.—While Gallus was in this expedition, Candace queen of Ethiopia, invading the province of Thebais in the Upper Egypt with a great army, took Syena and several other places on the borders, and carried the garrison soldiers into captivity: whereon Petronius, then prefect of Egypt, marched with an army against her, and having vanquished her forces in battle, and driven them out of

---

the country, pursued them into Ethiopia, and having there pierced above eight hundred miles into the country, subdued all before him, taking all the cities that lay in his way, and among them Napata, the metropolis of the kingdom, which he destroyed; and from thence marched on, till at length being able to proceed no farther by reason of the great deserts of sand, nor to stay there any longer by reason of the excessive heats of the climate, he

was forced to march back; and therefore having put a garrison of four hundred men into Premnis, one of the strongest fortresses in Ethiopia, in order to keep footing in that country, and victualled it for two years, he returned to Alexandria, carrying all his captives with him: a thousand of the principal of them, among whom were the chief commanders of Candace's army, he sent to Augustus, the rest he sold on his return, being many thousands in number.

Parthian history: contest between Phraates and Tiridates terminates in favour of Phraates.—Phraates king of Parthia being again driven out of his kingdom by Tiridates, prevailed with the Scythians to bring him back with a great army: whereon Tiridates, with the chiefs of his party, fled to Rome, to pray the assistance of Augustus, promising to hold the kingdom from him as his homager, in case he might be restored by his help. Phraates, hearing which way he was fled, sent ambassadors to Rome after him, there to obviate his designs, and to demand of Augustus the delivery of his rebel subjects to him, and the release of his son, whom Tiridates had put into his hands in the manner as above related. Augustus, having given them a hearing, answered them in the same manner as he had before at Antioch, that he would not deliver Tiridates into the hands of Phraates, nor give either of them any help against the other. However, that he might gratify both in something, he permitted Tiridates to live under his protection at Rome, ordering him there a maintenance out of the public treasury, whereby to subsist with plenty and honour: and he sent back to Phraates his son, upon condition that he should restore all the captives and ensigns which the Parthians had taken from Crassus and Antony in their wars against them. This was then promised, but not performed till Augustus came into Syria three years after, and by the dread of his name, and the threats of a new war, induced him hereto.

Herod marries Mariamne daughter of Simon, and builds Herodium.—At this time there being at Jerusalem a very beautiful young lady called Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the son of Boethus, an ordinary priest of that place, Herod fell in love with her, and took her to wife; but first, for the making of her a more suitable match for him, he made her father high priest of the Jews, instead of Jesus the son of Phebes, whom he removed of purpose to make room for him. After this, he built a

stately palace at the distance of about seven miles from Jerusalem, in the place where he had formerly defeated the Parthians, and the Jews of the Asmonean party, when he fled from that city on Antigonus's becoming master of it. This, from his own name, he called Herodium. It stood in a very pleasant and a very strong situation, on

---

the top of a hill, from whence there was a prospect of all the country round. From this palace the hill declined all round with an equal and uniform descent, which made a very beautiful show; and at the foot of it were soon built such a number of houses as amounted to the proportion of a considerable city.

Augustus loses his nephew and adopted son Marcellus. — Augustus, having been seized this year with a dangerous sickness, when nothing else could bring him any help, was cured by the use of the cold bath, and cooling potions, prescribed him by Antonius Musa, the eminentest physician among the Romans of that age: and he had hereon great rewards and great honours decreed him by the senate. But a little after, Marcellus falling sick, while he endeavoured to cure him by the same method, he caused his death, which was much to the grief of Augustus: for he was the son of Octavia, his sister, by her first husband, and being a young man of great hopes, Augustus had married his daughter to him, adopted him for his son, and intended him for his heir, in case he should have no son of his own; but he had the misfortune this year to lose him in the manner here mentioned. This is the Marcellus whose untimely death Virgil most ingeniously sets forth in the sixth book of his *Æneids*.

Herod builds Cæsarea, 22.—Herod having finished Samaria, which from the name of Augustus he called Sebaste, he began the building of another city at Straton's Tower on the sea-coast of Palestine, which also, in honour of him, from his other name, he called Cæsarea. In the building and adorning hereof he spent twelve years, and expended vast sums of money, whereby he made it a city of prime note in those parts, and the most convenient and safest port in all the coasts of Phœnicia. For whereas before it was a very dangerous harbour, so that no ship could ride safe in it when

the wind blew south-west, to remedy this, he ran out a mole in a circular form, which fenced the port against both the south and the west, and encompassed room enough for a great fleet to ride safe within against all wind and weather, leaving a passage into it only on the north, where the sea was less rough, and the harbour least exposed to storms from it. This work alone was of vast labour and expense; for it was built with stones brought from far, and of a very large size, they being fifty feet long, eighteen broad, and nine deep, some greater, some lesser, and the foundation was laid twenty fathom deep into the sea. When Judæa was reduced into the form of a Roman province, this city was usually made the residence of him that was sent to govern it.

Herod sends Alexander and Aristobulus, his two sons by Mariamne, to be educated at Rome. —Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Herod by Mariamne, now growing up, their father sent them to Rome for their education, there providing a reception for them in the house of Pollio, an especial friend of his: but Augustus, taking them into his particular care, assigned them apartments in his own palace: and farther to express his friendship and favour to Herod, he gave him full

---

power to leave the succession of his kingdom to which of his sons he should think fit.

Herod adds Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batancea to his dominions, and reduces the robbers of Trachonitis. —Moreover at the same time Herod added Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanea to his former dominions, which was done on this occasion. There was one Zenodorus, tetrarch of a territory lying between Trachonitis and Galilee, who had farmed from the president of Syria the provinces of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanæa, which had formerly been the principality of Lysanias, the son of Ptolemy, whom Antony put to death, as hath been above mentioned. This person, not been contented with the honest gain of his farm (in which he had a great bargain), to make the most of it that he could, went shares with a company of thieves, who had taken harbour in certain caves in the mountains of Trachonitis, and permitted them to rob all the country round,

upon terms of sharing the plunder with them. This being a great grievance and mischief to the people of those parts, they complained of it to Varro, then president of Syria, who, writing to Augustus about it, received orders from him at any rate to root out those robbers. But before these orders could be executed, Varro being recalled, the grievance and the complaint still continued; whereon Augustus, to provide an effectual cure for this evil, did put all the three provinces which Zenodorus had farmed into the hands of Herod, adding them to his former dominions, who forthwith marching thither with such forces as were necessary, broke into the dens of those thieves, and by killing a great number of them, and driving out the rest, soon cleared the country of them: whereon Zenodorus, being deprived not only of his unrighteous gain, but also of his farm, went to Rome to make complaint against Herod; but not meeting with success in any of his accusations, he, on his return, excited the Gadarenes to an attempt of giving him trouble: and accordingly, they applied to Agrippa with complaints and accusations against him; for Agrippa had then the government of all the east conferred on him by Augustus.

Agrippa, as hath been above related, was the chief favourite and prime confidant of Augustus; but now Julia, the daughter of Augustus, being grown up, and married to Marcellus the son of Octavia, Augustus's sister, the old favourite grew jealous of the son-in-law, so that they could not bear each other. Hereon Augustus, to put an end to these differences, sent Agrippa out of the way, committing to his charge all the provinces of the east that lay beyond the Ægean Sea; and he taking up his residence at Mitylene, in the isle of Lesbos, from thence by his lieutenants governed Lesser Asia, Syria, and all the other countries that were within his commission. As soon as Herod heard of Agrippa's settling there, he sailed thither to make a visit to

---

him, and thereby further cultivated the friendship that had been before between them. Immediately on his departure came the Gadarenes thither with their accusations against him in a very unlucky time for their affair; for they then found Agrippa, by reason of the endearments that had been revived between them in the conversation of the late visit, so far

prepossessed in favour of Herod, that having no ear open to any complaints against him, he caused these accusers of him to be all clapped in chains, and sent them thus bound into Judæa, to be there delivered unto him. Herod, thinking to sweeten them by clemency, dismissed them without any harm; and this for some time quieted the troubles which they and Zenodorus would have raised against him.

Augustus in Sicily: marries his favourite Agrippa to his daughter Julia, 21. —Augustus, intending a progress into the East, on his arrival in Sicily in his way thither, sent for Agrippa to come to him, and having given him in marriage Julia his daughter, being now become a widow by the death of Marcellus her former husband, sent him to Rome, there to take care of the affairs in the West, while he himself should be absent in the East. Mæcenas chiefly advised this match, telling Augustus, that having made Agrippa so great as he then had, he had nothing else to choose, but either to make him his son-in-law, or put him to death. To make way for this match, Agrippa was forced to divorce his former wife, though daughter of Octavia, the sister of Augustus, who was afterward married to Antonius the son of Antony the triumvir. After this, Augustus sailed from Sicily into Greece, and having there settled all matters, passed into the isles, and wintered at Samos.

Ambassadors from Candace queen of Ethiopia sue to Augustus for peace. —While Augustus lay at this place, there came thither to him ambassadors from Candace queen of Ethiopia. It hath been above related how Petronius, on his return from his late inroad into Ethiopia, had left a garrison in Premnis, a strong fortress in that country. In the beginning of this year Candace sent an army to besiege it. Whereon Petronius, coming to the assistance of his garrison, raised the siege, and forced Candace to sue for peace. On the coming of her ambassadors to him for this purpose, they were referred by him to Cæsar; but their answer being, that they knew not who Cæsar was, he sent messengers with them to conduct them to Augustus, who finding him at Samos, there obtained from him the peace which they desired, and then returned again into Ethiopia.

Progress of Augustus through Asia Minor into Syria: heaps fresh favours on Herod, 20.—Early the next spring, Augustus passed from

Samos into Lesser Asia, and having settled all matters there, continued his progress through that country into Syria, and came to Antioch. On his arrival there, Zenodorus, with delegates from the Gadarenes, addressed to him with their old complaints against Herod, hoping to

---

have a more favourable hearing from him than they had from Agrippa. They accused him of tyranny, violence, and rapine, and also of sacrilege, in plundering and violating temples; and Augustus went so far into them, as to appoint a day for Herod, who was then present at Antioch, to make his defence; in the hearing of which he was treated with so much tenderness and favour, as made the Gadarenes despair of their cause, so that the night following, some of them drowned themselves, others cast themselves down precipices, and the rest did cut their throats, or otherwise made themselves away, through fear of being delivered to Herod: and Zenodorus did the same; for having taken poison, it corroded his guts, and cast him into a violent dysentery, of which he died that same night. Hereon Augustus, looking on their self-execution to be self-condemnation, and a clear acknowledgment of guilt on their side, absolved Herod, and would admit no more such accusations to be brought against him. And to make him amends for the trouble he had been put to by Zenodorus and his Gadarenes, he gave him the tetrarchy of Zenodorus; and, for his greater honour, joined him in commission with the president of Syria, as his procurator in that province, ordaining that nothing should be done in the affairs of it without his knowledge and advice; and moreover, at his request, gave to Pheroras his brother a tetrarchy in those parts. In acknowledgment of all these favours, Herod built unto him, in the lands of Zenodorus, near the mountain Paneas (at the foot of which is the fountain of the river Jordan), a sumptuous temple, all of white marble. By which idolatrous flattery, and other like compliances with heathen usages, he further alienated from him all those Jews that were zealous for their law and the religion of their forefathers.

Phraates king of Parthia makes peace with Augustus, and returns the captives and ensigns taken from Crassus and Antony. —Phraates king of Parthia, on Augustus's coming into Syria, sent ambassadors to him to pray his friendship; for being then upon ill terms with his people, whom he had

much alienated from him by his tyranny and cruelty, he dreaded a foreign war; and he had reason at that time to fear it from Augustus. For whereas Augustus had three years before released to him one of his sons (whom he had in captivity at Rome), upon promise that he would send back to him all the prisoners and ensigns which the Parthians had taken from the Romans in their wars with Crassus and Antony, he had not as yet discharged himself of that obligation; that therefore this might not be a cause of war against him, he now not only sent back all those captives and ensigns, but also yielded to all other terms of peace which were then required of him, and gave four of his sons with their wives and children in hostage for the performance of them. Whereupon Justin remarks, that Augustus did more herein by the greatness of his name, than any other commander could do by the war. But Tacitus tells us, that Phraates was induced hereto, not so much by the fear of Augustus, as by the diffidence which he had of his own people; and what Strabo and Josephus tell us is agreeable hereto.

A very beautiful Italian woman, called Thermusa, having been formerly sent by Augustus to Phraates for a present, she first became his concubine, and afterwards, on her bringing him a son, was married to him, and advanced to be his queen; and having in this station gained an absolute ascendant over him, made use of it for the securing of the succession of the crown of Parthia to her son; in order whereto, she proposed to Phraates the putting of his other sons, which were four in all, into the hands of the Romans; and Phraates, not thinking himself safe against his subjects, as long as there were at hand any other of the race of Arsaces of a fit age to be put in his place, on this consideration readily complied herewith; and accordingly, when matters were made up between him and Augustus, and hostages were demanded for the securing of the terms of that agreement, he delivered these his four sons into the hands of Augustus for this purpose, who carried them to Rome, where they remained many years; and Thermusa's son, who was called Phraatices, was bred up for the succeeding of him in the kingdom. The Parthians were so superstitiously addicted to the race of Arsaces, that Phraates well knew they would bear him, how great soever their hatred to him was, as long as they had not another of that

family of a fit age to be set up to reign in his place; and for this reason it was, that he so readily yielded up his sons into the hands of the Romans, that being removed so far out of the way, they might create him no danger, nor give him any jealousy. But at length his destruction came from what he thus projected for his safety. For as soon as Phraatices was grown up, Thermusa, not having patience any longer to wait for the vacancy, that was ready in a short time naturally to happen, unnaturally poisoned her husband to make room for her son the sooner to succeed him. But this met with that disappointment which so wicked an act deserved. For the people, not bearing so wicked a parricide, rose in a tumult against him, and drove him into banishment, wherein he perished; but it was not till some years after that this happened.

Augustus settles the affairs of Armenia: Tigranes succeeds to the kingdom. —And at the same time that Augustus made peace with Parthia, he settled also the affairs of Armenia. It hath been above related, how that Artabazes, king of Armenia, being taken prisoner by Antony, and carried to Alexandria, Artaxias his son succeeded him. He having made himself grievous to his subjects by an oppressive and tyrannical reign, they accused him before Augustus, and desired to have Tigranes, his younger brother, to reign over them in his stead. Hereon Augustus sent Tiberius, the son of Livia by her former husband, with an army to expel Artaxias, and place Tigranes on the throne in his stead; but Artaxias being slain by his own people before he arrived, and Tigranes thereon admitted to succeed without any opposition, Tiberius had no opportunity by any military action of gaining honour by this commission, which was the first he was employed in.

Augustus winters at Samos. —Augustus, toward the end of the summer, returning out of Syria, was attended by Herod to the sea-

---

shore, where he embarked, and from thence sailed back to Samos, and there resided all the ensuing winter in the same manner as he had the former; and in consideration hereof, on his departure thence the next spring, he gave the

Samians their liberty, and made them a free city, in reward of the accommodations with which he was there furnished among them.

Discontents in Judæa at the Romanizing tendencies of Herod.— Herod on his return to Jerusalem, finding the people much offended, because of the many breaches he had made upon their law and religion by his frequent compliances with the idolatrous usages of the Greeks and Romans, was put to difficulties to avoid the ill consequences of it. For although he endeavoured to excuse himself, by alleging the necessity he was under of pleasing Augustus and the Romans in this matter, this gave no satisfaction, but discontents on this account grew to a great height against him among the generality of the people. And therefore, to prevent the ill effects hereof, he prohibited all meetings at feasts and clubs, and all other assemblies of many together; and he had spies in all quarters to bring him constant intelligence how all matters went; and he would often himself go out in disguise, that he might hear and observe how the people stood affected towards him: and by these means making discovery of all that had ill designs against him, and thereon severely treating such as were guilty, he made a shift to secure himself, and keep all quiet. And for this end at the same time he would have imposed an oath of fidelity on all his subjects. But Hillel and Shammai, with all their followers of the pharisaical sect, and also all the Essenes, refusing to take it, he was forced to let it drop; only those who had rendered themselves suspected were forced to comply herewith, for the avoiding of the severity with which he would otherwise have treated them.

Embassy to Augustus from Porus king of India, 19.—While Augustus lay at Samos, there came thither to him a second embassy from the king of India, to desire the establishment of a league and friendship with him, to which purpose he wrote him a letter in the Greek language, telling him therein, that though he reigned over six hundred kings, yet he had such value for the friendship of Augustus, by reason of the great fame which he had heard of him, that he sent this embassy on so long a journey of purpose to desire it of him: to which letter he subscribed by the name of Porus, king of India. The six hundred kings whom he boasted to reign over were the rajahs, or petty princes who governed the kingdom under him, several of whose descendants there remain even to this day; who paying tribute and

homage to the Great Mogul, govern their subjects at home with sovereign authority. Of the ambassadors that first set out from India on this embassy, three only reached the presence of Augustus; the others that were in commission with them died by the way. Of the three surviving, one was Zarmarus, a gymnosophist, who following Augustus to Athens there burnt himself in his presence, in like manner as Calanus, another of that sect, had formerly done in the presence of Alexander; it being the usage and manner of that sort of men, when they thought they

---

had lived long enough, to pass out of life by thus casting themselves alive upon their funeral piles. Among the presents which they brought were several tigers, and these were the first of this sort of wild beasts that had been seen either by the Greeks or Romans.

Augustus returns to Rome.—After this, Augustus, returning to Rome, was there received with great honour: his bringing back the ensigns and prisoners that had been taken in the Parthian wars being what the Romans valued beyond the rate of the greatest victory. And therefore a temple was erected in the Capitol in commemoration of it, which was dedicated to Mars the Revenger; and there the recovered ensigns were hung up. And Augustus valued himself so much upon this matter, that many of his coins still remaining bear the inscription "Signis receptis;" and the poets of his time made it the common argument of their flatteries towards him.

Herod commences his preparations for rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem. —Herod, being now in the full enjoyment of peace and plenty, and having finished his buildings at Sebaste, and far advanced those at Cæsarea, formed a design of new building the temple at Jerusalem; whereby he thought he should not only reconcile to him the affections of the Jews, but also erect a monument of lasting honour to his own name. The temple built after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity fell much short of that of Solomon's in the height, the magnificence, and other particulars; and five hundred years being elapsed since its erection, several decays had happened to it both by the length of time and also by the violence of enemies. For the temple by reason of its situation being the

strongest part of Jerusalem, whenever the inhabitants were pressed by war, they always made their last refuge thither; and whenever they did so, some of its buildings suffered by it. For the amending and repairing of all those defects and decays, Herod designed to build the whole temple anew; and in a general assembly of the people, offered to them what he intended. But when he found them startled at the proposal, and under apprehensions, lest that, when he had pulled down the old temple, he should not be able to build them a new one; to deliver them from this fear he told them, that he would not take down the old temple till he had gotten all the materials ready for the immediate erecting of a new one in its place: and accordingly he did forthwith set himself to make all manner of preparations for it; employing therein a thousand waggons for the carrying of the stones and timber; ten thousand artificers, to fit all things for the building; and a thousand priests, skilful in all parts of architecture, to supervise and direct them in the work. And by these means in two years' time he had got all things ready for the building. And then and not before did he pull down the old temple to the very foundations, to make room for the erecting of a new one in its place. Josephus tells us, Herod made this proposal in the eighteenth year of his reign, that is, from the death of Antigonus, which happened not till about the Midsummer after he was taken prisoner; and therefore according to this reckoning, the nineteenth year of Herod not beginning till about the Midsummer of the nineteenth year before Christ, the six first months of that year did

---

belong to the eighteenth year of Herod; and the Passover, at which was the greatest assembly of the Jews, falling within the compass of those six months, then, it is most probable, this proposal was made.

Gallus proceeds to Syene and the first cataract, accompanied by Strabo, 18.—Ælius Gallus, succeeding Petronius in the prefecture of Egypt, made a progress into the upper parts of that country as far as Syene and the borders of Ethiopia, in which Strabo the geographer accompanied him; and at Thebes, he tells us, he saw the statue of Memnon, which, according to the poets, saluted the morning sun every day at its first rising with an harmonious sound; and he saith, that he heard that sound on his

being on the place one morning; but professeth not to know the cause from whence it proceeded, but suspected it to come from some of the by-standers. He was born at Amasia in Pontus, and published his Geography in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius, being then a very old man. It is a most excellent work; the ancients have scarce left us anything more valuable. For it is written with great judgment and care, he having travelled almost over all the places which he describes, and his descriptions are so exact, that most of the places may be known by them even to this day. He also wrote a history, which Josephus quotes, and hath some passages out of it; but excepting some few such fragments dispersed in other authors, that work is now entirely lost.

Herod commences the erection of the new temple, 17.—Herod, having after two years' preparation made ready all materials for the new building of the temple, pulled down the old edifice, and began the erecting of his new one, just forty-six years before the first Passover of Christ's personal ministry; at which time the Jews told him (John ii. 20), "Forty and six years hath this temple been in building." For although then forty-six years had passed from the time this building was begun, and in nine years and a half it was made fit for the divine service, yet a great number of labourers and artificers were there still continued at work, for the carrying on of the outbuildings, all the time of our Saviour's being here on earth, and for some years after, till the coming of Gessius Florus to be governor of Judæa; when eighteen thousand of them being discharged at one time, after that, for want of work, they began those mutinies and seditions, which at last drew on the destruction of Jerusalem, and the temple with it.

Augustus declares Caius and Lucius to be his heirs to the empire. —This year Julia the daughter of Augustus brought Agrippa a second son, called Lucius: the eldest, called Caius, was born three years before. They being the grandsons of Augustus, as soon as Lucius was born he adopted them both for his sons, and declared them the heirs of his empire. For this he thought would best conduce to the settling of his affairs, and the quashing of all such treacherous designs as otherwise, for the usurping of his power, might be contrived or imagined against his person.

Herod visits Rome and brings back Alexander and Aristobulus, 16.—Herod sailed into Italy, there to pay his respects to Augustus, and to

see his sons Alexander and Aristobulus, whom he had sent to Rome to be educated. In his way thither he stopped in Greece, and was present at the hundred and ninety-first Olympiad, and presided therein; where finding those shows were much sunk in their credit and esteem, by reason that the poverty of the Elians disabled them from setting them forth in their usual pomp and splendour, he settled a constant revenue on them, for the restoring of them to their former solemnity and honour: in acknowledgment whereof, they granted him the honour of a president in those games as long as he should live. On his arrival at Rome, he was there received with great honour and kindness by Augustus; from whom having received his sons, now fully disciplined and instructed in all the Roman exercises and literature, he returned with them into Judæa, and a little after provided them with suitable matches: marrying Alexander, the eldest of them, to Glaphyra the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia; and the other to Berenice the daughter of Salome his sister. By the comeliness of their persons, the agreeableness of their behaviour, and other laudable qualifications which they were accomplished with, they drew to them the love and esteem of all the Jews; but Salome, and such others as had been her accomplices in procuring the death of Mariamne their mother, fearing their revenge, did all that in them lay by evil artifices to work their destruction also, and at last accomplished it, as will be in its due place related.

Progress of the rebuilding of the temple. —In the interim the work of the temple went on; and after a year and a half, that part which was most properly the temple (that is, that which contained the holy place, the holy of holies, and the porch through which was the passage leading to both) was wholly finished; and after eight years more all the rest was built which Herod proposed. However, this temple was still the same temple, and still retained the same denomination as before. For Herod's rebuilding of it was only by way of reparation, and not by way of restoration and new erection, after a long and total demolition, as was the case of the temple rebuilt by Zerubbabel; and therefore, it was still called the second temple and the later

temple after this reparation, as it was before, to the time of its ultimate demolition by Titus.

Augustus visits Judæa, 15.—Augustus having sent Agrippa again into the East, as soon as Herod heard of his arrival in the province of Proper Asia, he went thither to him: and having prevailed with him to accept of an invitation, which he earnestly made him, to come into Judæa, on his arrival there he entertained him and all his attendants with all manner of honour, magnificence, and sumptuous fare; and having shown him all his new-built cities and castles, as Sebaste, Cæsarea, Alexandrium, Herodium, and Hyrcania, he led him in the last place to Jerusalem. On his approach to it, he was at some distance met by all the people in their festival apparel, and conducted into the city by a solemn procession and loud acclamations. After some stay there, he offered a hecatomb at the temple, and feasted all the people; and then hastening to the port where his fleet lay, he sailed back again into Ionia before the winter came on.

Herod assists Agrippa in his war in the Cimmerian Bosphorus: the kingdom conferred on Polemon, 14.—Asander king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, being dead, left his kingdom to Dynamis his wife, in whose right he had held it, she being the daughter of Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates. One Scribonius, pretending to be a grandson of Mithridates, and to have a grant from Augustus to succeed Asander, took Dynamis to wife, and seized the country: whereon Agrippa sent Polemon (whom the Romans had made king of Pontus and the Lesser Armenia) to make war upon him; but before his arrival, the Bosphorans, having discovered Scribonius to be a cheat in all his pretensions, had put him to death. However, they would not submit to Polemon; but though they had been vanquished in battle by him on his first coming into the country, yet still stood out against him, which brought Agrippa upon them with all his army, and a dangerous war ensued. Herod, hearing of this, hastened to the assistance of Agrippa with a fleet and army, thereby further to ingratiate himself with him, which he fully effected by this opportunity. For coming up with him at Sinope in Pontus, when he was in some distress for want of such a supply as Herod brought him, nothing could be more acceptable to

him than his arrival thither with it at that time. With this assistance Agrippa soon reduced the Bosphorans to a thorough submission: whereon Dynamis being given to Polemon to wife, he had with her the kingdom of Bosphorus conferred on him; and by the favour of Augustus, who confirmed the grant, held it with that of Pontus and the Lesser Armenia, which he had before. He had been a long time a faithful ally to the Romans, and had these kingdoms given him for the reward of the many important services he had done them. He had not the whole kingdom of Pontus, but only that part of it which lay next Cappadocia. This from him was afterwards, for distinction sake, called Pontus Polemoniacus; in which kingdom his son of the same name afterwards succeeded him by the favour of Caligula.

Herod successfully intercedes with Agrippa in behalf of the Jews in Asia Minor. —After matters were thus settled in Bosphorus, Agrippa returned through Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Phrygia, into Ephesus in Ionia. Herod, accompanying him all the way thither, procured many favours of him in behalf of several of the people of those parts, who prayed his mediation. And on his coming into Ionia, he had there an especial occasion to solicit him for his favour in behalf of the Jews that had been settled in those parts. It hath been above related, how Antiochus the Great had planted two thousand families of the Babylonish Jews in Phrygia, Lydia, and other provinces there adjoining. These being increased to a great number, and spread over all Lesser Asia and the isles, they were maligned and oppressed by the other inhabitants among whom they dwelt, so that they would not permit them to live according to their law and religion, or suffer them to enjoy the immunities and privileges which had in that behalf been formerly granted to them, first by the kings of Syria, and afterwards by the Romans. Herod, on their application to him, undertook their cause, and solicited it so effectually with Agrippa, that he obtained for them all that they desired;

---

all their grievances being redressed, and all their immunities and privileges restored and confirmed to them in as ample a manner as they had at any time before been in possession of them. After this, Agrippa passed over to Samos, and Herod returned again into Judæa. On his arrival at Jerusalem, having assembled the people together, he related to them the successes of

his journey, and what he had done and obtained for the Jews of Lesser Asia; and then, the more to ingratiate himself with them, he remitted to them one-fourth part of their taxes, which was accepted with great rejoicing and thankfulness by them.

Augustus takes the office of Pontifex Maximus: burns 2000 spurious prophetical books, but preserves the genuine Sibylline oracles, 13.—Lepidus being dead, who had borne the office of pontifex maximus, or high priest of Rome, Augustus took that office to himself, as did all his successors in the empire after him, as well Christians as heathens, till the time of Gratian, who succeeded his father Valentinian in A. D. 375. He, being a zealous Christian, thought it inconsistent with his religion to bear as much as the title of high priest in heathen rites, and for this reason first refused it; and all the rest that afterwards succeeded him in the Roman empire, following his example, did the same. As soon as Augustus had entered on this office, he set himself on the reforming of many things in the matters which were thereby put under his care. And he first began with examining into the prophetic books which then went abroad. For a great number of these being at this time everywhere spread among the people, created great disturbances, and raised many vain hopes and fears in the minds of men, according as they were interpreted for or against what was then uppermost in the government. All these Augustus called in, and caused most of them, to the number of two thousand volumes, to be burned as spurious, reserving only those which bore the names of some of the Sibyls for their authors. And these also he subjected to a strict examination, and retained of them none other than such as were on this trial judged genuine; the rest he committed to the same flames as the former. Those that were judged genuine he put into two golden cabinets, and laid them up in the temple of Apollo, which he had built in the palace, placing them there under the pedestal on which the image of that heathen deity was there erected. These Sibylline oracles having been of great repute in the old heathen world, and also often appealed to by the ancient writers of the Christian church, it is proper that here I give some account of them, and also of those by whom they are said to have been delivered.

II. THE SIBYLS AND SIBYLLINE ORACLES.

Account of the Sibyls. —The Sibyls were women of ancient times, said to have been endued with a prophetic spirit, and to have delivered oracles foreshowing the fates and destinies of kingdoms and states. We have, in the writings of the ancients, mention made of ten of them, the eldest of which being named Sibylla, all others of the

---

same sex, who afterwards pretended to have the like fatidical spirit and power, were from her called Sibyls; the most eminent of which were the ten I have mentioned; and of these the most noted was she whom the Romans called Sibylla Cumæa, and others Erythræa; for she was one and the same Sibyl who had both these names. She was born at Erythræ in Ionia, and therefore was by the Greeks called Erythræa; but having removed from Erythræ to Cumæ in Italy, and there delivered all her oracles, she was from thence by the Romans and Italians called Cumæa. The place at Cumæ where she lived, and from whence she is said to have given out her oracles, was a cave, or subterraneous vault, digged out of the main rock. Justin Martyr, who had been upon the place, speaking of it, and the Sibyl which there prophesied, tells us as followeth: "This Sibyl, they say, being a Babylonian by descent, and the daughter of Berosus, who wrote the Chaldaic History, came, I know not how, into Campania, and there delivered her oracles in a city called Cumæ, situated at the distance of six miles from Baiæ. I having been upon the place, did there see a large chapel or oratory which was all hewn out of the main rock, a work great and wonderful: in which chapel, as the inhabitants made report unto me, according as they had it by ancient traditions from their forefathers, the Sibyl gave forth her oracles. In the middle of the chapel they showed me three hollow places hewn out of the same rock, in which, being filled with water, they told me she used to wash herself, and that then, after having put on her garment, she retired into the innermost cell of that chapel, which was also hewn out of the same rock; and there having settled herself upon a high advanced seat in the middle of that cell, from thence uttered and gave forth

her oracles." Thus far Justin Martyr of this vault. Onuphrius writes, that it continued to be seen many hundred years after, until A. D. 1539; in which all Campania having been terribly shaken with an earthquake, at Puteoli huge mountains of sand, gravel, and slime were then cast up from the bottom of the sea, which totally overwhelmed and utterly ruined this chapel of the Cumæan Sibyl. The same Onuphrius tells us, that about nine years after, that is, in A. D. 1548, having been upon the place and made diligent inquiry of the inhabitants, he found, that till that earthquake everything in that vault was exactly as Justin had described it, but that then it was utterly destroyed. But travellers are there still shown a vault, which they call the grotto of the Sibyl, even to this day.

Period when the first Sibyl flourished. —Of the time when this Sibyl lived there are various opinions. Justin Martyr, in saying that she was by descent a Babylonian, and the daughter of Berosus the historian, puts her below the time of Alexander. No doubt he mistook her for Athenais, the second Sibyl, which was called the Erythræan, who lived about that time; but she never came to Cumæ in Italy. Virgil makes her to have lived at Cumæ in the time of the Trojan war, and to have been contemporary with Æneas: and others place her in the time of Tarquin, the last king of Rome. These last found

---

their opinion upon the supposal, that it was she herself that brought the books of her prophecies to that king; but this is nowhere said.

Story of the visit of the Sibyl to Tarquin II. —The story which they tell us of this matter is as followeth: While Tarquin, the second of that name, reigned at Rome [in B. C. 500], there came a certain woman unto him of a foreign country, with nine books containing the oracles of the Sibyls, which she offered to sell to him, demanding for them three hundred pieces of gold. But Tarquin refusing to give that price for them, she burnt three of the nine, and then offered him the remaining six at the same price; at which demand she being thought to be out of her wits, was rejected with scorn and laughter; whereon she burnt three others of them, and then offering him the remaining three, persisted still to demand the same price for these as she

first had for all the nine. At which strange procedure Tarquin being moved, and thinking that there might be something in it more than ordinary, sent for the augurs to consult with them about it; who on their examining into the matter told him, that they found by certain signs, that what he had despised was a divine gift; that it was a great loss and damage that he had not bought all the nine books that were first offered him; and therefore earnestly advised him to give the woman for the remaining three the price which she asked: whereon the money being paid, and the books delivered to Tarquin, the woman gave him strict charge to keep them safely, as containing oracles relating to the future state of Rome; and after that she disappeared, and was no more seen.

Preservation of the Sibylline books.—Hereon Tarquin, putting these books into a stone coffer, laid them up in a vault under ground in the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, and appointed two of the principal of the nobility to have the keeping of them, with strict charge not to divulge them, or suffer any other besides themselves to have the perusal of them, or on any occasion whatsoever as much as in the least to look into them; which was so strictly required, that Marcus Attilius, one of the first to whose custody these books were committed, having given liberty to Petronius Sabinus to take a copy of these books, he was for this breach of his trust sewn up in a sack and cast into the river, which was a punishment among the Romans that never else used to be inflicted, save only on parricides. After the dissolution of the regal power, the commonwealth continued the same regard to these books, and craftily made them a main engine of state in the ensuing government for the quieting of the people in all disturbances that after happened among them. For whenever any great misfortune befell them, any prodigies appeared to fright them, or any other accident or occasion made a ruffle or disorder among the people, these books were ordered to be consulted, and the keepers of them always brought forth such an answer as served the purpose; and in many difficulties the governors of that state helped themselves this way. And therefore there was nothing among the Romans which they kept with a more strict and sacred care than these books, that thereby the use of them might be made the better to answer the end designed. For they always chose the keepers of them out of the chief of the nobility, assigned them this

office for term of life, and exempted them from all the burdens of the state, both military and civil, as men wholly consecrated to this one thing only. These at first were only two, afterwards they were augmented to ten, and after that again to fifteen. None were allowed to look into these books save these only; and not they neither, but when on any exigency of the state they were ordered so to do by a decree of the senate. These books were thus carefully kept till the civil wars of Sylla and Marius, when the Capitol being accidentally set on fire, and burnt down to the ground, these books were burnt with it. This happened while Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus and Caius Norbanus Flaccus were consuls at Rome, in B. C. 83. But seven years after, the Capitol being again rebuilt, Caius Scribonius Curio, being then consul, made a motion in the senate about the restoring the Sibylline oracles. The use of them, for the purposes above mentioned, having been found very beneficial to the commonwealth in cases of public difficulties, it was resolved by no means to be without them, were it possible they could be any way again retrieved. And therefore, the senate having taken this matter into their consideration, and understanding that there were none of these oracles then preserved at Cumæ, where that Sibyl prophesied whose books were burned, but that there were some of them at Erythræ in Ionia, where she was born, they sent thither P. Gabinius, M. Otacilius, and Lucius Valerius, three ambassadors from their body, to take copies of them, and bring them to Rome; who having there gathered together from the papers of several private persons about a thousand verses in the Greek language, pretended to be the prophecies and oracles of this and other Sibyls, came back with them to Rome. And at the same time inquiry being also made at Samos, Ilium, and other cities in Greece, Sicily, Africa, and Italy, for the like oracles and prophecies of the Sibyls, great numbers that pretended to be such were gotten together, and laid up in the Capitol, to supply the place of those that were burnt. But there was this great difference between the Sibylline books that were burned with the Capitol and those that were afterwards put in their place, that whereas the former having never been in any other hands than those to whose custody they had been committed, were vulgarly known to none, it was otherwise as to the latter: for they, having been in the hands of the vulgar in all places where they were

collected before they were brought to Rome, were still after that collection vulgarly known as before, and much more so, because the reputation which the Romans gave them, by making this collection of them, made them the more to be inquired after, and the more to be dispersed; whereby it came to pass, that of all this collection laid up in the Capitol, there was scarce any one prophecy or oracle

---

of which there were not copies in private hands; and from them Virgil had that Sibylline prophecy of the coming of Christ, and the restoring of justice, righteousness, and blessedness to the world by him, which he hath set forth in his fourth Eclogue; and from them came also the many other prophecies which at this time went abroad of the same import. But the use which the Romans proposed to make of these oracles being much defeated by their being thus vulgarly known, a law was made, that all that had any copies of them should bring them in to the prætor of the city; and all were prohibited, under pain of death, to retain any of them. But notwithstanding, many that had transcripts of these oracles still privately keeping them in their hands, and their number increasing by new forgeries made of them, Augustus, on his taking on him the high priesthood of Rome, revived the law; whereon so many copies of these pretended prophecies being brought in as amounted to a great multitude of volumes, he ordered them all strictly to be examined, and having burned and destroyed all that were disapproved, to the number above mentioned, reposited the rest for the use of the state. These afterwards Tiberius caused to be examined over again, and burned many more of them, preserving only such as were of moment, and found worthy of approbation, for that service of the state for which they were originally intended. And to these, as long as Rome remained heathen, great recourse was made. For about this time on the coming of Christ our Saviour, the great Oracle of all truth, all other oracles ceasing, the Sibylline prophecies, and the Sortes Virgilianæ, the Sortes Prænestinæ, with some other like foolish inventions for divination, were the only oracles they had to consult. And in this use the Sibylline prophecies continued till A. D. 399, when they were utterly destroyed. For not long before that time, a prophecy being given out by the heathen Romans, pretended to be taken from the Sibylline

writings, which imported, that Peter having by magic founded the Christian religion to last for the term of three hundred and sixty-five years only, it was at the end of this term wholly to vanish, and be no more professed in the world; and this term expiring in A. D. 398 (for that was just three hundred and sixty-five years after Christ's ascension into heaven, and the first establishing of the Christian religion thereupon), Honorius the Roman emperor, taking the advantage hereof to convict these writings of manifest forgery and imposture, ordered them all to be destroyed; and accordingly the next year after (that is, in the year of our Lord 399), Stilico, by virtue of a decree from him, burnt all those prophetic writings, and pulled down and utterly demolished the temple of Apollo, in which they were reposited. And the same year became fatal to many other heathen temples in Africa and elsewhere through the Roman empire.

Spurious collection of Sibylline oracles still in existence. —There is still preserved, in eight books of Greek verse, a collection of oracles pretended to be the Sibylline. This collection must have been made between A. D. 138 and A. D. 167. It could not be earlier; for therein

---

mention is made of the next successor of Adrian, that is, Antoninus Pius, who did not succeed him till A. D. 138: and it could not be later, because Justin Martyr in his writings several times quotes it, and appeals to it, who did not outlive the year A. D. 167, being then put to death under the fourth persecution. But whether this was a true collection of the oracles called Sibylline, or a fictitious composure made out of a pious fraud by some Christian of the time when it was first published, is a question among learned men. Baronius, Bishop Mountague of Norwich, and others, would have it to be genuine, that is, to contain a true collection of what was received among the heathens for the oracles of the Sibyls before Christ was born. But most look on it as the spurious production of some zealous Christian, who compiled it for the promoting of the interest of the religion he professed. For any one, say they, that shall with an unbiassed judgment peruse the book, will find therein such an abstract of the history and doctrines of the Old and New Testament, as must necessarily make him conclude none but a Christian could write it; and in one place the compiler

of it plainly acknowledgeth himself to be so. Besides, the whole mystery of our salvation, the method whereby it was to be accomplished, what belongs to the person of the Messiah and his spiritual kingdom, his birth, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension, are all more explicitly, clearly, and fully spoken of in these pretended prophecies, than they are in any of the true and undoubted prophecies of the Old Testament; which is sufficient proof that they were written after they were accomplished; it being by no means to be believed, that God would reveal himself by heathen prophets to the heathen nations more clearly, fully, and explicitly than he had by his own true prophets to his own people. Besides, the compiler of these prophetic books speaks of Christ's reigning here upon earth according to the notion of the Millenarians, which plainly proves them to have been written after the origin of that heresy, which could not have been till after Christ's time; neither had it till the second century, when it was first introduced by Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia. Herein also is given a succession of all the Roman emperors, from Julius Cæsar to Antoninus Pius, and the time of his adopting M. Antoninus and L. Verus, in such manner as manifestly shows it to have been written rather as a history of things past, than as a prophecy foretelling what was to come. And in the same book the pretended prophetess tells us that she was wife to one of the three sons of Noah, and was with him in the ark during the whole time of the deluge; and many other like particulars are contained therein, which savour all of fiction and imposture. All this put together seems evidently to prove, that a great part of this book, instead of containing a true collection of the oracles received for Sibylline among the heathen before Christ's time, is nothing more than the invention and imposture of the compiler.

Argument for the genuineness of the oracles, that they were appealed to by Justin Martyr, &c.—But, on the other side, it is urged, for the truth and genuineness of this book, that it was appealed to by Justin Martyr, and many others of the ancient writers of the Christian church, as Athenagoras, Theophilus, Antiochenus, Tertullian, the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, Lactantius, Eusebius, Jerome, Austin, &c. That Clemens Alexandrinus, who lived in the second century, tells us, that Paul

himself, in his preaching to the Gentiles, frequently referred to these oracles of the Sibyls; that these contained in this collection are the same that were received for such in the time of Cicero, which, they say, appears by his mentioning the acrostichis, which is now found in them; that Josephus, in the first book of his Antiquities (ch. v.), quotes the Sibylline oracle for the building of the tower of Babel, and the confusion of languages which followed thereupon, and that very quotation is found in the present book.

Refutation of the argument.—To this it is replied, that Justin Martyr was a person of great credulity, who believed and laid hold of everything that he thought might make for the Christian religion, whereof instances have been above already given; and he having appealed to this book of Sibylline oracles, all the rest of the ancients that did so were led to it by his example: that as to what Clemens saith of St. Paul's quoting the Sibyl, he could have this only by tradition; for there is nothing of it in the Scriptures: that for many years before the birth of Christ many prophecies went abroad under the name of Sibyls, foretelling his coming; and that it is possible St. Paul might quote some of these in his preachings to the heathens, is readily acknowledged. But this doth not prove these eight books which we now treat of to be a true and genuine collection of them. As to the acrostics, Cicero indeed says, the Sibylline oracles were written in such sort of verses; and that there are a certain number of acrostics in this collection is acknowledged; but these are of a different sort from the acrostics mentioned by Cicero. For according to him, the acrostics of the Sibylline oracles were so written, that the letters of the first verse of every section began all the following verses in the same order as they lay in that first verse. As for example; supposing the first verse to be that which begins Virgil's fourth Eclogue,—

Sicelides musæ, paullo Majora canamus,

to make the acrostics which Cicero mentions, the letter *i*, which is the second letter, must begin the second verse; *c*, which is the third letter, the third verse; *e*, the fourth verse; *l*, the fifth verse, and so on to the end: and when all the letters of the first verse were thus exhausted, so as that the whole first verse might be read downward in the initial letters of the following verses, as well as forward in the first, there ended the section.

And then another verse begun another section; and by the letters of it another acrostichis was made in the same manner as the former, and so on through the whole volume. But the acrostics which are in the present collection, and are alluded to by Tertullian, and

---

quoted by the emperor Constantine and St. Austin, are of another sort; for in them the letters of the first verse do not become the initial letters of the following verses in manner as above mentioned; but the letters of these Greek words, *Ιησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ Σταυρὸς*, are the initial letters in these acrostics. And the English of these Greek words being "Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Saviour, the Cross," and the substance of the acrostical verses whose initial letters make these words being a summary of the principal parts of the history and doctrines of the gospel, it is scarce to be imagined that any one in his wits should think these to have been the acrostics which Cicero mentions, or to have been at all existing in Cicero's time. It is most likely the compiler of this collection, finding in Varro, Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Cicero, and other writers then extant, mention made of acrostics in the Sibylline oracles, invented these of purpose to cloak the imposture which he was guilty of in the greater part of the book, and so make the cheat the better go down by this imitation; but he not hitting it exactly, the fraud, instead of being covered, is detected thereby. As to the quotation of Josephus concerning the tower of Babel, and the confusion of languages at the building of it, it is acknowledged that certain verses went about in Josephus's time under the name of the Sibyls, out of which Josephus quoted the passage mentioned; and that this very passage, though not in the same words, is yet in substance in the third book of the collection of the Sibylline oracles, which we now treat of. But this doth not prove all that collection to be genuine, and not, in a great part of it, the spurious production of some impostor.

Summing up of the truth respecting the oracles.—But not to detain the reader with a long examination of all that hath been said by learned men on this subject, I shall lay down what appears to me to be the whole truth of the matter in these following positions.

I. **The Sibylline oracles were anciently held in great estimation.**—The oracles of the Sibyls have from ancient times been in great reputation both among the Greeks and Latins. For Plato and Aristotle, as well as Varro, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Livy, make mention of them with great regard. But who, or how many, those Sibyls were, or when or where they lived, various authors as to these particulars write variously of them; and most that they say concerning them is manifestly fable and fiction.

II. **The Sibyls could not have been divinely inspired.**—How much soever they might pretend to the gift of prophecy, they could not have it by divine inspiration. For most of the oracles that were produced from them, when consulted by the Romans, directed to such idolatrous and abominable rites, as cannot, without the greatest impiety, be said to come from God.

III. **If the Sibyls ever were inspired, it must have been by devils.**—If therefore they ever had the power of foretelling things to come, they

---

must have received it from diabolical spirits inspiring them therewith. For these had their oracles in many places among the heathen nations in the times preceding the birth of Christ, and most of them were delivered by women; so it was at Delphos, and so it was at Dodona, and so in other places where temples were erected to the heathen deities. But the world having been always too fond of prophecies and predictions, this often gives advantage for the imposing of false pretences under those names. We see enough of this in the credit that Nostradamus's Centuries, Nixon's Prophecies, and other such delusions, have in our times gotten among many; but it was much more so in the heathen world. It hath been above mentioned, how Augustus burned two thousand volumes of these pretended oracles, and how Tiberius afterwards destroyed many more of them; but notwithstanding this, like Hydra's heads, they grew and multiplied by being cut off; and down as low as the time of Zosimus, who lived in the fifth century, there were many collections of these oracles among the heathens, even then, when heathenism was almost worn out. For he tells us, he had perused *πολλὰς χρησμῶν συναγωγὰς*, i. e. many collections of oracles. And there is now scarce a nunnery beyond sea in which one or other of the

sisters doth not pretend to be inspired, and deliver oracles and prophecies determining the fates of kingdoms and states. Sometimes an enthusiastic spirit, sometimes hysterical fits, but mostly pride and vanity, lead them to these pretences; and most likely the Sibyls had no better foundation for all these oracles of theirs, that have obtained so great a reputation in the world.

IV. **The story of the three Sibylline books sold to Tarquin was a myth.**—The story of the three books of the Sibyls sold to Tarquin was all a cheat and a fraud, devised for the convenience of the state. Some tell it of Tarquinius Superbus, and some of Tarquinius Priscus; but most likely what is said of it was done in the time of Numa, it being of a piece with all the rest that he did for the establishing of the Roman state. For he built it all upon superstition and imposture, pretending the direction of the goddess Egeria for all its institutions, thereby the better to make them go down with the people. And no doubt by a like device it was that an unknown old woman, brought from some foreign place, was suborned to act the part mentioned in the story, and to burn six of the books, thereby to give the greater value to the other three. And this artifice fully answered the end intended; for the consulting of those books, and the pretended answers from them, served very often for the quelling and composing of many disorders and disturbances among the people, when nothing else could. The manner in which these oracles were said to be given forth, was by ecstasy and enthusiastic rage, under which the inspired gave forth their oracles, without understanding or as much as knowing what they said. From hence Cicero argues against them, because of the acrostics in which they were written: for he rightly saith, that their being composed in such a sort of verses, demonstrates them to be the product of

---

art and contrivance, and not possibly to come from such as were in ecstasy and beside themselves.

V. **The oracles were composed for state purposes.**—None being allowed to inspect, or in the least peruse, the oracles of the Sibyls in the Capitol, that is, either those that were there laid up before the burning of that edifice in the time of Sylla, or those that were there laid up after it,

excepting the sacred college only, to whose keeping they were committed; the members of this college were thereby enabled, whenever the consulting of these oracles was decreed, to bring forth such an answer as would best serve the purpose for which that decree was made. And this they always did, whether they found it in these oracles or not, and herein lay the whole mystery of this matter; and we have several instances wherein it was thus practised. For when the great men of Rome had gotten from Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, all the money he could give for the procuring of his restoration, when expelled his kingdom, and they found it inconvenient for the state to do what they had promised, they procured an oracle to be brought forth from the Sibylline books to forbid the thing. And when Cæsar had a mind to be declared king, before he should begin his intended expedition against the Parthians, he dealt with the keepers of those books, to give out an oracle as from them, that the Parthians could not be overcome but by a king: upon which occasion Cicero thus writes: "Let us deal with the keepers of those books to bring forth anything out of them rather than a king, which neither the gods nor men will henceforth bear at Rome." Which words plainly argue, that those books were made use of as an engine of state, out of which the keepers of them brought forth, under the name of oracles, such answers as they themselves contrived, according as they thought they would best serve the end intended.

VI. **Abundant Sibylline oracles discovered after the burning of the first books.**—After the first books of the Sibylline oracles, that had been laid up in the Capitol at Rome, were burnt with it, and thereon search was made for the restoring of them from other places, as is above mentioned, abundance of prophecies, under the name of the Sibyls, were everywhere produced: and, by reason of the reputation given them by that search, their number grew and multiplied, every one bringing forth whatsoever prophetic writings he had by him, and publishing them for the most part under the name of some Sibyl or other, the better to recommend them to acceptance, and by these means, for about eighty years before the birth of Christ, the world became filled with prophecies of all sorts.

VII. **Sibylline oracles foretelling the coming of the Messiah.**—Among these prophecies which then went about, there were several which foretold the coming of the Messiah, and the greatness, bliss, and

righteousness of his kingdom. Two of these have been already mentioned, that

---

is, that of Virgil's fourth eclogue, and the other spoken of by Julius Marathus, neither of which can admit a rational interpretation any otherwise than when applied to the Messiah. And it is particularly to be observed of the prophecy spoken of by Julius Marathus, that the words whereby it is related are *Regem populo Romano naturam parturire*, i. e. "That nature was about to bring forth a son that should be king of the Romans;" which phrase expresseth something more than ordinary, both in the cause and in the effect. For here nature itself, that is, the God of nature, is made the immediate cause of the birth; and he must be more than an ordinary person that was to be produced by so extraordinary a generation. But both these prophecies speak of the birth of the Messiah in general, without naming in particular the people of whom he should be descended, or the country where he should be born. But there were other prophecies which determined both, and declared that he should come out of Judæa: and for this we have the testimonies of Tacitus and Suetonius, two eminent Roman historians; the first of which, speaking of the time when Vespasian waged war with the Jews, hath these words: "A firm persuasion had prevailed among a great many, that it was contained in the ancient sacerdotal books, that about this time it should come to pass that the East should prevail; and that those who should come out of Judæa should obtain the empire of the world." And Suetonius, speaking of the same time, saith as followeth; "There had prevailed all over the East an ancient and constant notion that the fates had decreed, that about that time there should come out of Judæa those who should obtain the empire of the world." The completion of those prophecies is by both these ancient writers referred to the coming of Vespasian out of Judea to the empire; which happened but a few years after the death of Christ, and the beginning of his kingdom here on earth, to which they truly belonged.

VIII. **Means by which God foreshadowed the coming of the Messiah to the heathen.**—God having ordained that the coming of his Son should by these prophecies be foreshown to the heathens, and for some time

before his appearing be proclaimed among them; this was accomplished by a twofold means: 1st, by the dispersion of the Jews among them; and 2ndly, by the heathen oracles themselves which they used to consult. For,

IX. **General expectation of the Jewish nation of the coming of the Messiah spread amongst the heathen by the Jewish dispersions.**—First, for several years before the birth of Christ, not only Simeon and Anna the prophetess, but the whole nation of the Jews, were in earnest expectation of his coming, and of the redemption of Israel by him. And this not only the history of the gospel in many places tells us, but Josephus the Jewish historian doth also attest the same. For he tells us, that the expectation which the Jews for some years before the destruction of Jerusalem had of the arising of a great king from among them, who should have the empire of the whole world, was the true cause which then excited them to that war against the Romans, in which that city and the temple in it were utterly destroyed: and Suetonius saith the

---

same thing. The prophecies of Daniel and other prophets of the Old Testament having not only spoken of the righteousness, glory, and bliss of the kingdom of the Messiah, but determined his appearance to the very time when it happened, gave just reason for this expectation; and for above eighty years before Christ's birth, the whole house of Israel were big hereof. For so long Anna the prophetess, being actuated by it, had attended at the temple in fasting and prayer to wait his appearance; and therefore for so long time these prophecies, and the received interpretations of them, being much talked of through all Judæa, with a view to the speedy completion of them, especially after Pompey had subjected that country to the Roman yoke, from thence the same manner of discoursing of them, and the same expectations of their being speedily accomplished, became diffused to all the Jews of the dispersions, wherever they were all the world over; and great numbers of them being then settled in Rome, and in the cities of Greece and the Lesser Asia, as well as in other parts of the world, they there frequently spoke among their heathen neighbours of these prophecies, and the expectations they then had of their speedy completion: which being often rumoured about among the heathen people in those places of the

Jewish dispersions, at length insensibly grew into reputation, and were received among them as if they had been prophecies from their own oracles; and they most of them became ingrafted among the oracles of the Sibyls, as if they had come from them. And from hence most of those prophecies among the heathens, which in the times above mentioned predicted the coming of a great king out of Judæa, who should in great power and glory reign over the whole world, seem chiefly to have had their original; for this notion the Jews then had of the Messiah, and it still continues among them.

X. **Expectation of the Messiah to be traced in the heathen oracles generally.**—But, secondly, another way of their being declared among the heathen seems to be from the heathen oracles themselves. Thus God forced Balaam to prophesy of the coming of his Son out of Jacob; thus he made the magians to come from the East to acknowledge and adore him; and thus he forced the devils themselves, when cast forth by him, to own him to be the Son of God most high; and thus also most probably the diabolical spirits which presided in the heathen oracles were, before their leaving those their habitations (which they were compelled to do before the coming of our Saviour), in like manner forced to proclaim him. And by these two means most probably was it, that all the prophecies, which before our Saviour's birth were spread abroad among the heathens concerning him and his kingdom, whether they were those called Sibylline or others, were all introduced among them, there not being a third way whereby it could be done.

XI. **Probable origin of the book of Sibylline oracles still preserved.**—A collection being made of the predictions which had been received among the heathens for oracles of the Sibyls, and by some heathen Greek digested into a book of Greek verses about the time of our Saviour, or a little before, and all those prophecies above mentioned relating to him having been found therein, this operated much to the advantage of Christianity in its earliest times, so as to prove of great

efficacy for the converting of many thereto: and therefore Christians, in their disputes with the heathens, often out of this book making use of those oracles, and frequently appealing to them for the proof of what they professed, they were from hence called Sibyllists. This book was afterwards, about the time of Antoninus Pius, the Roman emperor, interpolated with many additions by some Christian, who was more zealous than either honest or wise herein: for by thus adulterating the oracles truly received as Sibylline, with those of his own invention, which were never heard of among the heathen before, he destroyed the authority of the whole, and the Christian cause was much damaged thereby. The book made up of this mixture, I reckon, is that which we now have: several, for the sake of the many spurious particulars which are manifestly in it, think all the rest to be of the same sort, and would therefore reject the whole. That the major part is justly thus condemned, I readily acknowledge, but cannot yield it for all the book. Celsus, the greatest enemy that Christianity had among the ancients, chargeth the imposture no further than upon the interpolations, neither will I. But to return to our history.

III. REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT, CONCLUDED, B. C. 13—4.

Alexander and Aristobulus incur the displeasure of Herod: Antipater placed above them, 13.—Alexander and Aristobulus, Herod's sons by Mariamne, having on their return from Rome lived three years at home with their father, at length fell grievously under his displeasure. The young men in the heat of their youth let fall many rash words, which expressed their resentments for the death of their mother, with threats of revenge upon those who had been the authors of it; at which Salome and Pheroras, who were the chief advisers of her execution, being alarmed, laid plots for the ruin of the two young men to prevent their own. In order whereto, they took care that all the rash words which these young men had at any time indiscreetly bolted out on the subject of their mother's death were all represented to Herod, as including threats against himself; and the more to ensnare them, frequent occasions were taken to provoke them to

speak out all the anger and indignation which they had conceived in their minds concerning this matter; which, being carried to Herod, with all the malicious glosses and aggravations which the words could admit, had all the effect which was intended, in exciting in him jealousies against these his two sons, as if they were hatching ill designs against his person. And therefore, whereas hitherto they had held the first place among his sons, as those who were designed next to succeed in the kingdom on their father's death, he brought Antipater, another son of his, to court, and placed him over their heads. This he did in order to humble the two brothers, and bring them to a better temper; but it worked the quite contrary way, in provoking them to greater discontents and more intemperate language than before; of all which notice being constantly carried to Herod, it further exasperated him against them; and Antipater, who was a very crafty as well as a very malicious man, was not wanting to

---

make the advantage of all this for his own interest. This Antipater was Herod's eldest son by Doris his first wife; but she being divorced on his marriage with Mariamne, her son was bred up in private, till he was brought to court on this occasion; and, when fixed there, he soon brought his mother thither also; and from this time, having the crown in his constant view, he became the chief instrument in procuring the destruction of the two brothers, the better to secure his succession to it on his father's death.

Agrippa recalled to Rome: Herod sends Antipater with him.—Agrippa being called to Rome, Sentius Saturninus and Titus Volumnius succeeded him in the government of Syria and Phoenicia; some would have Saturninus only to have been president of the province, and Volumnius no other than as legate, or else as Cæsar's procurator under him; but Josephus speaks of him as in joint commission. But before Agrippa departed, Herod waited on him in Asia, carrying Antipater thither with him, whom he introduced to Agrippa's favour, and sent him to Rome with him, where, by virtue of recommendatory letters from his father, he got into the good grace of Augustus and many of the great men of Rome. But while thus absent he ceased not to carry on his plot against the two brothers, often exciting Herod against them by his letters, which he craftily wrote in a style which,

concealing all manner of malice against the accused, expressed only a concern for his father's safety.

Death of Agrippa: Augustus adopts Tiberius in his room, 12.—Agrippa, on his return to Rome, was sent against the Pannonians, who had revolted; but on his coming against them, the rebels, being frighted by the terror of his name, submitted to such terms of peace as were required: whereupon Agrippa returning fell sick in Campania, and there died. He was the chief favourite of Augustus, and having married Julia, Augustus's only daughter, shared with him in the government, and bore a great part of the burden of it. On his death, Augustus, standing in need of another assistant, made choice of Tiberius, the son of Livia by her former husband, but very unwillingly, as knowing the man: but for want of a better, being necessitated to fix on him, he gave him his daughter Julia, the widow of the deceased, to wife, causing him to divorce his former wife to make room for her.

Herod carries Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome, to accuse them before Augustus: reconciliation effected by Augustus, 11.—The breach between Herod and his sons by Mariamne still growing wider and wider, by the means of those that did ill offices between them, it at length came to that pass, that Herod being no longer able to bear them, took them along with him into Italy, and made this voyage thither on purpose to accuse them before Augustus; and having found him at Aquileia, he there brought the cause before him. His charge against them was, that they carried themselves undutifully and insolently towards him, and had formed designs by poison to take away his life. But of this last charge, wherein lay the main of the accusation, nothing appearing but jealousies and groundless suspicions, Augustus acquitted the young

---

men; and, having reconciled their father to them, sent them all home made fully friends. Herod, on his return to Jerusalem, having called the people together in the temple, related to them the event of his journey, and, according to the power given to him by Augustus, he named Antipater in

the first place to succeed him in the kingdom, and next after him the sons of Mariamne.

Herod completes the building of Cesarea, 10.—Herod, after twelve years' time, having finished his works at Straton's Tower, and brought them all to thorough perfection, he dedicated the place with great solemnity, and in compliment to Augustus, from his name of Cæsar, called it Cæsarea. He there made, by an artificial mole of great expense, an excellent port large enough for a great number of ships to ride safely in: and the city which he there built was, next to Jerusalem, the largest, the best, and most magnificent of all in that country; and when Judæa fell under the Roman yoke, this was mostly made the seat of the procurator who governed that province. After this he built several other cities, as Antipatris, Cypron, and Phasaelis: the first he named from his father, the second from his mother, and the third from Phasael his brother; and from him also he named a large tower which he built at Jerusalem, of equal size with that of Pharus near Alexandria, calling it the Tower of Phasael, of which mention hath been already made.

Jews of Asia and Cyrene obtain an edict in their favour from Augustus, 9.—The Jews of Asia and Cyrene, being oppressed by the heathen inhabitants among whom they dwelt, and not permitted to live according to their own laws and religion, and the privileges formerly granted them in order hereto, addressed themselves to Augustus for relief in this grievance, and obtained from him an edict in their favour, whereby all was decreed for them that they desired.

Fresh breach between Herod and his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus.—Salome, Pheroras, and Antipater, pursuing their plot against the sons of Mariamne, took care that so many false stories were carried to Herod concerning them, and such ill representations of their conduct were from time to time, partly by their agents and partly by themselves, continually made unto him, that at length this caused another open breach between him and the two young princes. For they had by these malicious artifices so filled the old king's head with jealousies and suspicions, that he could neither sleep by night nor enjoy any quiet by day, for fear of these plots and designs which hereby he was made believe those two brothers

were framing against him. To make discovery of the imagined treason, he put all the confidants of the young princes upon the rack, thereby to extort a confession from them of what they knew nothing of. And the torments making some of them for the gaining of ease say anything that might obtain it, false stories were delivered instead of true confessions, some of which bearing hard upon Alexander, he was hereon cast into prison and loaded with chains, and more persons were put to the question to draw from them accusations against him. Alexander, by these practices against him being made desperate, sent four papers to his father, wherein, to create the old tyrant all the vexation and disturbance he was able, he made a confession of plots and

---

treasonable conspiracies which were never as much as thought of, and named Pheroras and Salome, his brother and sister, with Ptolemy and Sapinnius, his two prime ministers, and many others of his chief confidants, as accomplices herein.

This had the designed effect, by creating the old tyrant more perplexity and vexation than ever anything had before; for being naturally of a very suspicious temper, and the consciousness of his tyrannical and oppressive conduct in the government making him more so, he swallowed for truth all that Alexander's papers represented to him; whereon suspecting everybody and trusting nobody he raged like a madman against all, condemning some to death, and tormenting others till they expired on the rack, because they would not confess what they knew nothing of; whereby having turned his palace into a slaughter-house, and filled it all over with confusion and horror, he seemed to act as a madman, and one truly bereaved of his senses.

Second reconciliation effected by Archelaus king of Cappadocia, 8.—While he was in this case vexing and tormenting himself and others, Archelaus king of Cappadocia, whose daughter Alexander had married, came to his court, and by the interposal of his good offices brought all things there again to rights. At his first hearing of the charge against Alexander, he put on a seeming rage against him, that outdid that of Herod, threatening to take his daughter from him, and vented himself in such other

bitter expressions against him, as at length brought Herod to be his advocate, and with tears to plead with him for his son, that his wife might not be taken from him. As soon as Archelaus found Herod in this temper, he came seriously to the matter, and by his wisdom and good address managed it so as to procure another reconciliation between Herod and his sons; and hereon all jealousies and suspicions being laid aside on one part, and all resentment and discontent on the other, peace was again restored to that distracted family. Herod was very sensible of the great kindness Archelaus did him in extricating him out of such great difficulties; and therefore made him great presents in acknowledgment of it, and on his return accompanied him in the journey as far as Antioch, where he reconciled him to Titus Volumnius the Roman governor of Syria, between whom and Archelaus there had been before some difference. This Archelaus was grandson to that Archelaus who reigned in Egypt, and great-grandson to him of the same name that was general of Mithridates's army in his war with Sylla. Antony, from high priest of Comana in Pontus, made him king of Cappadocia, on the account of a criminal conversation he had with Glaphyra his mother.

Herod proceeds to Rome, to report the reconciliation to Augustus.—After this Herod went to Rome to acquaint Augustus with what was done in this affair; for he having written to him of this second breach with his sons, and in his letters accused them of many high crimes and treasonable practices against him, and pressed hard to have them brought to justice, it was thought proper he should make this journey to give him an account of the reconciliation he had made with them.

Robbers of Trachonitis commit fresh ravages under the protection of Syllæus.—While he was thus absent, the thieves of Trachonitis, taking the advantage of it, returned to their old trade, and ravaged with their

---

depredations all the parts of Judæa and Cæle-Syria that lay within their reach; which created Herod great trouble, and at length involved him in those difficulties with Augustus, as had like utterly to have excluded him his favour, as will be hereafter related. It hath been above mentioned how

Herod, having received from Augustus the provinces of Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanæa, set himself to suppress those thieves, which from the mountains and caves of Trachonitis infested all that country. This having fully effected, he forced those freebooters to betake themselves to the culture of their land for their subsistence; but being soon weary of this course of life, on Herod's former going into Italy with his two sons to accuse them before Augustus, they took that opportunity to revolt from him, and return again to their old trade; but being quickly broken and reduced by the king's forces, forty of the ringleaders of them fled into Arabia Petræa, where Syllæus, who governed all under Obodas king of that country, not only received them under his protection, but gave them also a strong fortress in that country, called Repta, for their retreat and safe habitation: from whence on Herod's last going to Rome, they made inroads into Judæa and Cæle-Syria, and miserably ravaged all those countries; and Syllæus, out of the hatred he bore to Herod, countenanced and protected them herein.

The reason of Syllæus's hatred to Herod was, Syllæus would have married Salome, Herod's sister, and he had gained her consent hereto; but Herod requiring that he should first turn Jew, and Syllæus not daring so to do for fear, as he said, lest the Arabians should stone him to death for it on his return, this broke off the match, and Herod forced Salome to marry Alexas, a confident of his; at which Syllæus, contracting a great hatred against Herod, expressed it on all occasions, till at length, in the pursuit of it, he procured his own ruin, as will be hereafter related. This was the same Syllæus who, having undertaken to be guide to *Æ*lius Gallus in his march into the southern parts of Arabia, betrayed him in all that expedition, and made it wholly miscarry thereby, as hath been above related.

Herod punishes the relatives of the robbers.—Herod, on his return, finding his country much disturbed and damaged by these Trachonite thieves, applied himself immediately to redress the mischief, by punishing the authors of it. But not being able to come at them, by reason of the protection given them in Arabia by Syllæus, he resolved to revenge the wrong on those that were related to them. And therefore passing into Trachonitis, and searching through the whole country, he put all to death whom he found there of the families and kindred of any of those who were at Repta; by which those thieves being exceedingly exasperated, they in

revenge hereof renewed their inroads in a desperate manner, and damaged the country more than ever before.

Further rectification of the Roman calendar by Augustus.—The pontifices at Rome having for thirty-six years, from the time that Julius Cæsar reformed the Roman calendar, made every third year a leap-year instead of every fourth, by this error three days were now added to the Roman year more than should be which being observed, Augustus this year, as high priest, rectified the mistake; and, for the

---

bringing of all to rights, ordered first, that for the twelve ensuing years no leap-year should be at all; and secondly, that after the expiration of the said twelve years, the leap-years should thenceforth be made every fourth year; by the first part of which order the three superadded days being flung out, and by the second the leap-years fixed to their true times, according to Julius Cæsar's institution, the form of this year hath ever since regularly proceeded, and is, under the name of the Old Style, still in use among us even to this day, as hath been already above mentioned. At the same time that Augustus made this reformation, a decree passed the senate and people of Rome, that the month hitherto called Sextilis should thenceforth from his name be called Augustus, and so it hath been ever since in the Roman calendar, and all others that are formed from it.

Dedication of the new temple at Jerusalem.—The re-edifying of the temple of Jerusalem by Herod being finished at the end of nine years and a half from his first beginning of the building, he celebrated with great pomp and expense the dedication of it; and the day appointed for it falling in with the day of the year when he first received the crown, this augmented the solemnity. And it was very proper and requisite that this house should be thus repaired and fitted up in its best dress, when he that was Lord thereof was coming to it: for within less than four years after this Christ was born. This year died Horace the poet, and Mæcenas his great patron, who next Agrippa was the greatest favourite of Augustus, and was always a true and faithful counsellor to him.

Herod revenges himself upon the robbers of Trachonitis, and is falsely accused to Augustus by Syllæus, 7.—Herod, being still vexed by the Trachonite thieves who had taken shelter in Arabia, applied to Saturninus and Volumnius, the Roman governors of Syria, with complaint against Syllæus for his protecting of them; and at the same time commenced a suit against him before the said governors for a debt of sixty talents, which Syllæus had borrowed of him for the service of king Obodas. To make answer to all this, Syllæus was forced to appear at Berytus before the said governors; and there, on Herod's having made good his allegations against him, to stave off further proceedings at that time, he bound himself by oath within thirty days to pay the said debt, and deliver up all fugitives to Herod that were within the dominions of Obodas. But when the day came, he performed neither of these engagements, but went away to Rome. Whereon Herod applied again to Saturninus and Volumnius, and, having obtained their license to right himself by arms, marched into Arabia with an army, and destroyed Repta, the nest of those thieves, and slew as many of them as there fell into his hands. While he was doing this, one Nacebus, an Arabian captain, coming to the assistance of those thieves, Herod gave him battle, and in the conflict slew him, with twenty-five of his men, and put the rest to flight. And after having thus revenged himself on those thieves and their abettors, he marched back again without doing any hurt to the country; and on his return placed three

---

thousand Idumæans in Trachonitis, to keep the thieves of that country from any more exercising their usual depredations. Syllæus at Rome, having received an account of all this, immediately went to Augustus with a lamentable account, exceedingly magnifying the matter, as setting forth, beyond all truth, that Herod had invaded Arabia with a great army, ravaged and ruined the country, pillaged Repta of a vast treasure there laid up, and slain two thousand five hundred Arabians of the first rank, and with them Nacebus their general, his friend and kinsman; at which Augustus being exceedingly offended, wrote Herod a very sharp letter, and for some time, on this account, Herod was absolutely out of his favour, till at length he became informed of the exact truth of the matter.

Death of Obodas king of the Nabathæan Arabs: succession of Aretas.—In the interim died Obodas, king of the Nabathæan Arabs, being poisoned by Syllæus. He had laid the plot for his death before he left Arabia, and his whole business at Rome was to make an interest with Augustus for the succession, when the avoidance should happen. But the Nabathæans, without making any application to Augustus for a new king, or waiting his pleasure at all about it, immediately placed on the throne of the deceased one Æneas, who afterwards, by a name very common among the Arabian kings, was called Hareth, in Greek Aretas. The country where he reigned was Arabia Petræa, so called from Petra the metropolis; and the inhabitants being descended from Nebaioth, one of the sons of Ishmael, were from him named Nabathæans.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus commences his Roman history.—Dionysius of Halicarnassus this year began to write his Roman History. He continued it down, in twenty books, to the time of the first Punic war, and there ended it where Polybius began. But of these twenty books only eleven now remain, the rest being lost. It is written in Greek, and is the fullest and most accurate of all that have been written of the Roman affairs. He came to Rome twenty-two years before he began the composure of this book, a great part of which time he spent in collecting materials for it.

Tiberius retires from Rome to Rhodes, 6.—Tiberius, the son-in-law of Augustus, on some discontent, for which various causes are given by historians, left Rome and retired to Rhodes, on pretence of improving himself in that place by his studies; where he continued about seven years in a private life. He had a great difficulty in the obtaining of Augustus's consent for this retirement, but greater afterwards to gain his permission to return.

Renewal of the quarrel between Herod and his two sons by Mariamne.—Herod at this time was involved in great perplexities: his quarrel with the sons of Mariamne again revived, and at the same time being out of favour with Augustus on the account of Syllæus's information, the Trachonites, taking the advantage hereof, in conjunction with the Arabians, overpowered Herod's Idumæan guards which he had placed in

that country, and began again their usual depredations; and Herod durst not right himself on them, for fear of further displeasing of Augustus.

To remove the prejudices which Augustus had conceived against him, he had sent two embassies to Rome; but neither of them could obtain an audience from him. Of which these thieves having an account, were encouraged thereby to carry farther on their ravages against him; which at length growing to that height of oppression as to be no longer borne, he resolved to make trial of a third embassy, and employed Nicolaus Damascenus herein.

Nicolaus Damascenus discovers to Augustus the falseness of the accusation against Herod: execution of Syllæus.—On the arrival of Nicolaus at Rome, being informed how much Augustus was prepossessed with Syllæus's information against Herod, he durst not directly apply to him about that matter: but finding there ambassadors from the Nabathæans, he joined with them as their advocate, purposing in the pleading of their cause to bring in that of Herod's by the by, and thus by a side wind to come at the clearing of what was alleged against him. These ambassadors were then at Rome on a two-fold account; the first, to compliment Augustus from their new king; and the second to accuse Syllæus of the poisoning of Obodas, and many other crimes which they had to object against him. As to the first part of their commission, Augustus would give them no audience, though they brought very submissive letters from Aretas, and very valuable presents, being much displeased with him, in that he had entered on the government without his consent. But as to the other part, that is, their accusation against Syllæus, he appointed them a day for the hearing of it. In the management of which cause Nicolaus being the chief speaker, after having laid open his other crimes, which were very many, he at length charged him with being guilty of a great affront upon Augustus himself, by audaciously imposing on him lies and calumnies, and instanced in the account which he had given of the action of Herod against the Trachonites at Repta, which he averred was all false from one end to the other: at which Augustus being startled, bid him make out that, waving all other particulars; which Nicolaus having done, by laying before him the whole truth of the

matter as above related, and Syllæus, then present and confronted, not being able to contradict any one point hereof, Augustus gave sentence against him, that he should be carried back into Arabia, and made pay his debt to Herod, and after that be put to death; which was accordingly executed upon him, he being beheaded at Rome, as Strabo, who lived in those times, assures us. Josephus tells us, that when he was carried back into Arabia, he there refused to do anything of what he had been enjoined by Augustus; and therefore, being hereof accused by Antipater in the behalf of Herod his father, he was ordered to be again brought to Rome; and then most likely was it that he was put to death in the manner as Strabo relates.

Herod obtains permission from Augustus to proceed against his two sons.—Augustus, being hereby again reconciled to Herod, was grieved that he had given so much of his ear to Syllæus's false accusations against him; and therefore, to make him amends, he had thought of

---

expelling Aretas out of the kingdom of the Nabathæans, which he had taken possession of without his consent, and giving it to Herod: but while he was thinking of it, letters were delivered to him from Herod, which made him alter his purpose. For Antipater, Salome, and Pheroras continuing still to carry on their former plot against the sons of Mariamne, for the reasons already mentioned, they filled the old king's head so full of jealousies, suspicions, and false accusations against them, and thereby so thoroughly possessed him of their being in a conspiracy against his life, that although nothing was proved against them, but their intention of making their escape from him into some other country, where they might live out of the reach of his tyrannical cruelty, yet on the proof of this one particular only, believing all the rest, he resolved on their destruction, and wrote to Augustus for the obtaining of his leave accordingly to proceed against them, setting forth to him all that he had to lay to their charge and he sent Volumnius his marshal de camp, and Olympus another of his friends, to Rome with his letters, wherein all this was contained, giving them in direction, that in case they found Augustus, by the means of Nicolaus's embassy, reconciled to him, then to deliver the letters, but not otherwise. And therefore on their arrival, finding that all was again set right with Augustus, they presented him the

letters, which being full of invectives and bitter expressions against his sons, Augustus, on the perusal of them, considering his age and present misfortunes about his children, thought it not proper in these circumstances to burden him with the care of another kingdom; and therefore, retracting his resolutions as to this matter, he sent for the Nabathæan ambassadors, accepted their presents, and confirmed Aretas in his kingdom. However, he wrote a kind letter to Herod; wherein having condoled his misfortune as to his sons, he gave him full liberty and power to proceed against them according as their crime should be found to deserve, advising him to call a council at Berytus, and there with the assistance of the governors of the neighbouring provinces, together with Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and other friends and persons of honour, to hear and finally determine the whole matter.

Trial and execution of Alexander and Aristobulus.—Herod, being much pleased with this letter, immediately summoned a council to meet at the place mentioned, calling thither to it Saturninus and Volumnius, governors of Syria, and all others whom Augustus's letter directed him to, excepting only Archelaus king of Cappadocia, who, being father-in-law to Alexander, was thought by Herod too much engaged by that relation to be an impartial judge in this matter. The council being sat, Herod accused his sons before them with that vehemence, and laid so many things to their charge, that the majority, being overborne thereby, passed sentence of condemnation against them, and left it to Herod to execute it as he should think fit. Whereon sending them to Sebaste he caused them there both to be strangled. And thus ended the life of these unfortunate brothers, who, by too much expressing their resentments for their mother's death, provoked those who had been the chief authors of it, at length, by like artifices to procure theirs, in which tragedy Salome, the sister of Herod, acted the chiefest part; who, being a very crafty and malicious woman, seldom stood out where

---

any mischief was to be done. She governed herself chiefly by Herod's inclinations; and whatsoever wicked purposes she found him intent upon, she humoured him, and always concurred with him therein; and by these wicked means she constantly maintained her interest with that bloody

tyrant, and had the first place in his favour and confidence as long as he lived.

Zacharias sees the vision in the temple.—At this time Zacharias saw the vision in the temple, of which we have an account in the first chapter of St. Luke, as he there officiated in his course. For the fuller understanding hereof, it is to be observed, that the priests, according to David's institution, being divided into twenty-four courses, each course attended at Jerusalem its week; and every course being divided into seven classes, each class served its day at the temple; and each priest of that class had his part in the service appointed him by lot; and therefore Zacharias, being of the course of Abia, came up to Jerusalem in the week of his course, there to officiate with the others of it in his office; and when the day of his service came, his lot was to offer incense upon the altar of incense in the holy place; and while he was officiating in that service the angel Gabriel appeared to him, and foretold to him the birth of his son John the Baptist, and the ministry on which he should be sent, whereof we have the history in the said first chapter of St. Luke.

Antipater conspires with Pheroras to poison Herod: seditious conduct of the Pharisees, 5.—The sons of Mariamne being dead, and Antipater having nothing now that stood in his way to the crown but the life of Herod, to get rid of him was the thing next in design; in order whereunto, Antipater entered into a conspiracy with Pheroras and others for the despatching of him by poison: for Pheroras, though he had always found Herod a kind brother to him, was at this time very much out with him on the account of his wife which he had lately married. On the death of his former wife, Herod offered him one of his daughters, which he had by Mariamne; but he, being deeply smitten with the love of a maid-servant in his house, married her, and rejected for her sake the king's daughter; whereon she was given to Phasael, the son of Phasael, Herod's elder brother. However Herod, after some time, to make up the difference, offered him the other daughter which he had by Mariamne, and Pheroras, to avoid absolutely breaking with him, consented hereto, and bound himself by an oath to solemnize the marriage within a month; but at the month's end he refused to perform his engagement, not finding in his heart to put away the wife he had lately married, so much he doated upon her. This widening the breach between the

two brothers, Antipater took the advantage hereof to engage Pheroras in his designs. And there was another occasion which did set them further at difference. About this time the whole nation of the Jews being called upon to swear allegiance to Augustus and the king, the Pharisees, to the number of above seven thousand persons, refused the oath in the same manner as they had done before, upon a notion that it was against their law to

---

yield allegiance to any prince that was not of the stock of Israel. Hereon Herod imposed a fine upon them for the punishment of the contumacy: this Pheroras's wife, out of the zeal she had for that sect, paid all down for them: in requital hereof, those men (who by false pretences had gotten among the vulgar the opinion of a prophetic spirit) gave out, that God had determined the transferring of the kingdom from the line of Herod to Pheroras and his issue by this woman, which occasioned some seditious discourses and practices among the people: of which Herod having gotten information, chiefly by the means of Salome, several of the Pharisees were taken up upon it, and put to death. Herod hereon calling a council of his friends, did therein set forth all this matter, and charging the original of the whole of it upon Pheroras's wife, commanded him to put her away, telling him that he must either disown that woman for a wife, or never more expect to be owned by him as a brother. To this Pheroras answered, that nothing should ever make him renounce his beloved wife; that he would rather die than live without her. Herod, grievously resenting this answer, forbade Pheroras his house, and commanded Antipater, Doris his mother, and all the rest of his family, to have no more conversation or correspondence with him or his wife; which as much angering Pheroras as Herod was angered against him, he struck in the closer with Antipater in his worst designs, and made himself a party with him in the plot to poison the old king; and that both of them might be out of the way when it should be executed, thereby the better to avoid being suspected of it, Antipater procured to be called to Rome, there to attend upon Augustus, and Pheroras gladly laid hold of the commands laid upon him by Herod to retire to his tetrarchy, swearing never more to return as long as Herod should live, and he made his oath good; for although Herod, in a sickness which a little after befell him, sent earnestly

to speak with him, he would not come at him. But notwithstanding, a little after Pheroras falling sick, Herod made him a kind visit, and with great tenderness lamented his case, which soon after grew so bad that he died of it.

Extraordinary discovery of the plot after the death of Pheroras.— After his death, two of his freed men made heavy complaint to Herod, that he had been poisoned by his wife. Herod on this making strict inquiry, and putting several to the torture, at length came hereby to the discovery of the plot which was laid against himself by Antipater, Pheroras, and others, to take him off by poison. This poison one Antiphilus, a friend of Antipater's, had got prepared at Alexandria, by a brother of his that there practised physic, and from thence brought it to Jerusalem, and there delivered it to Theudion the brother of Doris, Antipater's mother, who sent it by a freed man of Antipater's to Pheroras, who had undertaken to get it to be given to Herod; and he delivered it to his wife to lay up till there should be an opportunity of executing what was intended by it. All which being made out by clear evidence, Herod sent for Pheroras's wife, who confessed the whole, acknowledging that she had the poison delivered to her to keep, but that Pheroras, repenting of the plot, on Herod's kind visiting of him in his last sickness, ordered her to fetch the poison and cast into the fire before his face; and that

---

she accordingly did so, excepting only that she reserved a small part for herself, to make use of it if there should be any occasion. Hereby it was clearly made out, that Antipater, having procured the death of his two brothers to make his way to the crown, had now for the same end laid a most wicked plot for the poisoning of his father.

Temple of Janus shut at Rome.—While this was a doing in Judæa, the temple of Janus was shut up at Rome. Their usage was to lay open its gates in time of war, and to shut them up in times of peace. They had been shut only five times since the first building of Rome. The first time was in the reign of Numa; the second after the end of the first Punic war; the third, after Augustus had vanquished Antony and Cleopatra, and reduced thereby

the whole Roman empire to a quiet submission to him, which happened in B. C. 29; the fourth time, four years after, that is, in B. C. 25, on Augustus's return from the war which he had with the Cantabrians in Spain; and the fifth time was in this year, under the reign of the same Augustus. For at this time there was a general peace all over the world, and it continued for twelve years together; which was a proper prelude for ushering in his coming who was the Prince of Peace, Christ our Lord.

The angel Gabriel sent to the Virgin Mary.—For in the sixth month after the angel Gabriel had appeared to Zacharias in the temple, he was sent to Nazareth, a city of Galilee, to Mary, a virgin of the house of David, lately espoused to Joseph, of the same lineage, to declare to her the good tidings, that of her was to be born the Son of God; whereon being overshadowed by the Holy Ghost, she conceived thereby, and at the end of this year Christ the Saviour of the world was born of her.

Issuing of the decree of Augustus for surveying the Roman empire.—Augustus having issued out a decree for the taking of a description or survey of the whole Roman empire, such as should contain an account of all the persons, possessions, and estates therein, and the taxes issuable from them, it was this year executed in Judæa, in the manner as St. Luke in his Gospel relates. Such an account used to be taken of the citizens of Rome every fifth year, and they had officers of purpose appointed for it called censors. Their business was to take an account, and make a registration, of all the Roman citizens, their wives and children, with the age, qualities, trades, offices, and estates real and personal, of all of them. Augustus first extended this to the provinces; and three times during his reign he caused the like description to be made of all the provinces of the Roman empire. The first was in the year when Octavianus Augustus himself was the sixth time, and M. Agrippa the second time, consul, that is, in the year before the Christian era 28; the second time in the consulship of C. Marcius Censorinus and C. Asinius Gallus, that is, in the year before the Christian era 8. And the last time, in the consulship of Sextus Pompeius Nepos and

Sextus Apuleius Nepos, that is, in the year of the Christian era 14. In the first and last time he executed this with the assistance of a colleague; but the second time he did it by himself alone, and this is the description which St. Luke refers to.

Three years to be allowed for the execution of the decree.—The decree concerning it issued out the year I have mentioned, that is, in the eighth year before the Christian era, which was three years before that in which Christ was born. So long had the taking of this description or survey been carrying on through Syria, Cæle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa, before it came to Bethlehem. And when it came thither, Joseph and Mary his wife were called from Nazareth in Galilee, the place of their habitation, to this city of Bethlehem, the city of David, to which, as being of the house and lineage of David, they did originally belong; that there, as citizens of that place, they, their circumstances and estates, might be described and registered among those who were of the same house and family with them; and while on this occasion they tarried there was it that Mary was delivered, and the promised seed, Christ our Lord, by whom the world was to be saved, was then born of her in that place, in the manner as in the Gospels is related. That we allow three years for the execution of this decree can give no just reason for exception; for supposing the execution of it in every province of the Roman empire to have been committed to the governor of it (and that it was so in Syria, to Sentius Saturninus the Roman president of it, Tertullian doth attest), to carry this work through all the countries that made up the province of Syria, that is, through Syria, Cæle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa, three years' time was little enough for it. Joab was nine months and twenty days in taking an account only of ten of the tribes of Israel, and of no more in them than of the men that were fit for the wars. But the account taken by the decree of Augustus at the time of our Saviour's birth extended to all manner of persons, and also to their possessions, estates, qualities, and other circumstances. And when a description and survey like this last mentioned was ordered by William the Conqueror to be taken for England only (I mean that of the Doomsday Book), it was six years in making; and the Roman province of Syria was much more than twice as big as all England.

No tax paid by the Jews to the Romans on account of the decree for twelve years afterwards.—But although this description or survey was at this time made for Judæa, and every man's estates estimated and valued according as used to be done by the Romans for the laying of their taxes, yet no payment of any tax was there made upon it till the twelfth year after. Till then Herod, and after him Archelaus his son, reigning in Judæa, no taxes were then paid by the Jews of that country, but to these princes only: but when in the said twelfth year Archelaus was deposed, and Judæa put under the command and government of a Roman procurator, then first were taxes paid the Romans for that country, Publius Sulpitius Quirinius, who in Greek is called Cyrenius, being at that time governor, that is, president of Syria.

If it be asked, for what reason then was this survey or description of Judæa made, if no taxes were then to be paid upon it? the answer is, Augustus was then at work on the composure of a book containing such a survey and description of the whole Roman empire, as that which our Doomsday Book doth for England. In order whereto, his decree for this survey or description we now treat of was made to extend to the depending kingdoms, as well as the provinces of the empire, that so he might have a full account of both for the thorough completing of this work. However, taxes were by the people of the provinces only paid to the Romans, and those of the dependent kingdoms to their own proper princes. What tributes the Roman emperors had from these dependent kingdoms were from the princes of them, not from the people. The people paid their taxes to their princes, and the princes their tribute to the Roman emperors. Of the book which Augustus made out of the surveys and descriptions which were at this time returned to him out of every province and depending kingdom of the Roman empire, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion Cassius, make mention, and represent it to be very near of the same nature with our Doomsday Book above mentioned.

Summing up of the matter: the survey of the Roman empire whilst Sentius Saturninus was governor of Syria, to be distinguished from the levying of the tax when Cyrenius was governor. — Putting all this together, the sum and series of this matter appears to be as followeth:

Augustus, three years before the birth of Christ, issued out a decree for the making of a general survey or description of the whole Roman empire, and of every province and depending state and kingdom in it, and committed it to the care of the governor of each province to have it executed; and Sentius Saturninus, being then president of Syria, was charged with it for that province, and the depending kingdoms, states, and tetrarchies that were within it; who, having carried it on through all other parts of his province, three years after the date of the said decree, executed it at Bethlehem, at the time when Christ was there born. But then, though the survey and description was made for Judæa, as well as for all other parts of that province, and every man's possessions there were estimated and valued, yet no tax was there laid or levied according to that valuation, till the deposing of Archelaus, and the reducing of Judæa under the Roman government, in the twelfth year after, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria. So that there were two distinct particular actions in this matter, done at two distinct and different times: the first, the making the description or survey; and the second, the laying and levying the tax thereupon. And what is in the first verse of the second chapter of St. Luke is to be understood of the former of these; and what is in the second verse, only of the latter. And this reconciles that evangelist with Josephus: for it is manifest from that author, that Cyrenius was not governor of

---

Syria, or any tax levied upon Judæa, till Archelaus was deposed, and that country brought under a Roman procurator; which was above eleven years after Augustus's decree for making of the description above mentioned was executed at Bethlehem. And therefore the making of this description cannot be that which was done while Cyrenius was governor of Syria: but the other particular, that is, the laying and levying the tax thereupon, certainly was: for then first was a Roman governor under the name and style of procurator of Judæa put over that nation, and then first were they forced to pay taxes to the Roman emperor; of which a full account is given in Josephus. And therefore if the second verse of the second chapter of St. Luke be so rendered as to imply that the levying of the tax, according to the description mentioned in the former verse, was first executed while Cyrenius was

governor of Syria, this will remove all difficulties; and the text can well bear this interpretation.

Date of the birth of Christ. —This year in which Christ was born is, according to the exactest computation (that of Archbishop Usher), the four thousandth from the creation, which falls in exactly with the time where an old tradition of the Jews placeth the beginning of the days of the Messiah: for it saith, that the world was to last six thousand years, of which two thousand years were before the Law, and two thousand years under the Law, and the last two thousand years were to be under the Messiah. This tradition is said to be of great antiquity, and is still retained with great veneration among that people, as one of the most authentical of this sort. But its pretending to foretell when the world shall end, which the Scriptures tell us God hath reserved as a secret to himself, sufficiently proves the vanity of it. However, since the Jews give such credit thereto, as to place it amongst the most authentic of their traditions, it serves against them, 1st, to prove the time when, according to their own doctrine, the Messiah was to come; 2ndly, to convict them of their gross and most perverse infidelity, in that whereas Christ having been born in the four thousandth year of the creation, from which, according to this tradition, the time of his appearance was to begin, they have now suffered above one thousand seven hundred years to pass, and have not yet acknowledged him. In answer hereto, they confess that the four thousandth year of the creation was the time from whence the days of the Messiah were to begin, and that this was the very time which was pointed at by the prophecies of the Old Testament for the time of his coming; but say, that the fulfilling of them hath been delayed by reason of their iniquities. But this is contrary to a general received doctrine among them; for they hold, that when God foretells them of evil to come, he doth not always bring it to pass; for on the repentance of sinners he often repents of the evil denounced against them, as in the case of the Ninevites, and remits his threats, and pardons the offenders. But that when he foretells good things to come, he never fails of their performance. And for this reason, in the trial of a prophet, they make it a certain sign of a false prophet, if the good which he foretells be not exactly accomplished, but not so in a prophecy of evil things:

for they say, that God often abates of his threats, but never of his promises. And indeed there is this reason for it, that promises transfer a right to them to whom they are made to expect their performance; but threats give no right to any one to demand their execution, but leave it still in the power of the threatener to drop or abate whatsoever he had threatened, according as he shall see cause for the same.

Visit of the Magi to Bethlehem, and slaughter of the Innocents, 4. —Wise men from the East, of the sect of the Magians, following the guidance of a star, came and worshipped Christ at Bethlehem; and thereon followed Herod's design to destroy him, the flight of Joseph and Mary with him into Egypt to prevent it, and the murder of the innocents at Bethlehem, in the manner as related by St. Matthew in his Gospel. Macrobius, a writer of the fifth century, tells us, that among these innocents Herod slew a young son of his own; and that thereon Augustus made this reflection, that it was better to be Herod's hog than his son. But it is not likely that Herod should have a child so young as those innocents at the age he was then of; the death of Antipater, which happened about that time, considered with that of Alexander and Aristobulus, formerly put to death by him, may rather be thought to have given occasion for that sarcasm.

Antipater returns from Rome: his execution. —For Antipater, being returned from Rome into Judæa, without knowing what had been discovered against him, was on his arrival arrested and taken into custody; and being before Quintilius Varus, then newly arrived in those parts to succeed Sentius Saturninus in the presidency of Syria, convicted of his treasonable designs for the poisoning of his father, had sentence of condemnation passed upon him; which being confirmed by Augustus, he was accordingly put to death upon it.

Death of Herod the Great. —Five days after the execution of Antipater died Herod himself, in the seventieth year of his age, after he had reigned, from the time of his being declared king at Rome, thirty-seven years, and from the death of Antigonus, thirty-four. His death happened towards the end of this year, or else in the beginning of the next; for it appears from Josephus, that the paschal feast, which was always celebrated

in the beginning of the spring, followed soon after. Knowing the hatred the Jews had for him, he concluded aright, that there would be no lamentation at his death, but rather gladness and rejoicing for it all the country over. To prevent this, he framed a project and resolution in his mind, which was one of the horridest and most wicked, perchance, that ever entered into the heart of man. For having issued out a summons to all the principal and eminentest Jews of his kingdom, commanding their appearance at Jericho (where he then lay), on pain of death, at a day appointed; on their arrival thither, he shut them all up in the Circus, and then sending for Salome his sister, and Alexas her husband, commanded them, that as soon as he was dead, they should send in the soldiers upon them, and put them all to the sword: for this, said he, will provide mourners for my funeral all over the land, and make the Jews in every family thereof lament at

---

my death, whether they will or no; and when he had adjured them hereto, some hours after he gave up the ghost and died. But Salome and Alexas, not being wicked enough to do what they had been made solemnly to promise, rather chose to break their obligation than make themselves the executioners of so bloody and horrid a design. And therefore, as soon as Herod was dead, they opened the Circus, and permitted all that were shut up in it to return again, every man to his own home, without any wrong done to any of them. The history of this his most wicked design takes off all objection against the truth of his murdering the innocents, which may be made from the incredibility of so barbarous and horrid an act: for this thoroughly shows, that there can nothing be imagined so cruel, barbarous, and horrid, which this man was not capable of doing. In most of his actions, as above described in this history, may be read the character of a most bloody, cruel, and wicked tyrant, but in none more than in these two.

Terrible nature of his disease. —The disease of which Herod died, and the misery which he suffered under it, plainly show, that the hand of God was then in a very signal manner upon him for the punishment of them. The account which Josephus, and from him Eusebius, give us of it, is as followeth :-" Herod's disease grew yet more and more bitterly violent, God exacting his vengeance upon him for the punishment of the many great

enormities he had been guilty of. He had a slow fever, not showing itself so much to the outward touch and feeling, as more grievously burning him within. Moreover, he had a strong canine appetite for meat, which nothing could satisfy. His bowels were ulcerated, especially the colon gut, from whence he suffered grievous pains. His feet being swollen, from thence issued forth a phlegmatic and shining humour. Moreover, the disease had seized the lower part of his belly, and an ulcer broke out in his genitals, breeding worms and lice; besides he had a shortness of breath, and that very stinking and unsavoury. And he had also a troublesome flux of rheum with it, and an asthmatic difficulty of breathing. And the patient not having strength to bear all this, there followed a convulsion of all the parts of his body. And thus he died, in horrible pain and torment, smitten of God in this signal and grievous manner for his many enormous iniquities." And that most others of the great persecutors of God's people have died the like manner of death hath been already observed.

Family of Herod. —Herod had nine wives, and by them many children. Three of his sons he put to death. Of the rest of his posterity I shall mention only such as are named in the Scriptures; and they are these following:-Of Malthace, one of his wives, he had Archelaus and Herod Antipas; by Cleopatra, another of his wives, he had Philip; and by Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high priest, Herod Philip. Aristobulus, whom Herod put to death, had by Berenice his wife, king Agrippa (who slew James, the brother of John, and afterwards was smitten of God at Cæsarea), and Herodias his sister: she first married

---

Herod Philip her uncle, and afterwards eloped from him to marry Herod Antipas his brother. By her first husband she had Salome, who danced off John Baptist's head, for reproving Herod Antipas for his incestuous adultery with her mother. Of this king Agrippa I. was born king Agrippa II. (before whom Paul pleaded his cause), and his two sisters Drusilla and Berenice, the first of which was wife to Felix the procurator or governor of Judæa, and the other was present with her brother at Cæsarea, when Paul's cause was there heard before him. Herod's kingdom, after his death, was divided between Archelaus, Herod Antipas, and Philip, his above-mentioned sons.

Archelaus had Judæa, Idumæa, and Samaria; Philip, Auronitis, Trachonitis, Paneas, and Batanæa; and Herod Antipas, Galilee and Peræa.

IV. JEWISH HISTORY FROM THE ACCESSION OF ARCHELAUS TO THE DEATH OF CHRIST, B. C. 3 TO A. D. 33.

Accession of Archelaus to the ethnarchy of Judæa, Idumea, and Samaria: flight of the Holy Family into Egypt, 3. — After Herod's death, Joseph, being warned by an angel in a dream, arose, and took the young child and his mother, and returned out of Egypt into the land of Israel; and there he and Mary his wife settled again at Nazareth in Galilee, the place of their former habitation; and there Jesus grew up and dwelt with them, till the time that he entered on his public ministration.

And having thus brought down this work to the birth of our Saviour, and here given a full account of it, I should leave what henceforth ensues to the Christian ecclesiastical historian, to whom it properly belongs; but that the connection of the Old Testament with the New not seeming fully to be made, but where the grand prophecies concerning the Messiah, which we have in the Old Testament, are completed in the New, I am necessitated, so far as this requires, to go into the times of the Gospel, but shall treat of them only in respect to the events in which these prophecies are fulfilled, and such particulars as lead to the explication of them, and that in so short a manner as I can. For a fuller history of those times, I refer the learned reader to the centuriators of Magdeburgh and Baronius's Annals; and the English reader to the Ecclesiastical History of Mr. Laurence Echard, which is the best of its kind in the English tongue for the times which it treats of.

[In B. c. 2] the Armenians rebelling, and the Parthians confederating with them for their support, Augustus sent Caius Cæsar his grandson, a youth only of nineteen years old, into the East against them: who from Egypt (where he first went), passing through Judæa in his way towards Armenia, would not offer any sacrifice at Jerusalem, expressing by this refusal the

contempt which he had for the Jewish religion; which Augustus approving of, commended him for it.

Commencement of the Christian era, A. D. 1. —The Christian era began four years after the birth of Christ. How this era was first brought

into use by Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century, and how he mistook in the wrong placing the beginning of it, hath been already shown in the preface to the first part of this History. As I have hitherto reckoned by the years before the beginning of this era, so henceforth I shall reckon by the years after it.

In A. D. 2, Tiberius was recalled from Rhodes in the eighth year of his retreat thither, and returned again to Rome.

In A. D. 3, Caius Cæsar having received a wound in Armenia, on his return from thence, died of it at Limyra, a city of Lycia. Lucius his brother, having been sent into Spain, died at Marseilles in his way thither the year before. They were the sons of M. Agrippa, by Julia, Augustus's daughter; and therefore, being his grandsons, were adopted by him, and intended for his successors in the empire. For which reason, it is supposed, their death was procured by the fraud of Livia, the wife of Augustus, to make way for Tiberius, her son by her former husband, to be his successor in their stead.

In A. D. 4, the Julian calendar, on the leaving out of the third superfluous year, in manner as hath been above related, was again brought into due order, and hath so continued ever since in the countries where it is observed.

Augustus adopts Tiberius as his successor, A. D. 4. —Augustus, on the death of Caius and Lucius his grandsons, adopted Tiberius, and thereby pointed him out for his successor in the empire. Livia had another son by her former husband, called Drusus, who died ten years before, while in the time of his second consulship he was following the German wars. He having left behind him a son of great worth, named Germanicus, Augustus, when he adopted Tiberius, at the same time forced him to adopt this Germanicus.

Deposition and banishment of Archelaus, A. D. 7, 8. —Archelaus having committed many great and tyrannical maladministrations in his government, ambassadors came to Rome, both from the Jews and the Samaritans, to accuse him hereof before Augustus, whereon he was called to Rome to answer for them. In A. D. 8, on his appearing there, not being able to justify himself before the emperor, but being found guilty of all that was charged upon him, he was deposed from his principality, had all his goods condemned to be confiscated, and he himself was banished to Vienna in Gallia, after he had reigned in Judæa ten years.

Cyrenius appointed president of Syria, and Coponius procurator of Judæa. —Hereon Augustus, having appointed Publius Sulpitius Quirinus (who according to the Greek way of writing that name is by St. Luke called Cyrenius) to be president of Syria, sent him into the East to seize the country which Archelaus had hitherto reigned over, and reduce it to the form of a Roman province; and Coponius, a Roman of the equestrian order, was sent with him to take on him the

---

government of it, under the title of procurator of Judæa. On their arrival at Jerusalem, they seized all Archelaus's goods, according to the sentence of confiscation passed against him by Augustus, and having in a great part abolished the Jewish policy, established the Roman in its stead, and Coponius took on him, in the name of Augustus, the administration of it, but still in subordination to the president of Syria, Judæa being made a part of that province. After this, the power of life and death was taken out of the hands of the Jews, and placed wholly in the Roman procurator and his subordinate officers; and taxes were thenceforth paid immediately to the Roman emperor. The description and registration of every man's possession was made eleven years before by Sentius Saturninus; but the laying and levying of the taxes according thereto was not put in execution till that country was reduced into the form of a Roman province by Cyrenius, then governor of Syria, in the manner I have mentioned. The raising of these taxes caused great disturbances among the Jews, many opposing it, some under the notion of an universal liberty, that they were to have no king but God; and others, that they were not to own a king, by paying taxes to him,

that was of a foreign nation, because the law commanded "not to set a stranger, which is not of their brethren, to be king over them." The first was headed by one Judas of Galilee, a turbulent and seditious man, of whom mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. v. ver. 37); but he was soon cut off, and all his followers suppressed. But the other notion of not owning a foreigner to be their king still remained: for it was a doctrine held and taught by the Pharisees, the predominant sect of the Jews, and from them imbibed by the generality of that people. And hence it was that in the time of our Saviour's ministration they had made it a question, Whether they were to pay tribute to Cæsar or no? for though they were forced to submit hereto, yet as to the legality of the thing, they generally held it in the negative. And this was the reason that the publicans, that is, those of that nation who were employed under the Romans for the gathering of those taxes, were in so great odium and detestation among them; for they looked on their employment as a constant breach of their law, and them for their acting therein as apostates from it, and the worst of men, such as were not to be drunk or eaten with, or admitted to common conversation. And hence it is, that in the Gospels we find publicans and sinners so often joined together, and our Saviour so often reproached for conversing with them.

Annas appointed to the high priesthood. —At the same time that Cyrenius was in Judea, on the settling this matter of the tax, he deposed Joazar, the son of Boethus, from being high priest, and appointed Annas, the son of Seth, to succeed him in that office, in which he continued several years.

Christ's visit to the temple, in his twelfth year. —In the same year while this was a doing, our Saviour, being then in the twelfth year of his age, went up to Jerusalem with Joseph and Mary to the passover, and there first appeared in his prophetic office, and the business of his

---

Father on which he was sent, in sitting among the doctors in the temple, and there declaring the truth of God unto them. This was his first signal coming to his temple foretold by the prophet Malachi, whereby, according to the prophet Haggai, the glory of this latter house was made to be much greater

than that of the former. He had been personally there before, but now first ministerially, as the messenger of the covenant, whereby the messages of life and salvation were revealed unto men.

Fulfilment of the prophecy of Jacob, respecting the coming of Shiloh. —And on this coming of our Lord to the temple, began to be fulfilled that signal prophecy of Jacob, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come." That by Shiloh is here meant the Messiah is on all hands agreed: and at the time of this his coming, Cyrenius having reduced Judæa into the form of a Roman province, and instead of their former governors of their own nation placed a Roman procurator over them; then began the fulfilling of this prophecy, which sixty-two years after was fully completed in the destruction of Jerusalem; for then, that is, at the time of this reduction of Judæa to a Roman province, the sceptre and the lawgiver from between their feet began to be taken from them; of which in the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem by Titus they were wholly deprived, and have never since had them again restored.

Explanation of the prophecy. —For the fuller explanation of this prophecy, and of the manner of its completion, these following particulars are to be observed. 1st, By the sceptre in Judah is meant the sovereignty in it, and by a lawgiver from between his feet, the administration of justice by those of that same nation, and according to their own laws: and both put together imply such a political constitution of government, as that whereby a nation is governed by its own princes and by its own laws; and this was that which was not to depart from Judah till Shiloh should come. 2dly, This constitution of government all Israel was possessed of, from their coming out of Egypt to the time of the prevailing of the Assyrian empire, they being till then under their own princes (that is, first judges, and afterwards kings), and governed by their own laws. But, 3dly, when the kings of Assyria had extended their empire on this side the Euphrates as far as Palestine, ten of the tribes of Israel being carried into captivity, the sceptre then departed from those tribes, and the lawgiver from between their feet: for their princes and their laws being then taken away from them, they were never after that any more a people; but being scattered among the heathen nations of the East, their name and their nation were absorbed and lost in them, and they

have never since been any more heard of. But, 4thly, the tribe of Judah, though they fell under the like captivity, yet afterwards returned from it into their own land, and had there their sceptre and lawgiver again restored to them: for being there embodied again under the same constitution of government, they had again princes of their own to be rulers over them, and the administration of justice under them by their own laws, in the same manner as before; and so they continued to have

---

without interruption (excepting only the three years and a half of Antiochus's persecution), till the time that Coponius was made procurator of Judæa. But then the power of life and death being taken from them, and placed in a foreign governor, and justice being thenceforth administered by the laws of Rome instead of those of their own nation, then truly began the sceptre to depart from Judah, and the lawgiver from between his feet; and this departure was fully completed in the destruction of Jerusalem sixty-two years after, and therein this prophecy had its entire accomplishment. Till then, some few remains of their power were still left among them; for they had still their Sanhedrim, or national council, and they had still their high priest, with some shadow of authority still lodged in both; and in the administration of justice, some regard was still had by the Roman governors to their old national law. But after the temple and city of Jerusalem were destroyed by Titus, all this was absolutely and wholly abolished; and from that time neither the sceptre nor the lawgiver hath been any more found among them. For although near one thousand six hundred and fifty years are now passed since that destruction, and great numbers of this people swarm all over the world, yet they have never been able to embody again into a nation, either in their own or any other land; or have they to this day ever found a place where they could reëstablish their old constitution of law, or have a prince of their own to govern them by it. As to their Æchmalotarcha at Babylon, if that officer be still there in being, he is no more than what their Alabarcha was at Alexandria, their Ethnarcha at Antioch, or their Episcopus Judæorum in England; that is, the head of that sect in that place, without sword or sceptre, or any power of coercion, or authority of jurisdiction, but what he hath by the voluntary submission of

the Jews of that country, which was the old Babylonian province. And therefore nothing can be more vain than what the Jews urge as to this matter, that is, that in this Æchmalotarcha is still preserved both the sceptre and the lawgiver in the tribe of Judah ; and that therefore the prophecy of Jacob above mentioned is not yet fulfilled, nor the Messiah as yet come.

Answers to the objections against the foregoing explanation. — But against what I have here said of the explication and fulfilling of this prophecy it may be objected, that after the Babylonish captivity we find none, excepting Zerubbabel, to have had the government of the Jewish nation that were of the tribe of Judah; that the high priests had mostly the regency of the land, who were of the tribe of Levi; and that after the Asmonæan princes Herod and Archelaus his son reigned in Judæa, who were descendants of the Idumæans, and not of any of the tribes of Israel. To this I answer, that after the captivity, the tribe of Judah swallowed all else that were left of the other tribes of Israel, and all from that time were called Jews, and reckoned as of the sons of Judah. And as to Herod, Nicolas of Damascus, who lived in his court, attests him to have been descended from one of those Jewish families which returned from the Babylonish captivity. But whether this were so or

---

not, it is nowhere denied but that he was descended from ancestors who had by proselytism been long engrafted into the name and nation of the Jews, and thereby been made at least adopted sons of the tribe of Judah; and therefore he cannot be reckoned as a stranger to it.

Summing up of the matter. —The sum therefore is; the sceptre and the lawgiver remained among the Jews till both began to be taken from them by the Romans, on their reducing Judæa into the form of a Roman province; and then Christ, the Shiloh promised, began his coming as the Messiah, by then first entering on his Father's business, for which he was sent. And that this exactly fell in with the time of this change, plainly appears; for Christ was then in the twelfth year of his age; and the twelfth year from Christ's birth was that whereon Coponius entered on his government: for Herod lived one year after the birth of Christ: and after the

death of Herod, Archelaus reigned ten years, and the next year after the Romans seized Judæa, and made it a province of their empire. Christ therefore first appeared in the temple as the Messiah at that very time when the sceptre and the lawgiver first began to depart from Judah; and sixty-two years after that, this departure was fully completed in the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the utter abolishing of the whole Jewish policy and constitution of government in that land, which hath never since, either there or anywhere else, been again revived.

Marcus Ambivius succeeds Coponius in the procuratorship of Judea, A. D. 10. —Marcus Ambivius was sent by Augustus to be procurator of Judæa in the place of Coponius. And this same year died Salome, sister of Herod; a woman who, by her crafty and malicious intrigues, had caused great mischief in her brother's family.

Augustus admits Tiberius to a co-partnership in the empire, A. D. 12. — Tiberius was admitted into copartnership of command and sovereignty with Augustus in all the provinces and armies of the Roman empire, and a decree passed both the senate and people of Rome to confirm him in it. And from hence the fifteenth year of Tiberius mentioned in the Gospel of St. Luke is to be reckoned.

Annius Rufus procurator of Judea, A. D.13. —Augustus, having called Ambivius from Judea, sent thither Annius Rufus to be procurator of that province in his stead.

Death of Augustus Cæsar and accession of Tiberius, A. D. 14. — Augustus Cæsar died at Nola in Campania, on the 19th of August, after he had lived seventy-six years wanting thirty-five days; for he was born on the 23rd of September, in the sixty-third year before the Christian era, and died on the 19th of August in the fourteenth year of that era. The time of his reign was just fifty-six years, reckoning it from the time of his entering on his first consulship, which was on the same day in the year in which he died: but if we reckon it from the Actiac victory, his reign will then be forty-four years, wanting fourteen days; for that victory was gained on the 2nd of September, and the day of his death was the 19th of August, as hath been already here mentioned. And the Actiac victory being that which gave

him the whole Roman empire, and absolute sovereignty over it, by that we here reckon the

years of his reign after the deposition of Archelaus, and the making Judæa a province of the Roman empire. On his death he was succeeded by Tiberius, the son of Livia his wife by her former husband. He had been made his partner before in the supreme command of the provinces and armies, but now the whole empire devolved on him, and that not only in the provinces and armies, but also in the sovereign city of Rome itself, and thereby he became, in the same manner as Augustus had been before, lord of all. He was fifty-five years old when he first entered on this succession, and reigned from this time over the whole Roman empire twenty-two years, seven months, and seven days.

Valerius Gratus procurator of Judea, A. D. 15. —Tiberius sent Valerius Gratus into Judæa, to be procurator of that province in the place of Annius Rufus; in which government he continued eleven years.

Germanicus recalled by Tiberius, A. D. 17. —The death of Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and of Antiochus king of Commagena, and Philopater king of Cilicia, which all happened the same year, causing some disturbances in those countries, Tiberius laid hold on this occasion to recall Germanicus from his Germanic legions (where he feared his power and interest with the soldiery), to send him into the East, pretending that those disturbances could no otherwise be removed than by the wisdom of Germanicus; and therefore caused a decree to pass the senate, whereby was committed to his charge the government of all the provinces of the East beyond the *Æ*gean Sea.

In A. D. 18—Germanicus, passing into the East, reduced Cappadocia and Commagena into the form of Roman provinces; and having quieted the disturbances that were in Armenia, made Zeno, the son of Polemon king of Pontus, king of that country, to the great satisfaction both of the nobility and populacy of it, he having been bred among them, and made himself always acceptable to them. After this he marched into Syria, and there took up his winter quarters. Cn. Piso was then president of that province. He was sent

thither at the same time that Germanicus went into the East: and his private commission from Tiberius was, to be a curb and a check upon Germanicus, and to create him all the trouble and vexation he was able; and he failed not executing to the utmost all that was given him in charge as to this matter.

In A. D. 19—Germanicus in the spring passed from Syria into Egypt, and there took a view of all the curiosities of that country, sailing up the Nile from Canopus, as far as the borders of Ethiopia. On his return into Syria, he fell sick, and died at Antioch of poison, administered to him by the fraud of Piso and Plancina his wife: so Germanicus complained in his sickness, and so it was generally thought; and it was not doubted but that it was by secret instruction from Tiberius himself that this villanous act was done. Germanicus had by

---

many eminent qualifications gained the esteem and affection of all men to a high degree: this produced such an envy and jealousy in Tiberius, that he could not rest till by these treacherous means he had procured his death. This caused a general grief and mourning all over the empire, especially at Rome, and also a rage and wrath equal thereto against Piso and his wife, the supposed authors of his death.

And therefore in A. D. 20, as soon as they returned to Rome, they were both arraigned for it before the senate. But Piso, there finding his condemnation unavoidable, fell on his own sword to prevent the sentence, and so died by his own hands.

Ismael appointed high priest, A. D. 23. —Valerius Gratus, having removed Annas from being high priest after he had been fifteen years in the office, substituted Ismael, the son of Fabus, in his place.

Eleazar high priest, A. D. 24. —But in the next year after, being displeased with his choice, Gratus again removed Ismael, and promoted to this office Eleazar the son of that Annas whom he had lately deposed from it.

Simon high priest, A. D. 25.—But after a year's time he removed him also, and made Simon the son of Camith high priest in his stead, who

continued in this office no longer than his predecessor.

Caiaphas, son-in-law of Annas, high priest, and Pontius Pilate procurator of Judea, A. D. 26. —For the next year after was appointed to succeed Simon, by the same Gratus, Joseph surnamed Caiaphas, the son-in-law of Annas above mentioned; which two were the high priests that are spoken of in the Gospels to have had the chief hand in the prosecuting of our Saviour to his crucifixion. And this same year Valerius Gratus being recalled, Pontius Pilate was sent by Tiberius to be procurator of Judæa in his stead, a man thoroughly prepared for all manner of iniquity; which he accordingly executed through his whole government. Philo Judæus chargeth him to have been guilty therein of selling justice, and giving any sentence for money, of rapines, of injuries, of murders, of unjust tormentings, of putting men arbitrarily to death, without process or sentence of law, and of excessive cruelty through his whole administration; and by such a hardened temper of iniquity he was thoroughly fitted for the giving of that unjust sentence, whereby he condemned to death Him that is the Lord of Life.

John the Baptist commences his preaching. —This year was the fifteenth of Tiberius, from the time that he was admitted to reign in copartnership with Augustus. And this was that fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius mentioned by St. Luke, in which St. John the Baptist first preached the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, and therein the Gospel of Jesus Christ had its beginning: for Christ appeared for the revealing of this Gospel first by this his messenger sent before his face, to prepare the way for his personal appearance; which was accordingly made by him three years and a half after. First, therefore, John the Baptist began the ministry of the Gospel in this fifteenth

---

year of Tiberius, and continued in it for three years and a half; that is, he began it about the time of the paschal feast, and continued it till the feast of tabernacles in the fourth year after. And then John being cast into prison, Christ appeared to take it on him in person, and personally carried it on three years and a half more. So that the whole time of Christ's ministry, while he was here on earth, as executed first vicariously by John his

forerunner, and afterwards personally by himself, was exactly seven years; and these seven years constituted the last of the seventy weeks in Daniel's prophecy. How at the beginning of this week ended the sixty-two weeks of this prophecy, which pointed out the time of the coming of Christ in the ministry of his Gospel, and how this last week then began, and how in that week the covenant was confirmed with many, and how in the last half of it the Levitical sacrifices and oblations were made to cease, and in the conclusion of the said weeks the Messiah was cut off, hath been already shown in the first part of this history; and therefore I need not here again repeat it.

Crucifixion of our Lord, and fulfilment of prophecy, A. D. 33.—At the time appointed by this prophecy, Christ became a sacrifice for us, to make reconciliation for our iniquities, and died upon the cross for the expiation of them; and thereby having purchased his spiritual kingdom over us, he took possession of it on his resurrection from the dead. For then his church, which is his kingdom, had its beginning; and therein were fulfilled two other of Daniel's prophecies relating to this his kingdom, the first contained in the second chapter of that prophet, and the other in the seventh; both which foretold that the kingdom of the Messiah should come on, and grow upon the decay of that of the Romans. For by the four kingdoms, set forth by the four metals of Nebuchadnezzar's image in the first of those prophecies, and by the four beasts in the other, are meant the four monarchies of the Babylonians, the Persians, the Macedonians, and the Romans: and that, after the decay of the kingdom of the Romans, the kingdom of the Messiah should commence, is plainly expressed in both these prophecies. For what is said of the king of the next succeeding kingdom, in the first of these prophecies, that "his kingdom should never be destroyed, but should stand for ever;" and in the second of them, that "there was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him;" and that "his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed," can be understood of none other than of Christ and his kingdom. And therefore the strength of the Roman empire beginning to decay in the reign of Tiberius, then accordingly commenced the beginning of the kingdom of the Messiah in the erection of his church here on earth. In

the first of these prophecies, the Roman empire is set forth by legs of iron, and feet of iron and clay mingled together: this implies the two sorts of government, which the Romans were under; first, the legal government under their old constitution, and the other the arbitrary and tyrannical government under their emperors. As long as the first remained, the empire of Rome stood firm and strong upon it, as upon legs of iron. But when the second commenced, and in the place of legal government succeeded arbitrary will and pleasure, then

---

clay was mingled with iron in the feet; and thereby the basis was made weak, on which the whole structure was founded. As long as Augustus lived, who was a prince wise, just, and clement, the clay in the foundation of his government was as strong and firm as the iron. But when Tiberius succeeded, who had more of the beast in him than of the man, and governed for the most part without reason or justice, by a most barbarous and cruel will and pleasure, the clay began to moulder, and the foundations of this kingdom to grow weak and decay. And at this very time, when it began so to do, Christ's kingdom commenced, in the erection of his church and where that began, there the Jewish church, with the whole Mosaic economy, ended. And this being the utmost term to which I proposed to bring down this work, I shall here put a conclusion to it, with my most humble and hearty thanksgiving and praise to Almighty God, that he hath of his great mercy and goodness given me life and strength to enable me thus to complete it.

[Table on Page 554-556 is omitted]

History of the destruction of Jerusalem: tyranny and rapacity of the Roman procurators. —For years a tremendous tempest had been slowly gathering towards Jerusalem. At first the skirts of the coming storm discharged ruin and destruction upon the more remote settlements. The Jews in Egypt on one side, and in Babylon on the other, were victims in turns. At Alexandria in Egypt a violent persecution broke out against the

Jews in the reign of the emperor Caligula. Their places for prayer were cut down and profaned. Their shops and warehouses were broken open and plundered, and the contents publicly divided amongst the rabble. Whole families were burnt alive in their houses, and others were slain in the streets, trampled and murdered by infuriated mobs, or scourged to death before public tribunals. A deputation under the celebrated Philo proceeded to Rome to lay their complaint before the emperor Caligula—the wildest madman and debauchee that ever attained imperial power. "Why do you not eat pork?" was his remark to the deputation. The dissolute court burst into laughter, and the envoys returned with their wrongs unredressed. Shortly afterwards the Jews in Babylon—the descendants of those who had refused to return from captivity five centuries before—met with similar treatment. It is unnecessary to notice the more immediate origin of the persecution. It ended with the slaughter of 50,000 men. The emperor Caligula died, A. D. 41; Claudius succeeded him, and was followed in his turn by Nero in A. D. 54. Nero reigned until A. D. 68, two years before the destruction of Jerusalem. Throughout all this period the Jews in Palestine began to display increased hatred to the Roman soldiery. The sullen murmurs which announced the approaching eruption became more and more distinct. The Roman procurators were, with the exception of Festus, avaricious and cruel in the extreme. Albinus succeeded Festus in A. D. 63. The country was desolated by robbers, and Albinus shared their plunder. After filling his prisons with the banditti, he released them on the payment of large ransoms, and thus set a premium on robbery and assassination. The whole province was soon filled with desperate ruffians. Meanwhile the taxes were increased. One more woe only was wanting to fill the measure of calamity, and even make the people regret Albinus. This was the nomination of Gessius Florus to the procuratorship. Florus was the last of the Roman governors and the worst. A crafty and bloodthirsty robber without compunction and without shame, his history is written in letters of blood. Fearful warnings. And there were signs in heaven; wild and awful prodigies. A comet shaped like a sword hung over Jerusalem for a whole year. Chariots and armed squadrons were seen in the sky, and seemed to encircle the whole city in their rapid and terrific career. A wild prophet continued to walk through the streets, crying, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem! woe to the city and the Temple!" At length, during the subsequent siege, he

suddenly cried out, "Woe to myself!" and was struck dead by a stone from a ballista.

State of parties: last rebellion during the procuratorship of Florus. —Two parties existed amongst the Jews. (1.) The moderate party, who desired peace by concession to Rome. (2.) The war party, or Zealots, who, animated by a wild but fervent zeal for religion, had refused

---

to pay the taxes to Rome, and were violently opposed to all conciliatory measures. The peace party included all the wealthy men of the country. The war party included the poorer fanatics or Zealots, and had been a mere factious minority since the death of their celebrated leader, Judas of Galilee. All ranks however were now exasperated, if not actually maddened, by the tyranny of Florus. The war party rapidly increased in numbers. A riot which broke out in Cæsarea was diligently fomented by Florus, who hoped that a general insurrection would conceal his misdeeds from the eyes of the emperor. He marched to Jerusalem, and permitted his soldiers to plunder the city and murder all they met. He even scourged and crucified Jews who were Roman citizens. He tried to seize the Temple treasures, but the war party broke down the galleries which connected the castle of Antonia with the sacred courts.

Agrippa II. attempts to mediate.— Agrippa II., the head of ecclesiastical affairs, now proceeded to the fated city. His object was mediation. He represented to the people the hopelessness of opposing Rome. They replied with one voice that they had taken up arms not against the Romans, but against Florus. Agrippa told them that refusal to pay tribute, and the destruction of the galleries of Antonia, were acts of rebellion. The war party were again deserted by the multitude, and the general body of the people came forward to pay their tribute and reconstruct the galleries. The rebellion seemed at an end. But in an evil hour Agrippa advised the people to render homage to Florus until the emperor should send another procurator in his room. The hateful name re-aroused the anger of the multitude. In one moment Agrippa lost his influence and popularity. The mob assailed him with volleys of stones, and he left the city to its fate.

Defeat of the Romans. —The fire of rebellion, which had so long smouldered in ashes, now broke out into flames. All parties united to throw off the Roman yoke. The Romans retired to the castle of Antonia. The war party took the place and slew the garrison. Menahem, a younger son of Judas of Galilee, came forward and was at once saluted with the title of King of the Jews. He was slain by a personal enemy, named Eleazar, the leader of the Zealots, a more extreme section of the war party. Meanwhile the insurrection spread throughout the land. The Romans were assailed on every side. They were not slow in returning the attack, for they filled the town with corpses, and frequently set them on fire. At last Cestius Gallus, the proconsul of the province of Syria, came with an army to crush the insurrection. He appeared before Jerusalem, but committed error after error; and when he tried to carry the city by storm he was beaten back. On his retreat he was surrounded and attacked, and came off with difficulty. The success raised the spirits of the Jews; the rising was formally organized; and the country was divided into four provinces, each having a governor of its own.

Vespasian sent to crush the revolution: Jerusalem torn by faction. —The successful issue of the rebellion called for the immediate and direct interference of Rome. The emperor Nero invested Vespasian with the military command in Syria, whilst Titus, the son of Vespasian, was sent into Egypt to conduct the Roman legions there into Palestine. Vespasian came down from the north into Galilee with 60,000 men,

---

and spread universal alarm. He made himself master of the various towns on his way. In one of these, named Jotapa, the celebrated historian Josephus was taken prisoner and conducted into the Roman camp; but he was mildly treated, for he prophesied that Vespasian would be emperor of Rome. All the Jews that were able now fled to Jerusalem, where profligacy and wretchedness increased every day. Eleazar, at the head of the Zealots, who may now be regarded as so many bands of robbers, had got possession of the Temple. The Jews desired to be released from these Zealots, and besieged the Temple under Ananus the high priest. The Idumeans came to assist the Zealots, but Ananus refused to admit them within the city. During

a night of earthquake and tempest, the Zealots forced open the gates and admitted their friends. Ananus was slain, and the vengeance of the Zealots and their new allies was glutted in the blood of multitudes. The suffering inhabitants of Jerusalem sought for assistance against the Zealots in Simon of Gerasa, who had taken up a position before the city with a band of robbers. Simon, after a severe fight, drove back the Zealots into the Temple, and took possession of the whole city; but during all this time the unhappy citizens had been handled in the most horrible manner by both parties, and all Jerusalem resembled a large robber's cave.

Vespasian made emperor of Rome. — Meanwhile Vespasian had received news from Rome of the utmost importance. Nero was dead. Galba, who succeeded him, was also dead. Otho then reigned for three months, and committed suicide. Vespasian therefore had delayed marching on to Jerusalem, and waited at Cæsarea for fresh events. Next came the intelligence that Vitellius had been proclaimed emperor. The army was greatly dissatisfied. Its chief officers desired that Vespasian should be invested with the imperial dignity. He accordingly hastened to Rome and left Titus behind at the head of the army.

Three factions in Jerusalem—Eleazar, John, and Simon. During this delay a third party had arisen in Jerusalem. Simon, as we have already seen, held the city, and Eleazar at the head of the Zealots occupied the Temple. The Zealots split into two factions, one under Eleazar, and a second under a robber chief called John of Giscala. Eleazar, accompanied by his band of followers, seized the highest battlement of the Temple, and was there besieged by John. On the other hand, John, who occupied the outer courts and declivities of the Temple, was in his turn besieged by Simon, who held the city. These three parties were day and night in conflict with each other.

Titus blockades Jerusalem.—Meantime Titus had delayed to advance upon Jerusalem, and the opinion spread abroad that he did not feel

---

himself sufficiently strong to take the city. Accordingly, at the ensuing Passover, the Jews, as if in peace, streamed into Jerusalem. Then while the city was destitute of supplies and provisions, and held a million of Jews,

Titus suddenly assaulted the place, gradually narrowing the base of his operations. At first the factions united and made vigorous sallies, especially on the side of Olivet; but disunion soon returned. John recovered possession of the Temple, and he and Simon became paramount in the city. On the north was the Roman camp. The most terrible famine now began. Bloody massacres among the factions, hunger and pestilence filled the city with corruption and stench. Josephus having in vain called on the leaders to surrender, Titus, on the 17th of May, forced his way into the new city which stood at the north beneath his camp. The defenders drew back into the old city on Mount Zion. After five days the Romans made their way into the lower city, on Mount Acra, and Titus again waited until want of provisions should compel the surrender.

Horrors of the siege, and fulfilment of prophecy. —The famine was now dreadful. Fathers tore the morsels out of their children's mouths; children did the same to fathers; all the ties of blood and of nature were loosened. The famishing ate shoes, girdles, and the leather straps of the shields; nay, one mother killed her infant, and roasted it, to satisfy her hunger. It was useless to think of removing out of sight the thousands of bodies that infested the city and contaminated the air. They lay in the streets, in the public places, on the roofs, and in the houses. Yet murder did not stop. The Zealots, with incredible eagerness, went on strangling, and employed the most excruciating pains in order to extort confession from those who were thought to have concealed food or treasure. Death had dropped his black wings over the city, and reaped a harvest such as he never had reaped before. Wailing and despair, horror and woe, were universal. Their fathers had said, "His blood be upon us and our children." Terribly now was the imprecation fulfilled; fulfilled, too, were those awful words of the Saviour, "The days are coming in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck. Then shall they say to the mountains, Fall on us, and to the hills, Cover us." Even the Romans were filled with amazement, and Titus, lifting up his hands to heaven, called God to witness that he was not answerable for that unutterable distress. Thousands fled into the camp of the Romans, preferring death by the enemy's hand to death by famine. Sparing their lives, Titus gave them food, and then sold them into slavery.

Destruction of the city and Temple. —On the fifth of July, the castle of Antonia had fallen, and Titus prepared to storm the Temple. It was his wish that the edifice should be spared, but in the operations it was set on fire by the soldiers, in order to prepare the way for storming; and, wonderful to relate, the tenth Roman legion, who had pressed on the Jews with the greatest fury, having been repulsed, stood on the same spot on the Mount of Olives where the Saviour once stopped, and, weeping over the city, said, "The days shall come that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and they shall not leave one stone upon another, because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation." In vain did Titus give an express command

---

to save the Temple; it perished in the flames. The Zealots escaped to Mount Sion, which was not conquered and destroyed until the 2nd of September. All who bore arms, and most of those who did not, were pitilessly massacred. Above a million Jews perished. Of the rest, some were sold to Greek slave-merchants, others were sent into the Egyptian mines, and others were preserved for the gladiatorial games in Rome. Those whose personal appearance was most striking were reserved for the triumph. Among these were John and Simon, the latter of whom, some days after the conquest, came like an apparition from some subterranean hiding-place. The city was levelled with the soil. The walls, except an inconsiderable portion on the west, were broken down.

Titus and Vespasian enjoyed the honours of a triumph in Rome, and their triumphal chariot was followed by 700 Jews. Among the booty borne before the victors were the golden lamp, the table of unleavened bread, and a manuscript roll of the law. To the present day stands the arch of triumph, which was erected in honour of Titus and his mournful victory over the Jewish nation.

Dispersion of the Jews. —Sixty years later the emperor Hadrian had restored the Temple and established a Roman colony in Jerusalem; but the Jews, having increased in number, again attempted a rebellion. Simeon, a daring man, surnamed Bar-Cochba, " son of a star," gave himself out for the

Messiah, collected a large Jewish army, and conquered Jerusalem, A. D. 130. The Romans, however, again captured the city. Thus failed the last attempt made by the nation to recover its nationality. Bar-Cochba fell in flight, the land was laid waste, and the Jews ceased to be a people. Scattered over the face of the earth, they are without a home, a temple, and a worship; and as in them the word of God is fulfilled, so do they, century after century, afford an example of God's retributory providence, until that promised time shall come when the Deliverer shall turn away the ungodliness from Jacob, and the fulness of the Gentiles be converted to the knowledge of Jehovah.-ED.]